The Hallidayan notion of Theme
in original and translated fiction texts
in English and Dutch
Preface

In the first place, I would like to thank Professor Hasselgård from the University of Oslo. Her guest lecture on the English and Norwegian Theme structure in December 2005 inspired me to choose this subject for my thesis.

I am also grateful to Professor Vandenbergen, my promotor, for her detailed feedback, and to Bernard Declerck for his assistance.

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Contents

1. Introduction 3
   2.1 The notion of Theme 9
   2.3 Discussion on the Extent of Theme 13
   2.4 Theme in text 15
   2.5 Theme in different languages 17

3. Analysis of Theme in original and translated fiction texts in English and Dutch: Grammatical functions 21
   3.1 The material 21
   3.2 The experiential Theme: grammatical functions 22
      3.2.1 Subject as Theme 26
      3.2.2 Adjuncts as Theme 29
      3.2.3 Complements as Theme 35
         3.2.3.1 Direct Objects 36
         3.2.3.2 Other Complements 43
         3.2.3.3 Summary: Non-Subject Participant Themes 47
      3.2.4 Predicated Themes 47
      3.2.5 Existential Themes 50
      3.2.6 Theme ellipsis 54

4. Functional changes to the experiential Theme in the translated clauses 58
   4.1 (English) Subject Theme corresponds with (Dutch) Adjunct Theme 58
      4.1.1 English original to Dutch translation 58
      4.1.2 Dutch original to English translation 62
   4.2. (English) Subject Theme corresponds with (Dutch) Complement Theme 64
      4.2.1 English original to Dutch translation 65
      4.2.2 Dutch original to English translation 66
   4.3 The correspondence between English and Dutch Existential Themes 67
      4.3.1 Dutch original to English translation 68
      4.3.2 English original to Dutch translation 70

5. Systemic Functional Grammar categories in Theme 73
   5.1. Problems with the Hallidayan framework 73
   5.2. Analysis of the elements in thematic position 77
      5.2.1. English original to Dutch translation 78
      5.2.2. Dutch original to English translation. 78

6. Textual and Interpersonal Themes 81
   6.1 Textual Themes 81
      6.1.1 Types 81
      6.1.2 Textual and Experiential 83
      6.1.3 Textual themes in the material 85
      6.1.4 Simple and Multiple Textual Themes 88
   6.2 Interpersonal Themes 89
   6.3 Textual, Interpersonal, and Experiential? 91
6.4 Textual and Interpersonal Themes in translation: changed or preserved? 92
   6.4.1 Changes to Interpersonal Themes 92
   6.4.2 Changes to textual Themes 94

7. Conclusion 107
1. Introduction

Language is a tool naturally possessed by most human beings, distinguishing them from other animals. Despite this natural possession, it has proved to be very difficult for the human mind to create a complete and detailed theoretical conception of this tool, of its principles and its structure. Especially for the language component that is conventionally labelled ‘grammar’, the component of the translation of meanings into wordings according to principles of various kinds, several descriptive systems have been developed, trying to cover the whole or the essence of one specific language, or even of ‘language’ as such. The traditional descriptive grammatical system, which is mainly derived from Greek and Latin grammar and has in slightly different ways been adapted to most Western languages, and which is taught at school as the only and in academic linguistics courses as the most basic approach to grammar, mainly aims at this goal by constructing rules that match the principles language displays: it studies types of constituents, both for their internal structure as for their function as building blocks for sentences. This means that the descriptive rules of traditional grammar predominantly cover the level of words and word groups with a certain role in a sentence. This focus on the sentence excludes other levels, for instance those of ‘text’ or ‘discourse’: Subject and Objects are studied in relation with each other and with the Verbs of the sentence, but not in relation with similar elements appearing in a larger stretch of language. This limitation prevents the traditional system from getting a view on grammar as a whole, and thus many linguists have raised it as a point of critique, often in combination with its being largely based on European languages.

Some scholars rise above the level of being critical, and they move on to the development of alternative systems. One of these alternatives to traditional grammar is the ‘Systemic Functional Grammar’, varieties of which were established by several linguists, and thus it is one of the most widely used, studied and criticised. The most elaborate version was established by M.A.K. Halliday, and this system is the one used as a tool of analysis in this contrastive study of theme in English and Dutch fiction texts. While the results of this analysis are certainly central in this paper, the utility of the theory for these means may contribute something to a general evaluation. Halliday, however, does not seem to think that general applicability is a condition for a successful grammatical theory:

It is unlikely that any one account of a language will be appropriate for all purposes. A theory is a means of action, and there are many very different kinds of action one may want to take involving language. At the same time, one may not want a theory that is so specialized one can only do one thing with it. (Halliday 1994: xxix)

He then sums up a whole range of purposes to which a grammatical theory may be applied, several of which can in one way or another be linked to the purpose of this study:
to understand what all languages have in common (i.e. what are the properties of language as such, and what may differ from one language to another;

to help people learn foreign languages;

to help train translators and interpreters;

to design computer software that will produce and understand text, and translate languages; (Halliday 1994: xxix-xxx)

By contrasting English and Dutch at certain levels of language, this paper may shed light on a range of small differences between two related and very similar grammars, and thus make clear to exactly which principles foreign language learners, translators and software should attend. In this, the whole of the Hallidayan framework will function as a background, while the focus will be on the notion of Theme. Essentially, the notion of Theme is a way of looking at word order based on a contrast between the opening of the clause and the rest of it. Generally, although, in Halliday’s work and that of other scholars, such as the Prague School scholars Mathesius, Firbas and Daneš, and the Hallidayan theorists Matthiessen and Fries, it is defined much more specifically and in many different ways, often reacting to each other, and on the basis of these divergent definitions many question the overall validity of the concept. Thus, the concept of ‘Theme’ may be said to be a victim of objectification in a certain way. Halliday points to the ‘problem of labels’, seemingly as a warning against an exaggerated focus on terms for ‘proportionalities’, which are the generalizing principles that lie behind the system of language, such as Theme:

The problem is that it takes too long to present the grammar step by step in this way; so we tend to start with the labels, and it is forgotten how they were arrived at and what they are for. Thus, when we investigate the proportionality in English set out above, we find that the variation in sequence means something: ‘being first expresses a function in the clause, and we give this a label ‘theme’;…

Such labels easily become reified, as if there exists some thing called the ‘theme’, which then has to be defined, and is defined as ‘that what comes first’. (Halliday 1994: xxxii)

Indeed, no language user is consciously selecting a Theme for every clause he utters. However, the elements that open clauses certainly preserve a special status, especially when one accepts the unity between language and thinking, suggested by several theorists and philosophers of language. The word order of a clause possibly reflects the ordering of a certain situation in the mind of the speaker, and it most probably influences the way it is perceived by the listener or reader. The opening of the clause can be considered the most important aspect in this, which is reflected in Halliday’s definition of Theme as ‘the point of departure for the message’ (1994: 38). The choice of a Theme, which is partly unconscious but certainly not arbitrary, determines how one clause links to a larger mental framework. Thus, the concept of Theme offers a view on the structure of clauses, as well as of smaller or bigger units which can also be assigned a thematic structure, like phrases of paragraphs, and next to this analysis within
certain units it opens up to larger patterns, trying to show how speakers and writers are establishing meaning through word order choices of Theme and Rheme.

Of course, a speaker is not completely free to construct his message in any order. The grammatical systems of languages like Dutch and English contain a certain set of word order principles. As a result of structural characteristics, some elements can’t be made thematic in particular clauses, while other elements are possibly thematic, but tend not to be. When closely compared, two languages can also show a tendency to thematise similar elements in a different way. In the context of a contrastive analysis like this one, one might wonder whether these different tendencies could be linked to different ways of mentally ordering states of affairs.

This study accepts the danger of reification of terms, but it is also in need of clear concepts. A first, theoretical part of this paper will thus study the Hallidayan meaning of the concept of Theme, Halliday’s theory of its concrete appearances and its position in the whole of Systemic Functional Grammar (Sections 2.1 and 2.2). Further on, some attention will be given to particular interpretations of, elaborations or reactions on the Hallidayan notion of Themes (sections 2.3 and 2.4). This is done both to illustrate the important position of Theme in the large field of grammar, and to open the way for alternative visions, both supportive and contrastive. Finally, this theoretical part will also explore the usefulness and realisations of contrasting different languages. Scholars have studied the notion of Theme for many different languages, although not for Dutch, and several studies comparing different languages were already based on the notion of Theme (Hasselgård 1997, 1998; Ventola 1995; McCabe 1999). When relevant, the results of this study will be compared to certain points made by these scholars. Besides, the method of this study is largely based on the methods of Hilde Hasselgård (1997,1998,2004).

After this theoretical part, the thesis offers an analysis of Theme in English and Dutch original fiction texts, selected from 10 different novels, and their respective Dutch and English translation (chapter 3). From this analysis, two different views on Theme in these languages emerge: a view on an a comparison of Theme in Dutch and English on their own, and a comparison between the original Theme choices and their translations. Thus, it may be examined to what extent a translation meets the typical characteristics of its language, and how strongly it is influenced by its original. All of these aspects will be presented by means of the numerical data that resulted from the analysis, in combination with a detailed elaboration on the numbers and on specific examples. The analysis covers both experiential, textual and interpersonal Themes, and the way they interact. After an introduction on the material in section 3.1, sections 3.2 and 3.3 will look at the functions of the Themes according to traditional grammar, respectively in the texts in both languages as such and in the translation process. Section 3.4
studies the Themes as the participant roles distinguished by Halliday, and chapter 3.5 is about interpersonal and experiential themes.

The primary focus of the analysis of these different aspects is on the clause. However, it was already mentioned the notion of Theme is not merely relevant in clauses, but in texts. A Theme is not only the starting point of the message, but also the element that determines how a certain utterance is positioned in the larger contexts. The results of the analysis will often be illustrated by single clauses, with little reference to the context, as the focus of this study is Theme and not text structure. However, when it is relevant or even necessary, characteristics of Theme and differences between English and Dutch will be linked to the adjacent language material.

Apart from the frequent occurrence of floating Themes, which are only analysed within the sentence, another limitation of this study might be the dominance of detailed descriptions. The most important aspects of the analysis are certainly the general lines that are discovered, but much space is also devoted to detailed descriptions, and to observations based on only a small amount of material. These can be no more than observations, and it is equally probable that they are illustrating rare, but real tendencies as that they provide a rather distorted image. However, I think that the possibility of significance justifies the inclusion of these minor observation. Everything that catches the investigating eye, on whatever small scale, is possibly relevant, and gets some attention.

For all these aspects of analysis, the use of the Hallidayan framework caused no basic problems. Of course, Dutch appears to differ from English in certain ways, for example at the level of the extent of markedness of specific elements in thematic position, but these structural idiosyncrasies are perfectly compatible with the overall system. However, some thematical elements cause slight problems to Halliday’s theory, and in several cases these are exactly the aforementioned small, not too heavily documented items. Some problems arise from specific structural characteristics of Dutch, for example from its principles of inversion, and these results in types of Themes which are not touched upon by Halliday. Other problems exist also in English. Several authors have already commented upon Halliday’s treatment of existential there-Themes and of empty it-Themes (Berry 1995, Hasselgard 2004, Thompson 2004). This thesis will illustrate these cases both in English and in Dutch, and will take a stance on this, partly inspired by these previous publications. Another minor problem occurs with the Dutch verb ‘moeten’, when its nominal Theme has to be labelled with one of Halliday’s participant roles. Both problems will be considered in section 3.4.1, as they emerged strongly in the Systemic Functional analysis, but not in the analysis according to traditional grammar.

Despite the problems mentioned previously, this study does not have the aim to criticize Halliday’s system, as in general, it functions well in the present undertaking. It only wants to offer certain suggestions to elaborate and to slightly adjust the system, to improve it as a tool for the analysis of
Dutch and maybe even of English. This evaluative aspect remains always secondary to the primary objective of describing the characteristics of Theme choice in English and Dutch.

I would like to state that the use of a study like the present might be not only theoretical, but be relevant in certain practical domains. Such a domain could be the improvement of translation software. A small, not exactly scientific but certainly illustrative experiment, which will not be further elaborated, tested the capacities of a few online translators for the translation of English to Dutch and the other way round. The translators tested, which were selected arbitrarily and without knowledge about its quality, were various, but the examples below were selected from the results of three different translators, http://ets.freetranslation.com (translator 1), www.systranbox.com/systran/box (translator 2), and www2.wordlingo.com/en/products_services/wordlingo_translator.html (translator 3). The insertion of a number of English and Dutch sentences which contain language-specific thematic patterns showed that some of these translators possess no knowledge at all of thematical structure, while some can employ certain principles but only in simple cases. I tried to insert stretches of the same literary material that was analysed for the descriptive Chapter 3 of this thesis, but these texts proved to be too complicated, as all translators turn them into absolute nonsense, in which the only certainty seems to be that the original thematic element keeps the sentence-initial position, except for some translators who strangely but consistently front all adverbs on ‘ly’. While the translators do not get the meaning of the texts at all, they seem to be trying desperately to reproduce some of the structure. I then inserted a number of very simple clauses, simple both with regard to vocabulary as to structure. I chose clauses that illustrate important differences between English and Dutch, such as the tendency of Dutch to front both nominal and pronominal Direct Objects as Theme, which in the material from the novel leads most often to a changed English Theme. The results are clearly mixed, as the following example sentences show:

(1) Dat wist zij.
That knew she (translator 1,2,3)

(2) Dat had je niet gezegd.
That had not said you (translator 1,2)
You had not said that (translator 3)

(3) Dat verhaal hoorde ik nog niet.
That story heard I not yet. (translator 1)
I not yet heard that tale (translator 2,3).

It is not at all clear which principles these translators follow, but there are clear differences. Translator 1 just preserves the original Direct Object Themes in all cases, translator 2 seems to include a principle for making nominal Direct Objects non-thematic, and translator 3 even possesses a mechanism for a more correct treatment of some pronominal Direct Objects. Overall, they are of course far from
functioning well, and their problem with Theme is only one of many. However, if translation software is optimised in the future, it will certainly need a description of the restriction, and, when the goal is the creation of 'natural' language, of the tendencies for Theme choice in each language. Ironically, to provide computers with these capacities that will simplify human life, a lot of manual work is needed. Similar studies should examine all possible genres and register for matters of Theme, by means of a much larger amount of material. The present study can be no more than a set of suggestions which point in a certain direction, a fragment of a attempt to catch two languages and their relationship so that a more conscious use of these languages can be made possible.

With the addition of the mentioned appliances in automatized translations, this thesis gets a triple aim. Primarily, it intends to be descriptive, by counting, comparing and describing thematic structures in clauses from a selection of Dutch and English fiction texts. In the second place, the use of the Hallidayan system in this analysis functions as a kind of test for the system. Thus, this thesis will offer certain theoretical suggestions to optimize the Hallidayan theory of Theme, especially as a tool to explore Dutch texts. The third aim, the collecting of specific knowledge about thematic rules and tendencies in English and Dutch so that it can be used by certain practical appliances, is of course not explicitly present in this thesis, but it might add to the usefulness of this kind of studies.
2. Theoretical Background

2.1 The notion of Theme

Theme as a grammatical notion emerged in the 1960's, first in the work of several Prague School Linguists, and subsequently as an important part of the Systemic Functional Grammar of M.A.K. Halliday. Although both approaches agree that clauses and other grammatical units can be divided into a Theme and a Rheme, different viewpoints have arisen from that initial period on concerning the definition, the realisation and characteristics and the precise context. This study uses the concept of Theme as it is described by Halliday in different publications. In these, Theme is essentially conceived as the starting point for the message of the clause. In the second edition of his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Halliday defines Theme as 'the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned' (1994: 38). In English, this starting point is realised as a clause initial element: 'as a general guide, the Theme can be identified as that element which comes in first position in the clause' (1994: 39).

The awareness of the existence of a certain starting point for a message did certainly not start with Halliday. In 1844, Weil already noted that a clause can be seen as divided into two parts. According to him, word order is a representation of the train of thought, and therefore the first position in the clause is special:

There is […] a point of departure, an initial notion which is equally present to him who speaks and to him who hears, […] and another part of discourse which forms the statement, properly so called. This division is found in almost all we say. (1844: 29)

Approximately one century after this important insight, the Prague School linguist Mathesius discusses the point of departure within the utterance, defining it as ‘that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds’ (1939: 171). Later on he divided the clause in Theme and Rheme, although he thought that the point of departure was not necessarily always the same element as the Theme. Several other Prague School linguists, notably Firbas and Daneš, worked with the concept of Theme after Mathesius. Their contributions show a view on Theme that is strongly differing from Halliday's conceptions. For Firbas, the point of departure is a notion in the structuring of the interpretation, and not in the sequential structuring of the clause. The point of departure is not the beginning of the sentence, but the foundation-laying element of the lowest degree of Communication Development. It is this element that in regard to the development of the communication constitutes the point of departure. It may coincide with the first element of the sentence, but not necessarily so (1987: 145)

Firbas distinguishes between elements dependent on the immediately relevant context and context-independent elements. The latter may have already occurred in the immediately relevant context, but
express ‘a semantic feature or simply a semantic aspect that has not yet been mentioned before’ (Firbas 1987: 146). He always considers context-depending elements as thematic, irrespective of their position in the clause. However, under certain conditions it is possible for a context-independent element to perform the thematic function as well.

The most important difference with the Hallydayan approach, however, seems to be not the absence of an association between Theme and the clause initial position, but a connection that is also implicitly present in the previous quotation: the Prague School linguists typically link Theme with the concept of given information. This connection can already be seen in Mathesius’ definition, which, according to Fries (1995: 1), is a combination of two concepts to define Theme. The second part of the definition refers to a concept of Theme similar to Halliday’s, ‘the element from which the message proceeds’, while the first part refers to a concept of Theme as given information, as the information which is known and obvious in the situation. Firbas’ approach is clearly similar, as he states that context-dependent information, which can be seen as Given, is always thematic.

Halliday, in contrast, clearly distinguishes between the notion Given and the notion Theme. He recognizes the similarities between the Information structure (Given and New) and the Thematic Structure of a clause, both being some kind of discourse patterns, but then stresses the differences between them:

Thematization (…) is a choice of a different nature. Its point of origin is the clause, not the information unit; and it assigns to the clause a structure of the functions ‘Theme’ and ‘Rheme’. (…) While there is in the unmarked case an association of the theme with the given, the two are independent options. The difference can perhaps be best summarized by the observation that, while ‘given’ means ‘what you were talking about’ (or: ‘what I was talking about’), ‘theme’ means ‘what I am talking about’ (or ‘what I am talking about now’) and, as any student of rhetoric knows, the two do not necessarily coincide. (Halliday 1967: 211-212)

Although they are related, Given + New and Theme + Rheme are not the same thing. The theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. The given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you. (Halliday 1994: 299).

Fries (1981) labels the Prague school approach ‘the combining approach’ and the Hallidayan approach ‘the splitting approach’ to the definition of theme. Fries (1995) also links this distinction between Given and Theme to certain linguists who consider the notions of ‘Theme’ and ‘Topic’ as interchangeable. He claims that Theme is certainly not Topic, a point which is also made by Halliday, who defines the use of the term Topic as an example of the combining approach:

The label ‘Topic’ usually refers to only one particular kind of Theme; and it tends to be used as a cover term for two concepts that are functionally distinct, one being that of Theme and the other being that of Given. (1994: 38).
2.2. The realisation of Theme according to Halliday

As stated above, Halliday defines Theme in terms of aboutness and starting point, and states that it can be identified by its clause-initial position. He also proposes a way to delineate Theme in the clause: ‘the theme extends from the beginning of the clause up to (and including) the first element that has a function in transitivity’ (1994:53). To understand this statement reference has to be made to the three metafunctions, the three kinds of meaning that run throughout the whole of language: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual metafunctions, which respectively shape a clause as a representation, an exchange and a message (Halliday 1994: 36). An ‘element which has a function in transitivity’ is an experiential element (part of the ideational metafunction), an element of language encoding experience. The Theme extends up to the first experiential element, and thus it ‘always includes one, and only one, experiential element.’ (Halliday 1994: 53p)

To investigate which experiential elements are selected, one has to be aware that thematic choices are dependent on mood choices. Halliday suggests that there are three main areas of syntactic choice in the English clause: Transitivity, Mood and Theme. Theme is the grammar of discourse, and as such it influences the information structure of the clause and the relation of the different elements to the clause as a whole, while Mood is the grammar of speech function:

Mood represents the organization of participants in speech situations, providing options in the form of speaker roles: the speaker may inform, question of command (1967b: 199)

As Mood choices influence Theme choices, the options for thematic structure have to be considered separately for each mood: different elements appear as typical Themes in declarative, interrogative and exclamative clauses, and the possibilities for marked Themes are also dependent of the Mood of the clause. In declarative clauses, the Theme is typically conflated with the Subject, as is illustrated in example 1. The Subject is the unmarked Theme in a declarative clause, which means that ‘it is the element chosen as Theme unless there is a good reason for choosing something else (Halliday 1994: 43). Marked themes, then , can be elements functioning as Adjuncts (example 2) or Complements (Direct and Indirect Objects, Complements to the Subject or Object) (example 3). A special case are the exclamatives, which have an exclamatory WH-element as Theme (example 4). Exclamative clause hardly ever appear with another, marked kind of Theme.

(1) The officer heard that amazing story at a private party.
(2) At a private party the officer heard that amazing story.
(3) That amazing story the officer heard at a private party.
(4) How stupid these children behave!

In interrogative clauses, Halliday (1994: 46) states that the unmarked Theme is always that element that indicates the kind of answer that is required. Therefore, in a WH- interrogative, the group or phrase that
contains the WH-word constitutes the unmarked Theme (example 5). In Yes/No-interrogatives, finite verb and Subject together form the unmarked Theme (example 6). Sometimes, Adjuncts can occur as marked Themes (example 7). In imperative clauses, the Predicator is the unmarked Theme, and marked Themes are very uncommon.

(5) What did the officer hear at the private party?
(6) Did the officer hear that amazing story at a private party?
(7) At the private party did the officer hear that amazing story?

These experiential elements can occur on their own, in which case Halliday speaks of a Simple Theme, but they can also be preceded by textual and interpersonal elements, with which they constitute a Multiple Theme (Halliday 1994: 52).

The textual Theme combines continuatives (discourse markers like yes and well which signal a new part in the discourse), conjunctions (e.g. and, but, …) and relatives, and conjunctive adjuncts (e.g. in other words, also, however,…). The interpersonal Theme can contain vocatives, modal adjuncts (e.g. usually, possibly, in my opinion, to my surprise,…) and Mood-marking Themes, which are the WH-elements and the Finite verbs in questions. A maximally extended Theme, then, Halliday (1994: 55) typically illustrates with the following example:

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<th>Well</th>
<th>but</th>
<th>then</th>
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THEME

RHEME

Halliday also treats a couple of special thematic structures. One is the Thematic Equative, in which the structure equates the Theme with the Rheme, e.g. ‘What I did not tell you was this story.’ or ‘This story was what I did not tell you’. The latter has a nominalisation as Rheme, the former as Theme. Another special structure is that of Predicated Theme, which produces clauses as ‘it was John who wrote the letters’. Clauses of this type are sometimes called ‘cleft sentences’ in formal grammar. All of these possible realisations will be extensively covered in the context of the studied material.

The previous passage concerns the thematic organisation within the clause. However, Halliday (1994: 54) stresses that units at all levels of language use are thematically organised, noun phrases as well as paragraphs. Of these levels he gives special attention to clause complexes (Halliday 1994: 56-57) and states that when a modifying (= subordinate) clause precedes the Head (= main clause) of a clause
complex, this must be thematically motivated. Therefore, the modifying clause is the Theme of the clause complex, a suggestion that is taken into account in the present analysis. Of course, it is also possible to indicate the Themes of Head and modifying clause separately, although they certainly have a different status.

2.3 Discussion on the Extent of Theme

While there is a certain consensus on the existence of something like ‘Theme’, as most linguists believe that a special status for clause initial elements is justified, until now there is no real agreement on what exactly is clause initial. Halliday considers the first experiential element and everything textual and interpersonal that precedes as thematic, which results in a clear barrier between Theme and Rheme, but others disagree. Such disagreement often results from comparative studies. Steiner and Ramm (1995) for instance, who tried to establish a suitable theory of Theme for German, think the Hallidayan Theme is too extensive. They make use of the term from German descriptive grammars 'Vorfeld', which stands for all elements before the Finite, and make an association with Theme. As a result, German being a verb-second language in which Textual or Interpersonal elements can take in that 'Vorfeld' on their own, 'Theme in German does not necessarily include any function from the ideational component. (Steiner and Ramm 1995: 73). However, not all linguists feel the urge to make such drastic changes to the Hallidayan system when they use it for the description of verb-second languages. Hasselgård simply regards the Norwegian finite verb as a structural Theme, so that in cases where the fronted non-subject is a conjunct or a disjunct adverbial, the Theme will include the first experiential element after the finite verb. This is easily compatible with Halliday's treatment of sentence-initial verbs in interrogative sentences. (Hasselgård 1998: 148). The present study adopts this view for its treatment of Dutch, which is also a verb second-language.

Some other linguists think Theme should contain more than the neat Hallidayan threesome. Rose (2001) for instance argues that, in the case of Circumstantial Themes, the subsequent participant should also be included in the Theme. In his contrastive study of languages with very different characteristics, two discursive reasons for this arose: 'it enables us to map a text's method of development, and to relate it to comparable texts in other languages.'(Rose 2001: 133). He adds that Halliday labelled the non-thematic Subjects following a circumstantial Theme with the term ‘displaced Theme’, defined as ‘a topical element that would be unmarked Theme if the existing marked topical Theme was reworded as dependent clause’ (1994: 66). This is illustrated by the following clause (1994:64):
For all his integrity, Robert pulled a slightly fast one over his father.

This shows that Halliday did leave room for including non-thematic participants in the analysis of the thematic structure, and the suggestion of Rose is to give theme official thematic status. The same aspect is touched upon by Arús (2006). In the analysis of a Spanish and an English short story, he initially distinguishes between ‘thematized circumstances that exhaust the thematic potential’ and ‘thematic circumstances that do not.’ In the second case, the theme includes the experiential elements that follow the circumstances. (2006:13). Concluding his theoretical discussion on Theme, he states differently that:

Circumstantial Themes do not exhaust the thematic potential. [...] They certainly help text to unfold and therefore have a say in the method of development, but they do not, however, contribute to track identities, by which we need to extend the Theme to the first experiential constituent after the Theme to ensure the complete establishment of the local context. (2006: 32)

Altenberg (1998) arrives at a similar conclusion, although in his study of connectors and sentence openings in English and Swedish he initially uses the term onset, which refers to 'the initial part of the sentence extending from the first clause element up to the finite verb' (1998: 115). Despite this difference in labelling, he thinks that 'Halliday's recognition of 'multiple' themes reflecting different linguistic metafunctions is useful from a cross-linguistic point of view, since it indicates what kinds of elements can be expected to turn up in the onset.' (1998: 118). He thus uses the Hallidayan framework, but with an important deviation:

I will relax Halliday's restriction that only the first topical theme may be thematic. This will allow us to regard all preverbal subjects in English as being part of the theme (in some sense), which simplifies the description, as it makes the onset and (the realization of) the theme practically coextensive in English.'(1998: 119).

It is clear that these linguists consider Theme an important notion, but also a notion that can be manipulated in such a way that it optimally serves the purposes of the researcher. This should not necessarily be seen as a shortcoming of the theory, but could also be an advantage. Berry seems to take this position when she in a humorous wayformulates 'her' extent of Theme: 'I have erred on the side of generosity, as it were, and included in the Theme everything that anyone working in the Hallidayan tradition has ever to my knowledge advocated including.' (Berry 1995: 64). Overall, it can be argued that Theme can be a more useful notion when it is able to fulfill the needs of every single study, than as a fixed concept. However, this study will, apart from the necessary adjustment to the structural singularities of Dutch mentioned earlier, follow quite strictly the Hallidayan demarcation, mindful of the argumentation of Hasan and Fries against the position that the Subject should always be treated as thematic (to which the inclusion of the first participant element amounts):

What is gained by claiming that Subject is ipso facto also Theme? What can the constituent in question "do" as a result of being Theme which ii is prevented from doing simply as Subject? And in any event how can an answer to
this question be validated since in this position the dissociation of Subject and Theme becomes logically impossible?‘(Hasan and Fries 1995: xxxvii).

While I do think that ‘extended’ Themes can be useful for certain purposes, for instance for the study of language which strongly differ from English, this study prefers the original Hallidayan view, especially as it allows a clearer view on the relation between Subject, amongst other functions in the clause, and Theme.

2.4 Theme in text

The discussion of how far Theme extends in the clause is only relevant because the concept essentially transgresses the boundaries of that clause. There are few reasons for the existence of a Theme whose functioning would be restricted to the boundaries of the clause. Critics have pointed to this, and Huddleston for instance clearly doubts the relevance of Theme:

It is not clear that ‘point of departure’ or ‘starting point’ can sustain an interpretation that is independent of syntactic sequence - that the Theme is the point of departure for the message in a more significant sense than of being the first element.’(Huddleston 1988: 158)

The essence of Theme, however, should be that it functions within text: Theme selects certain elements from previous clauses as the beginning of a new clause, it thus determines how the new message is linked with the preceding text, and it also partly determines how the text will proceed. The first to develop a similar point of view was presumably Danes (1974: 109), in stating that the selection of certain elements as a Theme should be motivated and structurally connected to text. He then distinguishes between different ways in which Themes can progress. The result is that the Theme of every singular clause has a certain influence on the structure of the overall text. Other linguists have formulated similar theories, especially Fries (1982, 1985) who developed the concept of thematic progression in a conscious attempt to defend Theme against critical voices. This section, however, will not provide a detailed description of theories of Theme in text, as this will not be analysed in the material, but it will try to locate Theme as a means of structuring text within certain larger theories of language as communication.

The idea to focus on Theme as an important factor in communication, next to Theme as a grammatical notion, mainly builds on Matthiessen ’s article ‘THEME as an enabling resource in ideational ’knowledge’ construction (1995). In this article he explains how Theme enables both the receiver and the sender of a message to create an 'instantial system'. He describes such an 'instantial system' as

a system created in the instantiation of the general system (general systemic potential) as the text unfolds; it is the product of logogenesis - the creation of meaning through instantiation of the system in text. From the speaker's
point of view, an instantial system is the system of selections s/he has to make in producing the text; from the
listener's point of view, an instantial system is the system that s/he can create out of the interpretation of the
unfolding text. An instantial is partly a 'copy' of part of the general system, but it also embodies new configurations
of meanings. (Matthiessen 1995: 22)

Although Matthiessen makes no reference to it, and there is no real suggestion of an influence or an
inspiration by it, this description certainly reminds of an influential theory of communication in language
philosophy, that of Donald Davidson (1986). I will extend Matthiessen's view to this theory because both
can add something to the other. Davidson, who says basically the same but in a less technical way,
shows that such a theory is relevant on its own. Thus, he proves in a way that such a theory is not only
used by Matthiessen to justify the notion of Theme. At the same time, the link with the notion of Theme
as in Matthiessen might help to make a general theory of communication more concrete and more
connected to real language use.

Davidson (1986) formulated a theory of interpretation, and in this he distinguishes between a prior
theory', which might be compared to the 'general system' in Matthiessen's description, and a 'passing
theory', which is developed during the interpretation of an utterance or a stretch of text, and which is
thus alike to Matthiessen's instantial system. Davidson explains that

> for the hearer, the prior theory expresses how he is prepared in advance to interpret an utterance of the speaker,
> while the passing theory is how he does interpret the utterance. For the speaker, the prior theory is what he
> believes the interpreter's prior theory to be, while his passing theory is the theory he intends the interpreter to use.
> (1986: 480)

Davidson's conclusion is then that for a speaker and a hearer to agree, they need to share a passing
theory. However, he does not really indicate of what such a shared theory consists, and thus remains a
few steps removed from explaining how interpretation works. Matthiessen's focus on Theme as an
enabling resource might bring this comprehension closer: the structure of a passing theory might well
be interpreted as a constellation of thematic choices and interpretations, among other devices
Matthiessen states that the selection of Themes contributes heavily to the development of such a
temporary theory of interpretation, and he assigns a role for thematic elements of all three
metafunctions. First, the sequence of the experiential content of Themes is significant: 'an instantial
ideational system might include lexical taxonomies built up in the course of a factual report; or it might
include activity sequences built up in the course of a procedural text.' (Matthiessen 1995: 23). Much
more important, however, are the textual aspects of Theme:

we can see that through THEME the textual metafunction gives value to some term (node) in the instantial system
as the current point of expansion of growth. From the listener's point of view, this is the node which s/he can take
as the point of departure in building up the instantial system, clause by clause: it is the point of integration of the
clause as a message of logogenetic growthpoint. The selection of Theme thus enables the process of interpretation
by guiding the listener to a particular node in the instantial network, making it unnecessary for him/her to search the
whole network. At the same time, it is also the speaker's angle on the message; it is the point in the instantaneous network s/he departs from in expanding the network. (Mathiessen 1995: 27).

Thus, the Themes of clauses in a text are some kind of anchoring points that structure the overall interpretation, and which are certainly shared by the 'passing theories' of speaker and listener. Mathiessen (1995: 40-42) also assigns a function to interpersonal thematic elements, stating that they often indicate a kind of shift between objective information and information that should be considered from the angle of the speaker. All elements of Theme thus play a crucial role in both the building up of a text by a speaker and the interpretation of it by a hearer in the way the speaker intended to be interpreted.

Consequences of this viewpoint are that one can suspect a conscious orientation of speakers and writers to selecting exactly those Themes that will lead to a certain interpretation, and that choosing the right Themes can be considered an important part of successful communication. Although Fries (1995b) does not make the link to an umbrella theory of communicative interpretation, he makes a similar statement about the importance of Theme selection:

If the function of Theme is one of orienting readers and listeners to what is about to come, the effective use of thematic content necessarily involves considering and manipulating readers' and listeners' expectations. That is, writers and speakers must consider what their readers and listeners are likely to expect at any given point, and then use the thematic content of their messages to influence these expectancies.

2.5 Theme in different languages

It is difficult to determine to what extent Halliday intended his Systemic Functional Grammar, and especially his theory of Theme, to be a universal theory. In his Introduction to Functional Grammar, he certainly concentrates mainly, if not only, on English, but he points to the possibility of universality,

but such universality has to be built into the theory at a very abstract level: the categories in question are not so much 'universal' (which suggests descriptive features that happen to occur in all languages) as 'general', inherent properties of language as a semiotic system. (1994: xxxiv)

For the category of Theme, he accepts the possibility that certain languages do not organise clauses as a combination of Theme and Rheme, and even more is he aware that Theme is not realised by clause-initial position in all existing languages. He points to certain languages in which other elements indicate Theme. In Japanese, for example, the boundary of Theme is marked morphologically: a postpositioned element –wa or –ga is added to the topical theme. However, he stresses that in English, and in any given language in which the message is realised as a Theme-Rheme structure that is expressed by the sequence of elements in the clause 'it should be natural that the position for Theme should be at the beginning, rather than at the end or at some other specific point'. (1994: 39).
A confrontation of this statement with the situation in the languages in question seems necessary. In addition, the position of the notion of Theme would gain universal quality if it was found out how different languages relate to the properties that Halliday attributes to thematic structure. Moreover, the study of Theme in different languages might not only offer benefits for the concept of Theme, but also for translations in general. Chapter 2.4. suggested that successful communication should include a successful selection of Themes, and a similar statement could be made about successful translations. If a translation wants to present the same argumentation as its original, it might be a necessary condition to preserve its thematic selections. Eija Ventola, in studying English and German originals and translations, comments upon different choices in Theme structure by stating that

the readers are forced to focus on different things – orientation to ‘the starting-point’ in the forthcoming text is different. In spite of the change of focus, the texts appear to function relatively well as parts of a text, although we can argue that they are not saying the same thing. But as soon as we start focusing on the text as text, not just as parts of text, it is obvious what the different choices in Theme-Rheme structure can do to the texts in terms of shifting the orientation and the focus or the reader. (Ventola 1995: 88)

Indeed, an original and a translated clause with a different Theme can be as successful, but when one considers the importance of Theme in the construction of an interpretation, one must conclude that small differences might have bigger consequences for the text as a whole. Of course, Theme preservation sometimes leads to clumsy constructions, or even to combinations that are essentially wrong in a specific language, and the difficult task for the translator is then to find the balance between fluency of language and preservation of argumentation. In this, the linguistic study of Theme in different languages could be helpful, as for instance Ventola points out, stating that linguistics has already developed ‘many ‘potential aids’ to offer to translators, but translation theorists have been slow to utilize the tools offered by the linguists. ‘ (1995: 102-103)

Several linguists have applied the Hallidayan thematic framework to languages other than English. Some have tried to establish a Theme system for one specific language, like Steiner and Ramm (1995) for German; others have compared the realisation of Theme in English with those in other languages, like Hasselgård (1996, 1997, 2004) for Norwegian, Altenberg (1998) for Swedish and Arús (2006) for Spanish. These studies often raise questions about, or add aspects to the notion of theme. Although they comment upon it at specific points, many studies concerning different languages offer support for Halliday’s framework. In his paper ‘Theme across languages’ (2001) David Rose opens by showing how Halliday’s multifunctional sequence within multiple Themes is at work in a wide variety of languages. According to Halliday (1994: 53), the typical ordering is textual\interpersonal\experiential, and only the experiential theme is obligatory. This is shown to be the case in French as well as in Vietnamese, Tagalog and Pitjantjatjara (Rose 2001: 113). Many languages also distinguish between marked and unmarked themes. However, Rose states that
It should be noted that there are many important exceptions to some of these general patterns. For example, interpersonal elements often come last in Chinese and Japanese, and in Korean conjunctions may come last in a preceding clause rather than first in a following clause. However, the type of sequencing illustrated above appears to be a common principle for resolving metafunctional pressures for thematisation. (2001: 115)

Rose also explores the demarcation of Theme in the clause. Halliday already signalled that ‘the Theme of a clause is frequently marked off in speech by intonation, being spoken on as a separate tone group’ (1994:39). Rose confronts this possibility of intonational demarcation with Pitjantjatjara, in which ‘the extent of the Theme can be indicated rhythmically by the end of the last foot of the Theme, so including clitic elements that follow a salient topical Theme’ (2001: 125). In a comparable way, Rose states that English Subjects can be rhythmically included in the Theme when they follow a circumstantial element.

In addition to this, he signals that in certain languages, for example Scots Gaelic, circumstantial elements precede participant elements in nearly every clause. As a result, it is very difficult to show how the text is developing when the experiential Theme is limited to the first experiential element, i.e. these circumstantial adjuncts. This is the reason why he suggests, as mentioned before in section 2.3 that, in certain languages, the Theme should extend to (and include) the first participant element in the clause.

Studies that look at the notion of Theme from the perspective of languages other than English often add new aspects as a result of the way in which Theme interacts with other, structural principles that govern these languages. One of these principles is the previously mentioned V2 – constraint, which urges linguists to adjust the extent of Theme to fit these particular languages. Steiner and Ramm (1995: 74) for instance state for multiple Themes in German that ‘it appears that they can never have all three experiential, interpersonal and textual’. In German clauses like (1) and (2), they consider only the initial interpersonal or textual elements to be thematical, as those appear before the verb, and thus these clauses have no experiential Theme. The English equivalents have multiple Themes, including an experiential component.

(1) Vielleicht habt ihr das Problem bald gelöst.
(Maybe you will have solved the problem soon.
(2) Und deshalb habe ich ihn nicht eingeladen.
(And therefore I didn't invite him.)

Another example can be found in Arús (2006), who considers the fact that pronominal Subjects are often unexpressed in Spanish and the consequences this has for thematic structure. He claims that the Process rather than the elliptical Subject should be considered thematic:

The information which the Subject pronoun conveys when it is realized is in fact present through the verbal inflection. […] Therefore, by thematizing the Process we are in a way doing likewise with the Subject, present in the inflection, resulting in a contribution to the method of development similar of what is achieved in English by thematizing the Subject. (2006: 18).
Thus, in (3), the Theme is not the elided Subject of the third person personal pronoun, but the verb which includes this third person aspect.

(3) *decidió fingir su muerte*  
*he decided to fake his death*.

However, it is clear that such a thematized Process results in a meaning structure rather different from that of a sentence with a Subject Theme. Rose (2001), who also offers a theory for languages with clause initial verbs, tries to assign a function to these Process Themes, stating that the Processes are thematized 'in order to present affixed participant identities as 'backgrounded' points of departure for the message.'(2001: 130). Arús, noting that theme tends to coincide with Given both in English and in Spanish, continues that Subjects are dropped in those cases where they are extremely given: in a certain context there is only one possible candidate for the Subject role, and thus it can as well be left out. Arús adds that this accounts also for the occasional occurrences of elided Subjects in English. (2006: 19). Indeed, Subject Themes are only elided when the same Subject is present in the previous clause, as in (4). However, the cases of Theme ellipsis in the material are not always as clear, for instance when the previous sentence has a Circumstance Theme as in (5). Section 3.2.6 will elaborate on this aspect.

(4) *He went to the attic and discovered her secret.*

(5) *That same evening he went to the attic and discovered her secret.*

While comparative studies of Theme in general have proven to be useful, there still remains a lot of empty space. This paper intends to fill a fragment of that space, as the thematic structure of Dutch has not been studied before. As Dutch texts will be treated in comparison with English equivalent, this study also hopes to offer useful information for translations between these languages.
3. Analysis of Theme in original and translated fiction texts in English and Dutch: Grammatical functions

3.1. The material

The study is based on the analysis of a number of sentence pairs consisting of an English or Dutch source text sentence and its Dutch or English translation into the other language. This material was taken from ten different novels, five originally written in English and five in Dutch, which were not chosen for any specific reasons. The overall number of Dutch novels translated in English presently available is of course limited, which leads to a slightly less random selection. Each text is written by a different author and, except for two originally Dutch texts, translated by a different translator.

From each of these novels, all the independent clauses or clause complexes from the first ten to fifteen pages were taken for analysis, depending on the font of the text and the number of clauses on a page, so that each text has a more or less equal share in the material. This results in approximately 5000 sentence pairs. A number of sentence pairs is incomplete, when a sentence is not translated or translated as a sentence part or a dependent sentence. In example (1), for instance, the English original has two clauses in this sentence, but the Dutch translation has only one, as it combines the meanings of both clauses.

(1)  He walked through the yard, his shoes crunching gravel, and headed for the main gate.
    Hij liep met knerpende voeten over het voorterrein op de hoofdpoort af.

In these cases the original sentences are included in the analysis, while the translations are not. As a result the number of analysed units of an original text may not correspond with the number of translated sentences.

Each sentence pair is analysed according to the thematic framework of Halliday: the experiential Theme is studied for its syntactic function and for its transitivity role, and the interpersonal and textual Themes are identified. The nature of the material allows us to consider it from different angles. The primary concern is with the differences and similarities in English and Dutch tendencies for Theme selection, especially in the isolated texts independent of their status as original or translated texts. In addition, the preservation or change of specific Themes in translation is studied. Next to this, it is also possible to compare original texts with translated ones within one language. The influence of the thematic choices of the source texts on the translated text can thus be measured.
The method for this analysis is broadly based on the method of Hasselgård (1997,1998), who describes the Thematic structure of Norwegian compared to English. First the occurrence of the different functional categories from traditional grammar in thematic position will be studied (3.2, 3.3), afterwards the material will be explored by means of Halliday’s categories of Participants, Processes and Circumstances. (3.4). Section 3.5, finally, will look at textual and interpersonal Themes.

The material seems large enough to obtain a picture of the most important tendencies in original and translated English and Dutch, and to draw valuable conclusions. However, it is important to keep in mind certain limitations. Several scholars, for example, have pointed to the relationship of Theme choice and Genre, for instance Whittaker (1995) and Fries (1995). One should therefore bear in mind that the conclusions drawn from this material may only concern fictional or literary texts, and that a comparable study of other genres might lay bare slightly different tendencies. Also, the study makes certain observations that refer only to a very small part of the material. It is unclear whether these observations correspond to reality, and further research is certainly necessary to reach conclusions on these points.

### 3.2. The experiential Theme: grammatical functions

Table 1 shows how the Themes in the material are distributed over the different functional categories of traditional grammar. The results of the analysis certainly show differences between English and Dutch in the absolute and relative occurrence of the different kinds of thematic structures. However, as will be demonstrated by examples containing different kinds of Themes, English and Dutch seem to have broadly the same possibilities for certain grammatical functions to be put in initial position, and the differences primarily lie in the frequency of certain elements in thematic position.

In this overview, as well as further in this chapter, the label ‘Subject’ refers not only to sentences with the Subject simply in initial position, but also to those in which the Predicator precedes the Subject, which means that in those cases I consider both elements together as experiential Theme, and as being equal to an ordinary Subject Theme. I chose to do this because of the structural specificity in Dutch that only one element can be placed before the Predicator. The result of the Verb-Second constraint is that certain textual and interpersonal Themes dispel the Subject from clause initial position, for example in these sentences:

1. Maybe he was afraid he'd have said it all, (BD E: 20)
   Misschien was hij bang dat hij dan alles gezegd zou hebben, (BD D: 28)
2. Eigenlijk heb je alles wat je bezit te danken aan je fantasie. (MU D: 16)
   In fact you owe everything you have to your imagination. (MU E: 16)
In (1) a Modal Adjunct of probability appearing as an interpersonal Theme causes inversion, in (2) a verifactive Conjunctive Adjunct as textual Theme. If the label ‘Subject’ were to include sentences like these, Dutch would be shown to have considerably fewer Subject Themes. This would give a misleading picture, especially for the translated texts, as the translators were presumably concerned with preserving the prominence of the textual and interpersonal elements, rather than with excluding the Subject from the Theme. The best option, in my opinion, is thus to always include the Subject in the Theme. Some scholars, however, take other analytical choices when confronted with a similar problem. For her analysis of Norwegian, for instance, Hasselgård (2004) includes the Subject only in a part of the obligatory inverted clauses:

For the purpose of the present study I have furthermore avoided the problem of redefining topical Theme in Norwegian sentences with obligatory S-V inversion following a non-circumstantial adjunct, assuming that the finite, lexical verb is the topical Theme. (...) In cases of obligatory inversion where the finite is not conflated with the predicator (lexical verb) the finite auxiliary, being non-referential, is regarded as part of the (multiple) Theme, in line with Halliday’s treatment of operators in interrogative clauses (1994: 46). (2004: 191)

Hasselgård takes the Subject of an inversed clause as the experiential Theme when it is preceded by an auxiliary, as in (2), presumably assigning the status of interpersonal Theme to the auxiliary. She draws a parallel with the status of auxiliaries in interrogative clauses in Halliday (1994: 46). In inversed clauses with a lexical verb preceding the Subject, as in (1) above, she analyses this verb as the experiential Theme.

Although this treatment was certainly suitable for Hasselgård’s purpose, and might be equally suitable for mine, I do not choose to adopt it, because I think it does not reflect linguistic reality. In the first place, I do not support the link with interrogative clauses, as verbs in these clauses are fronted as a means of establishing the choice between an affirmative or a negative answer. In the second place, the thematic choices in inversed clauses are positive choices in favour of the interpersonal and textual elements, and not negative choices against the Subject. Inversion is an important phenomenon in the universe of Theme, but it should by no means be seen as a way of deliberately fronting the Verb as an experiential Theme. To me it seems that in languages that have inversion after certain interpersonal and textual Themes, this inversion is a means of splitting a rather heavy Theme in two parts, so that it would be easier to process all the thematic information. For me, the Verb is thematic, but merely as a bridge to the thematic Subject.

This new view needs profound research and consideration to be integrated in the system of Theme. The question of a meaning attribution of lexical verbs to the inverted Theme, for instance, could be an argument not to adopt this view. In this thesis, however, it will remain a theoretical notion in the
background. For the analysis, it simply means that Subject Themes and inverted Verb-Subject Themes are treated equally, and are counted together under the label of Subject Theme.

The label ‘Complement’ groups both Complements to the Subject and Object as Direct, Indirect and Prepositional Objects. With regard to the numbers of both Complements and Adjuncts, one should take into account that WH-interrogatives are included and that therefore the results may be slightly misleading.

Table 1: Grammatical function of experiential themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E orig</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>D trans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>73,0</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>59,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>10,2</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>18,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subclause (Circumstantial)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3,9</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>5,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb (imperative)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2,2</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme ellipsis</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>5,2</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>8,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential Theme</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposed Theme</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicated Theme</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2723</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2454</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that the differences are greatest between the English original and the Dutch original texts. The numbers for the translated texts are most often in between those two extremes. This hints at a rather strong influence of the source language on the translated texts, and thus at a relatively great preservation of the thematic progression. The English original texts, for instance, have thirteen percent more Subjects in thematic position than the Dutch originals, but the English translations have slightly less Subject Themes than the Dutch ones. As a result, the differences are smaller when the original and translated sentences are taken together:
Table 2: Grammatical function of experiential themes (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>3583</td>
<td>70,7</td>
<td>3307</td>
<td>64,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>11,5</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>15,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subclause</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>4,6</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>4,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compl</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipsis</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>6,6</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>7,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preposed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicated</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>5071</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>5119</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, the material shows that Dutch has fewer Subject Themes and more Adjunct Themes than English. While both languages have few Complement Themes, it is striking that Dutch has more than twice as many of these Themes as English has. The numbers for Subclauses, Verbs, Existential Themes and Preposed Themes are very similar. Predicated Themes, ‘internal predications of the form it + be + …, as in ‘it’s love that makes the world go round’ (Halliday 1994: 58), which are sometimes called ‘cleft sentences in traditional grammar, seem to be more common in English than in Dutch.

These broad lines can be compared with the broad lines in the results of Hasselgård’s (2004) study on English and Norwegian original and translated texts, as the method and the material are rather similar. Hasselgård, too, finds that English has a higher frequency of Subjects in clause-initial position. However, the percentages for both English and Norwegian are considerably lower than those for English and Dutch in the present study. Further on, her material shows a difference between original and translated texts comparable to the present one. Adjuncts as Themes, then, are more frequent in Norwegian than in English, while both languages in Hasselgård show much higher frequencies for Adjuncts in clause-initial position than the percentages shown here. Hasselgård’s results also differ from the present ones in that the difference between Norwegian and English in frequency of Adjunct Themes disappears when the translations are taken into account. In my material, this difference remains clearly visible. It seems that the way in which Dutch differs from English shows both differences and similarities with the way in which Norwegian differs. I will refer to some more detailed conclusions of Hasselgård’s article later on (for instance in sections 3.2.1,3.2.5 and 5.1)

The following subdivisions of this section treat all the occurring experiential thematic structures in detail, and compare their realisations in English and Dutch. Afterwards, section 3.3 will look at preservation and change of these experiential Themes.
3.2.1. Subject as Theme

Halliday (1994) identified the Subject as the only unmarked choice for the Theme in a declarative clause: ‘the Subject is the element that is chosen as Theme unless there is good reason for choosing something else’. (1994: 43) The present results confirm this statement by a very high frequency of Subject Themes in the English texts, and in addition they suggest that the same is true for Dutch. Subject Themes are the largest category of Themes in both languages in the material. Some attention should be given to the nature of the Subject Themes, because they do not form a completely homogeneous group. It can be questioned whether the nature of the Subject Themes is of great importance for the aspect of Theme. Halliday seems to suggest it is, as he states that the choosing of a Subject is informed by the choosing of the Theme. He says that

if a speaker wants to make [an element] his Theme, and to do so without the added implication of contrast that would be present if he made it a marked Theme, he will choose an option with [that element] as Subject. (Halliday 1994: 77)

Earlier, in section 2.4, it was already stated that a speaker or writer consciously selects certain elements for Themes, deliberately constructing his/her text in a certain way, so that the interpretation of the reader or listener would be guided along the same basic points. Halliday in fact suggests that this view should be extended to the functions of the elements in a clause: whether a certain element appears as an unmarked or as a marked Theme influences its position in the general text, and thus speakers make elements Subject so that they would be unmarked Themes. The characteristics of the Subject Themes might well be of some importance.

Generally, Subjects are pronouns or noun phrases. The former are the most frequent, a point which is also discussed by Halliday:

The Subject, when it first appears, may be any nominal group. If it is a personal pronoun it is simply repeated each time. If it is anything else, then after the first occurrence it is replaced by the personal pronoun corresponding to it. (Halliday 1994: 72)

This explanation says in fact that Subjects representing New information can be both nominal and pronominal, and that Given Subjects are always pronominal. While this statement should not be taken as a strict rule, as matters of style may intervene, certainly in literary texts, it seems as acceptable for Dutch as for English. However, the results clearly show a less prominent majority of pronominal Subject Themes in the original Dutch texts, as can be seen in Table 3:

It should be noted that Verb+Subject-Themes are included, those who appear in yes-no- interrogatives as well as in inversed declarative clauses, and that the group of Subject Pronouns includes a small number of WH-relative Subjects, which are thematic in WH-interrogatives.
Table 3: Formal categorisation of Subject Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>E orig</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>D trans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>1448</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Noun Phrase</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>32,3</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>37,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Pronoun</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>67,0</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>61,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Clause</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not clear whether the greater prominence of Subject Pronoun Themes in English is the result of a structural difference. I presume it is not, as for this aspect the translations follow the originals very closely. Also, there is a lot of variation between the different authors, and the proportions of the different kinds of Subject seem to be an aspect of style. An indication to the contrary could be that the ranges of percentages for the different texts display a variation similar to that of the average: for the English texts between 24,0 and 40,1 percent of Noun Phrase Subjects, for the Dutch between 30,6 and 45,1 percent. I am not able to indicate where exactly this variation is situated, as this asks for profound research of literary language.

Apart from the two major types of Subject Themes, nominal and pronominal, the table also includes a small group that is labelled ‘Subject Clause Themes’. It consists of several kinds of subordinated clauses. In The Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language, these types are all part of a category called nominal clauses. (Quirk et al.1985: 1048). The Dutch Grammar Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst (Geerts 1984: 824-827) distinguishes between infinitive constructions and Subject Clauses. The following examples illustrate the different types present in the material:

(3) To ride in the forests is one of His Majesty’s chief delights. (TR E: 14)
Paardrijden in de bossen is een van ’s Konings liefste bezigheden. (TR D: 22)

(4) Crying would have been the best thing to do. (EL E: 9)
Huilen zou het beste geweest zijn. (EL D: 450)

The English clauses in (3) and (4) are examples of the nominal to-infinitive and nominal ing-clause. If they correspond with a Clause as Subject Theme in the Dutch translation, this is always a infinitive construction. In English and in Dutch, clauses with such a Theme always have a copular verb (a relational process). The reason for the thematisation of these nominal Subject clauses seems to be that it permits a Verb to be the unmarked Theme. When the nominal clause appears only in the translation, other reasons sometimes seem to inform this kind of Subject Theme choice, for example the wish to
preserve the content of Subject and Theme as much as possible when a literal translation of an idiosyncratic noun phrase would seem strange:

(5)  *Dat 'journal parlé' neemt het grootste gedeelte van de avond in beslag* (EL D: 454)
*Going through the 'agenda items' takes up the greater part of the evening* (EL E: 18)

In other cases, the verbal character of the Subject/Theme disappears in the translation. The reason appears to be that the thematisation of a nominal clause of these types is no longer unmarked in combination with other, structural or semantic characteristics of the sentence. Nominal clauses in the Theme disappear in the translation from English to Dutch for instance when the Subject Theme carries an aspect of causation with it, as in (6). This kind of change is not exactly regular, but there are several occurrences.

(6)  *Flying makes a man a god,* (I E: 8)
*Een mens wordt als hij vliegt een god.* (I D: 11)
*(Vliegen maakt een man een God)*

In Dutch, a characteristic of the infinitive construction is that it can be further nominalised so that it becomes a real nominal group. This happens in a few cases in the material, and then thematized Subject Clauses of course also disappear in the translation:

(7)  *Preparing for and attending weddings had become the number-one pastime in the land.*
*Het geven en bezoeken van bruiloften was hét nationale tijdverdrijf geworden.*

Sentences (8) and (9) are examples of nominal relative clauses. These are self-contained relative clauses in which the antecedent is included in the wh – element. Halliday (1994: 40) assigns a special label to nominal relative clauses of the type of (8): the construction in which these clauses are the Subject/Theme of an identifying process, he calls ‘thematic equative’. Halliday states that ‘its function is to express the Theme-Rheme structure in such a way as to allow for the Theme to consist of any subset of elements of the clause’. (8) can be reformulated, with a more normal construction, as ‘*het gaat om de fantastische fantasie waarmee het geschreven is*’. The actual construction thematizes the verb of this clause together with the Subject, and links this complex Theme to the Rheme through a relational process. Other relative clauses, like (9), function to thematize an unspecified entity with a certain characteristic.

(8)  *Waar het om gaat is de fantastische fantasie, waarmee het geschreven is.* (MU D: 8)
What matters is the fantastic fantasy with which it is written. (MU E: 8)

(9) Wat bevroren was, moest worden geamputeerd om de oprukkende gifstoffen van het hart weg te houden. (VH D: 12)

What was frozen had to be amputated, to keep the toxins from reaching the heart. (VH E: 6)

(10) That the trumpeting disturbed the whole household counted for nothing with Duchess Elizabeth.

(TR E: 17)

Dat het getrompetter het hele huishouden verstoorde, was niet van belang voor hertogin Elizabeth. (TR E: 25)

The final type, illustrated in (10), is that of subordinate declarative clauses as Subject/Theme. This construction is used to thematise a complete fact or situation, and the Rheme in these cases formulates an attitude towards or a reaction to that fact.

It should be noted that in all these cases, according to Halliday, the Theme is unmarked, because it is equal to an ordinary Subject Theme. However, I would propose to change the extent of markedness in this area. An unmarked Theme is a Theme that draws no special attention, while these Themes, certainly those of the last type, clearly look special to the language user and therefore draw additional attention to the thematized content. The speaker or writer uses these constructions exactly in order to create this effect; it could be said that he selects a ‘marked Subject’ as Theme. So these types of Theme, even if they are part of the category of typically unmarked Subject Themes, should be considered marked in their own way. In some cases, for instance in (10), an unmarked thematic construction can be created by choosing a provisional Subject *it/het* as Theme (‘It counted for nothing with Duchess Elizabeth that the trumpeting…’). In other cases, like in (8), a Theme predication would be an unmarked alternative (‘It is the fantastic fantasy with which it is written that matters.’)

3.2.2. Adjuncts as Theme

The second most frequent function in thematic position in the material for both languages is that of Adjuncts, although the results show a considerable difference between English and Dutch in their frequency. The Dutch original material counts nearly ten percent more of them than the English original. For the translations, the results show a strong influence of the source texts, as the English translation contains slightly more thematic Adjuncts than the Dutch one, while the numbers for both translations lie close to the average of the numbers for the originals. When the Adjuncts are studied for their formal characteristics, it becomes clear that the general differences in frequency vary quite strongly according to certain formal categories. Table 4 distinguishes between Prepositional Phrases, Subclauses, Adverbal Phrases, Noun Phrases and WH-phrases as thematic Adjuncts, which are approximately all
the possible realisations for Adverbials that are summed up in the *Comprehensive grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985: 489). All existing types of Adjuncts can thus be made thematic. Note that the circumstantial Subclauses were counted separately in Tables 1 and 2, but are treated as Adjuncts here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E orig</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D trans</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prepositional</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>33,2</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>34,5</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>37,0</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>32,2</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>35,2</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subclause</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>28,3</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>23,4</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>31,2</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>26,1</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>29,6</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>23,3</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>32,7</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>20,6</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>30,0</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>22,0</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6,3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7,2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>6,9</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8,9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2,8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4,0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7,3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6,3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>1049</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Formal categories for thematic Adjuncts

When the original material for the two languages is compared, the absolute numbers in all formal categories are clearly lower for the English texts, except for the number for Wh-Adjuncts. This number, however, is irrelevant in this context, as it points only to a different number of questions asking for circumstantial information, which is a factor dependent on the content and style of a particular text and not on any structural characteristics of a language. For the other formal categories, the extent of the difference between the absolute numbers varies. It is rather small for the Subclause Adjuncts and the Noun Phrase Adjuncts, and the Dutch translation has even fewer Adjunct Themes of this former type than its English original. There is a slightly greater gap for the Prepositional Phrases, but the real difference lies with thematic Adverbial Adjuncts: the English original texts contain only half as many Adverbial Adjuncts as Themes as the Dutch ones, which results in relative numbers that differ with ten percent. As for the translations, the English texts have fewer occurrences than the Dutch originals in each of the categories, but only strikingly less for the Adverbial Phrases. The Dutch translation has more occurrences than its original in all groups except for the Noun Phrases, but here too the most prominent difference is seen in the category of Adverbial Adjunct Themes. I will briefly discuss each of the groups separately, while at the same time trying to explain the variation.

The group of Prepositional Adjunct Themes is the most straightforward: all functional kinds of Adjuncts (frequent types like Adjuncts of Place, Time and Manner as well as rather infrequent ones like Adjuncts of Goal and Comparison) appear in this form, and both languages have broadly the same tendencies and possibilities. In the majority of the cases in which a clause in one of the languages has a Prepositional Adjunct Theme, the equivalent clause has one too, as in (11). Adjuncts of Angle, Role,
Opposition and Comparison (categories established by Halliday 1994: 149-158) can only be prepositional.

(11) At the fatal moment either Sam was on top of her or she was on top of Sam. (S E: 7)
Op het moment van zijn dood lag Sam boven op haar of zij op hem. (S D: 14)

However, there are certain constructions, for instance temporal ones, in which the translations systemically change prepositional phrases to noun phrases and the other way round. One is the indication of an indefinite day or night. In English, this is constructed by a noun phrase with the determiner one (12, 13), in Dutch by a prepositional phrase with the preposition Op and a determinator een. In both cases, the equivalent construction is sounds strange or is simply impossible in the other language:

(12) Op een nacht werden we gewekt door het lawaai van de mensen op straat. (VH D: 14)
One night we woke up to the clamor of people in the street. (VH E: 8)
(\(?\) On a night we woke up…)
(13) One day, in the town of Odense, the royal party visited a button maker. (TR E: 21)
Op een dag bezocht het Koninklijk Gezelschap in de stad Odense een knopenmaker. (TR D: 29)
(\(^*\)Eén dag bezocht het Koninklijk Gezelschap…)

These different constructions, however, do not really influence the results for Prepositional and Noun Phrase Adjuncts, or rather, the influence is cancelled out by an equally frequent pair of constructions that are always changed in the other direction. To indicate a moment of day (15) or a season (14) as a general indication, Dutch most often uses an old genitive form, so a Noun Phrase. It is of course impossible to translate it as such, so the corresponding English sentences always have a prepositional Adjunct Theme. In addition, while a prepositional phrase is possible in Dutch in these cases, the translations mostly use the genitive Noun Phrase.

(14) in the summer they would gather at lunchtime on a patch of waste ground next to the factory, chattering among themselves, playing desultory games which sometimes appeared to be a kind of cricket and sometimes a kind of football. (BN E: 13)
’s zomers verzamelden ze zich in de lunchpauze op een stuk braak liggend land naast de fabriek, druk praten, (BN D: 16)
(In de zomer verzamelden ze zich in de lunchpauze…)
(15) ‘s Nachts sliep ik met mijn buit onder mijn kussen. (VH D: 23)
At night I slept with the loot under my pillow, (VH E: 17)
These two constructions make out an important part of the Nominal Adjunct group. Moreover, in both languages only thematic Adjuncts of Time appear as nominal phrases, except for special clauses like (16), with a thematic Adjunct of Manner, which seem to be prepositional phrases that have lost their preposition.

(16) Prize in hand, momentarily deaf in one ear, he made a speedy return to base. ([E: 14])

The frequency of Subclauses as Adjunct Themes is very similar in the two languages. Most often, the thematized Subclauses in this category are finite clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction (17). Subclauses of Goal are an exception to this general pattern, as in the material they always appear as nominal clauses, more specifically to-infinitive clauses in English and om-te-infinitive clauses in Dutch (18). The Subclause Themes are most often preserved in the translation, though within the Adjunct category they are sometimes changed into a prepositional phrase with a comparable content. However, this is a change happening randomly and in both directions.

(17) If I’m to blame, then so are you. ([E: 23])
    Als het mijn schuld is, dan is het ook jouw schuld. ([D: 33])
(18) To calm his incessant talking he was given red and black chalks, ([RE: 19])
    Om zijn onophoudelijk praten in te tomen kreeg hij rood en zwart krijt ([RD: 27])

The group of adverb phrases as Adjunct Themes consist of different subgroups. First, there are phrases with closed-class Adverbs as a head, for instance here/hier, sometimes/soms. For the Dutch material, this group also contains a number of prepositional adverbs. They are in fact special transformations of prepositional phrases: they combine a closed-class adverb and a preposition in one word, for instance daarom or hiertoe. In the English equivalent clauses, these Adjunct Themes most often disappear, or they match with a prepositional phrase. Secondly, the head of many adverb phrases is an adverbially used adjective (19). Thirdly, there are sentences in which the head of the Adjunct Theme is a present or a past participle. These are in fact the adjectival derives of verbs, in these cases used adverbially. Adverbial Adjunct Themes of this second and third group are approximately as frequent in both languages, and are usually preserved.

(19) Stil zaten we aan haar voeten ([HD: 21])
    Silently we sat at her feet, watching her eyes turn white. ([HE: 15])
(20) Kriskras neergezet in die tuin voerden de lijken de choreografie op van de dood. ([HD: 13])
    Zigzagging across the churchyard, the corpses danced choreography of death. ([HE: 7])
The big difference between English and Dutch in the frequency of the Adverb Adjunct Themes is mostly the result of the difference in the first category. Dutch clearly takes more small adverbs such as *hier*, *ooit*, *even*, *nu* as Themes, both on their own and combined in a prepositional adverb. In a considerable number of the English equivalent sentences, these appear further in the clause, as in (21) or disappear as the content of the original appears in quite different wordings, as in (22).

(21) *Hierbij doop ik ze wisteen en ringteen.* (MU D: 1)
*I hereby dub them the index toe and the ring toe.* (MU E: 1)

(22) *maar daarom zou ik het nog niet gedaan hebben, hoor.* (EL D: 459)
*but that doesn't mean that I would have done it.* (EL E: 27)

I also consider the word *zo* to be part of this more frequently thematized group. It is true that *zo* is very similar to the English *so*, which is also often found clause-initial, but which is then considered to be part of the textual Theme. However, *zo* is in nearly all of the cases not a textual element, but an experiential Adjunct of Manner. Certain tendencies in the material confirm this, for example the fact that *zo* is a few times added in the translation of a marked thematic equative which contains a wh-part with a meaning of Manner, and the other way round (23,24). In these cases, the element ‘*zo*’ clearly takes over the aspect of manner from the *how*. Also, hardly any English continuative *so* is preserved as an adverb *zo* in Dutch, and when it is preserved, it seems to be more central to the message of the sentence in Dutch, despite the construction that is influenced by the English one (25).

(23) *This was how he threatened me when I went my own proud, penniless war, years ago - as if money were a penalty, an inescapable second-best.* (S E: 9)
*Zo bedreigde hij me toen ik mijn eigen trotse, bezitloze weg ging, jaren geleden - alsof geld een straf was, iets minderwaardigs waar niet aan te ontkomen viel.* (S D: 17)

(24) *That was how she reminded me of my own failed ambitions to write.* (VDJ E: 2)
*Zo herinnerde ze me aan mijn eigen, gefruite schrijfambities.* (VDJ D: 3)

(25) *and so to the great store of chatter housed in his small flame was added yet another topic of conversation: discussion of his drawings.* (TR E: 19)
*en zo werd het grote kwebbelgehalte van zijn kleine lijf aangevuld met nog een gespreksthema: praten over zijn tekeningen.* (TR E: 27)

However, in cases like (25), the impression of *zo* possessing more experiential content than the English *so* might be misleadingly influenced by the Dutch inversion: standing alone before the verb, it seems to have more weight, but is it therefore the experiential Theme? A possible approach would be that there are two types of *zo* in thematic position, one originally Dutch in the experiential Theme, and one influenced by the English in the textual Theme. As it is very difficult to define such fixed categories while
in fact we have to do with a continuum of more or less experiential adverbs zo, I choose to assign them all with experiential status.

Apart from those changes from Adverb Adjunct Themes to Prepositional ones that are not really necessary, there also seem to be quite a few adverbs in Dutch, for instance tegenwoordig, voortaan, onderweg, the content of which can only be expressed by a prepositional phrase.

Some Adjunct Themes, mostly English ones, combine more than one formal type within one functional domain, mainly within the two most common functional types of Adjuncts, of Place and of Time. Both elements can be an adverbial or a prepositional phrase, but only the second (part of the) Adjunct is sometimes a Subclause. As both parts situate the starting point of the message in the same way, in Place or in Time, the whole should be considered as being one thematic element. Besides, this is justified by the relatively frequent Dutch tendency to integrate two English Adjunct Theme parts into one Subclause Theme (27).

(26) Toen, halverwege de twintigste eeuw, was de Tweede Wereldoorlog nog maar net achter de rug; (MU D: 4)
At that time, halfway through the twentieth century, the Second World War was only just over; (MU E: 5)
(27) Yet long ago when my former self refused my stepfather’s offer of a future in plastic, it did so in the conviction that the real stuff of life lay elsewhere. (S E: 7)
Maar toen mijn oude ik lang geleden mijn stiefvaders aanbod van een toekomst in het plastic van de hand wees, deed het dat in de overtuiging dat de essentie van het leven elders te vinden was. (S D: 15)

Another special construction is the inverted Adjunct Theme, which is of course only relevant for Dutch. When certain interpersonal or textual elements are thematic and cause the Experiential Theme to withdraw behind the Verb, this experiential Theme is in almost all cases the Subject of the clause. However, the material also counts two examples of Adjunct Themes that follow the Verb (28, 29). This construction is much more marked than an ordinary Adjunct Construction.

(28) Hoogstens vielen af en toe venijnige ijsnaalden uit de lucht. (VH D: 21)
At best, the odd ice needle fell from the sky. (VH E: 15)
(29) ‘Inspecteur,’ zei direct mijn vriend Van Schoonbeke, die weet dat ingenieur een bepaalde hogeschool, een diploma en te veel technische kennis s insluit om voor mij, bij de eerste convocatie, geen moeilijkheden op te leveren. (EL D: 453)
‘An inspector’ said my friend Van Schoonbeke, knowing that being an engineer involves a particular university, a degree and far too much technical knowledge for it not to cause me problems in my first conversation. (EL E: 17)
There are clearly special reasons for these constructions. (28) might be an eroded existential construction, in which the *er* after the verb has disappeared, and in (29), the Adjunct precedes a Subject which is modified by a long relative clause. Both Adjuncts disappear in the English Translation, not only from the Theme but also from the clause.

To sum up, as a result of the general stronger tendency to front Adjuncts, and of specific phenomena, such as the correspondence of a range of English Predicated Themes with Dutch Adjunct Themes, the Dutch material counts more Adjunct Themes of all kinds. The biggest difference, however, can be seen with the small Adverb Adjuncts in initials position.

### 3.2.3 Complements as Theme

The label ‘Complement Theme’ groups all thematic participant functions other than Subject. Halliday (1994: 44) states that in English, Complements are the most marked type of Theme in a declarative clause. He explains this in the following way:

> This is a nominal element which, being nominal, has the potentiality of being Subject; which has not been selected as Subject; and which nevertheless has been made thematic. Since it could have been Subject, and therefore unmarked Theme, there must be a very good reason for making it a thematic Complement – it is being explicitly foregrounded as the Theme of the clause. (1994:44)

He adds that in this very marked category of Complements, pronouns are the most marked of all.

Table 1 at the beginning of the chapter included certain data for the presence of complements: they counted for 1.5 percent of the English original clauses, 1.1 percent of the English translations and 3.3 percent of Dutch clauses in general. However, this data can be misleading, as WH-elements from interrogatives are included in it. In interrogative clauses, Complement elements are not marked at all. Especially in the English material, these elements count for an important part of the Themes in this category. As a result, the difference between English and Dutch turns out to be bigger when only declarative clauses are considered.

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</table>

*Table 5: Complements as Theme*
Table 5 distinguishes between the different varieties of Complement Themes. The Dutch texts, both the original and the translated ones, count considerably more occurrences in all categories, except for the Indirect Object Themes which are very rare in Dutch too. At first sight, there are no signs of translational influence in any direction.

### 3.2.3.1 Direct Objects

In the results for Complements as Themes, the most striking difference is that the Dutch texts thematize many more Direct Objects. In the discussion of this difference, I will often make reference to the changes that occur in translation, which I have scarcely done in the part about Subject Themes (section 3.2.2), because I think it is highly relevant for these elements to compare the original and the translated clause. When a Complement looses its thematic position in a translation, this is often no matter of choosing between different possibilities, like between a Subject and an Adjunct, but a highly imperative change.

There are only five occurrences of Direct Objects in the English original material, and a strong effect of markedness is created by all of them. The most marked example is (30), a sentence that, according to the Hallidayan framework, would be classified under the category of relational processes.

(30) ‘(He’s seventy-four now) and never a day’s illness has that man had. (BN E: 7)

(Hij is nu vierenzeventig) en die man is in zijn hele leven nog nooit één dag ziek geweest. (BN D: 9)

A result of this markedness is that this is the only sentence pair in which the Direct Object Theme is lost in the Dutch translation. The rest of the set of examples illustrates that, however rare in English, this kind of marked Theme Choice is used both for reasons of continuity as for reasons of contrast. In (31), it is used to link two similar ‘remembered’ aspects when an elaboration on one of them causes a certain separation.

(31) (The night trumpeter was given a new instrument and a new set of instructions. He was not merely to blow if Prince Christian cried in the dark hours, but to play a sprightly melody to chase away the child’s terrors.) *And this*, too, they say that Christian never forgot. (TR E: 18)

(En de nacht-trompetter kreeg een nieuw instrument en een nieuw stel instructies. Hij moest niet zomaar blazen wanneer de Prins huilde in de donkere uren, maar een vrolijk deuntje spelen om de angsten van het kind te verjagen.) *En ook dat*, zegt men, heeft Christiaan nooit vergeten. (TR D: 27)
Besides, the Theme in this case is a raised Direct Object from a projected clause, which is transformed into an ordinary Direct Object in the translation. Such a raising of elements of a lower rank to the Theme of the main clause is not included in Halliday’s theory of Theme, but the phenomenon is mentioned by Steiner and Ramm (1995) as an important aspect in their thematic system for German. They state that constructions with inter-rank conflation are more productive and, probably, more frequent in German (1995: 67) than in English. In the present material, there are very few examples of such raised Themes, and thus the phenomenon will not be explored any further. The translated clause in (31) looses this special construction.

In (32), knitted stockings are opposed to, or maybe put above, knitted bonnets in the preceding sentence by means of the marked thematisation of the element.

(32) (They believed that any knitted night bonnet might contain among its million stitches the longings of their wives that they could never satisfy and which in consequence would give them nightmares of the darkest kind.) The knitted stocking they feared yet more completely as the probable instrument of their own enfeeblement. (TR E: 10)
(Ze geloofden dat zich tussen de miljoenen steken van een gebreide nachtmuts de verlangens van hun vrouwen bevonden die ze nooit zouden kunnen bevredigen en die hun dan ook de vreselijkste nachtmerries zouden bezorgen.) De gebreide kous vreesden ze al helemaal als het vermoedelijke instrument van hun eigen verzwakking. (TR D: 18)

It may be important to mention that, apart from the very marked sentence (30), all examples stem from one single text. In three of the original English texts there is no Direct Object thematization at all. Twice, a Direct Object appears as Theme in the English translations when there is none in Dutch. In the first case, (33), the Dutch wording is rather idiomatic, and a translation with the Subject ‘I’ as Theme would considerably change the meaning of the sentence, from a focus on being sure as the reason to do things to a focus on doing things with the goal to be sure. The second case concerns a proform ‘so’ substituting a Direct Object, an element that can rather easy become Theme, and is not marked at all.

(33) Ik deed alles voor de goede orde, (VDJ D: 6)
Everything I did I did to be sure, (VDJ E: 5)
(I did everything to be sure).

To conclude the summary of the Direct Object Themes in the English material, I should refer to the Dutch ones that are preserved in the translation. There are six such sentence pairs, and strikingly enough they are a selection from the more special, and perhaps the more marked, groups within the larger group of thematized Direct Objects in Dutch. They include the only nominal clause thematized as
a Direct Object (34), the two cases in which only a part of the Direct Object is fronted (which is however normalized to a complete Direct Object Theme in the translation) (35) and the only Dutch occurrence of a thematized Direct Object raised from an elided projected clause (36). In (37), furthermore, the Direct Object consists of a rather special kind of Noun Phrase.

(34)  
Hoe het precies in zijn werk was gegaan wist hij niet meer, (MU D: 5)
Exactly how this meeting had come about he could no longer remember, (MU E: 6)

(35)  
Van filosofen heb ik vooral samenvattingen gelezen. (VDJ D:14)
Most of the philosophers I've read I have read in a gloss. (VDJ E: 14)

(36)  
eigenlijk veel te veel vond ik, (EL D: 452)
far too many really I thought, (EL E: 14)

(37)  
Roos na roos wreef hij fijn boven mama's kist. (VDJ D: 12)
Rose after rose he ground fine over Mama's coffin. (VDJ E: 12)

English translations seem to preserve hardly more than those Direct Object Themes of an exceptional kind. Many others disappear in the translation, as the following observations will show.

The Direct Object Themes in the Dutch material can be subdivided in several groups, according to their formal characteristics and their relations with the surrounding text. The different types will be explained and illustrated later in this section.

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<tr>
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</table>

Table 6: Nature of the Dutch direct Object Themes

A first observation is that the original material counts approximately as many pronominal Direct Objects as Theme as nominal ones, while in the translated material there are predominantly pronominal ones.
This can be explained by the interplay of functional and informational characteristics of elements in the struggle for thematic position. The Subject of course is a more plausible candidate for thematic position than the Direct Object, but Halliday also states that 'other things being equal, a speaker will choose the Theme from within what is Given and locate the focus, the climax of the New, somewhere within the Rheme (1994: 299)."

A New Theme can in a certain context be as marked as a Direct Object Theme. As pronouns hardly ever contain New information, forwarding them in the translation adds only one aspect of markedness. (Besides, I will discuss the degree of markedness of pronominal Direct Objects in thematic position later on in this section.) Noun phrases often contain New Information. Thematizing these in the translation would then add a double effect of markedness that was not present in the original and would often involve a considerable change to the meaning of the clause and of the text of which it is part. Two of the nominal Direct Object Themes in the translations are preservations from the English text. In two other sentences, the Themes merge with an element with which the following passage will be concerned, and which was mentioned a page earlier (38 – I label this repetition) or hinted upon in the preceding passage (39 – I label this reformulation):

(38) *He didn't like the sight of soldiers,* (I E: 10)

_Soldaten_ zag hij liever niet, (I D: 14)

(39) *She never used the word 'suicide'.* (S E: 21)

_Het woord 'zelfmoord' gebruikte ze nooit_ (S D: 31)

The group of nominal Direct Objects can be divided into three subgroups, each with a different relation to the surrounding text. The first group, ‘repetition’, simple repeats an element from earlier in the text (40, 41). In these cases, the message returns to a subject that was mentioned earlier, which is thus only new because it turns up again, to provide new information on it, and the thematization of that subject seems a logical way to present that message. Especially in the context of the text, these constructions seem to be not as marked as Halliday stated they would be. However, the Direct Object Themes disappear in the English translation and are often replaced by the Subject of the original (40), or sometimes by the content of the original Theme in the function of Subject of a slightly changed message, for instance with a relational process instead of a material one (41).

(40) *(Ik vond inderdaad een lucifersdoosje.)*... _Het lucifersdoosje had ik in mijn binnenzak gestopt.*

_I had the match box in my inside pocket._ (VDJ D: 12)

(41) *(Op tafel lag haar zonnebril.)*... _Haar zonnebril en haar tasje liet ze achter op tafel._

_Her sunglasses and handbag were still on the table._ (VDJ D: 9)

39
The group of ‘reformulated’ Direct Object Themes summarize the content of a preceding sentence in one word (42) or name a similar referent with different wordings (43). The noun phrases of these Direct Object types generally include a demonstrative (42) or a universal (43) pronoun. The information in these Direct Object Themes can again be considered as relatively Given information, and the thematic choice does not come across as very special to Dutch language users.

(42) Natuurlijk, de meeste mensen konden geen mooie boeken schrijven, maar die onmacht begreep hij eigenlijk even min als zij zijn eigen talent. (MU D: 6)

(43) ‘Alleen een kwart flesje Elzasser te veel gedronken boven Frankfurt. Elk glas wijn moet ik tegenwoordig betalen met tien minuten extra slaap.’ (MU D: 1)

In the last group, ‘new’, the Direct Object Themes introduce elements that have not been mentioned before. Some Themes make no connections at all with the previous text: before sentence (44), for instance, the protagonist was never said to wear a hat, and in fact it is not clear at all why this element appears as Theme. Sometimes, the thematizing of a completely new element is also a way of introducing a new scene that breaks with what precedes. Sentence (45) introduces a new passage in which serious matters are discussed in the marital bed, some time after the previously described events. These Themes may raise questions when they are introduced, but an explanation follows afterwards. Other ‘new’ Themes name elements that are linked with previous sentences in certain ways: (46) is part of an elaboration about how the death and their possessions are treated. The thematisation highlights a previously unmentioned element of the situation that is described.

(44) Mijn hoed had ik afgenomen, wat anders thuis bij moeder mijn gewoonte niet was. (EL D: 449)

(45) Het echtelijk bed vind ik de meest geschikte plaats voor het bespreken van ernstige aangelegenheden. (EL D: 458)

(46) Hun brillen had ze dichtgevouwen en boven, op zolder, in een lade gelegd. (MO D: 8)

The statement that the thematisation of nominal Direct Objects is more normal in Dutch than it is in English seems valid still, as for this new type too, all occurrences disappear in the translation. However, the ‘new’ Direct Object as Themes have a much stronger effect of drawing special attention, and seem more marked than the ‘repeated’ and the ‘reformulated’ ones. The overall markedness of nominal Direct Object Themes is clearly less extreme in Dutch than in English, but it also varies in line with the connections of the Theme to the context.
According to Halliday, pronominal complements in thematic position are yet more marked than nominal ones (1994: 45). The reason why these should be more marked is not completely clear, as they are nearly always Given, but it might have to do with the fact that they are relatively unstressed. However, in the Dutch material nominal and pronominal Direct Objects are equally present as Themes, so the unstressed character seems to be less important. This difference might be the result of the different positions that English and Dutch Direct Objects take in clauses with a multiple Verb Phrase when they are not thematic: the position of the Direct Object in for instance *I have often told you that* differs fundamentally from that in *Ik heb jou dat dikwijls gezegd*.

English Direct Objects normally come at the end of the clause, after the unified Verb Phrase, and they get a natural secondary stress there. Dutch Direct Objects stand between the two poles of the verb, and they draw much less attention there. To get a similar stress as the English ones, they need to be fronted. This is not only the case in Dutch. Hasselgård makes a similar observation in her comparison of English and Norwegian:

> One type of thematic change in the ‘replacement’ category reflects a difference between Norwegian and English in that Norwegian can have an unstressed object pronoun in initial position, while English cannot (1998: 155).

In the majority of cases, the pronominal Direct Object Themes consist of the demonstrative pronoun *dat*. Occasionally it is *die*, and *zoiets* and *zo iemand* both occur once. They all refer to previously mentioned information, so I divided them according to the nature of the elements they refer to. This does not mean that these are really different kinds of Themes, but it shows how the thematisation of pronominal Direct Objects is widely spread, and how the small elements in the Theme stand for different kinds of larger ones, phrases or clauses. In a first group, the Direct Object Themes are simple substitutions of noun phrases from the previous sentence. They stand for a previously mentioned person (47) or thing (48). The pronouns that are not *dat* are all found in this category. The translated material provides the majority of this type of Themes, but this seems to be merely coincidental.

(47)  (De meeste intellectuelen laten ons in de steek)... *Die* ben je vast in Engeland wel tegengekomen. (I D: 12)

(48)  (In de Eerste Wereldoorlog is hij wegens dapperheid als ordonnans onderscheiden met het ijzeren Kruis eerste klas)... *en dat* is hij altijd blijven dragen. (MU D: 14)

A second category groups Direct Object Themes *dat* which refer to the complete fact that is established in the previous sentence (49).

(49)  *Er groeiden dag in dag uit margrieten op de graven. Dat (= dat er dag in dag uit margrieten op de graven groeiden) vond ze genoeg.* (MO D: 7)
Generally, the pronoun can be replaced by a subordinate equivalent of the previous main clause. The whole of the previous clause is taken as a starting point on which is commented with new information. In (50), the little thematized *dat* refers to the whole range of facts from the preceding monologue. In the third category, the *dat* refers to an action, and can be replaced by the nominal infinitive of the main verb of the previous sentence (combined with objects) (51, 52). Verb and Objects are represented in the Direct Object Theme, while the Subject in the Rheme is the same as the previous Subject. Auxiliaries can also be repeated in the Rheme (51). Thus, the ‘action’ category spreads the previous sentence over Theme and Rheme, while the ‘fact’ category puts it in the Theme as a whole.

(50)  *Dat (= everything you said) heb je toch allemal begrepen door middel van je fantasie.’ (MU D: 15)

(51)  *Er waren mannen die amper tien met tien konden vermenigvuldigen.  *Dat (=tien met tien vermenigvuldigen) konden ze alleen als je de getallen in woorden voor ze uitschreef. (I D: 23)

(52)  *We weten dat hij nooit een concentratiekamp, laat staan een vernietigingskamp heeft bezocht. *Dat (= concentratiekampen bezoeken) liet hij over aan Himmler, de baas van de SS en de politie. (MU D: 14)

In the last group, *dat* is thematized as Direct Object of the communicative verbs *zeggen* and *vragen*. It would also be possible to categorize these clauses with the ‘fact’ Direct Objects. However, they do not refer to the content of the previous sentence, but to the previous sentence as something that is said. *Dat*, therefore, could be replaced by the previous sentence between parentheses, so that the clause would become a reporting clause. (53) Such a paraphrase, however, would not always be fit to replace the original wording, because the second sentence can have another speaker than the first. Most of the examples come from the translated material, and it is striking that all but one translate a sentence of the type ‘that is what x say(s)/ask(s)’. Halliday (1994:41) mentions a more general version of this type (not specified to communicative verbs) as the marked alternative of thematic equatives, with a nominalisation as Rheme. Apparently, there exists a sort of convention to translate English marked thematic equatives with communicative verbs by clauses with Direct Object *dat* Themes.

(53)  *I forget nothing. That's what your Grandfather Rosslea always said. (‘I forget nothing, your Grandfather Rosslea always said) (BN E: 20)


In general, Direct Objects are more easily fronted as Themes in Dutch than they are in English. There is no direct explanation why this is the case, except for the fact that there is certain urge to front pronominal Direct Objects in Dutch as in some case they can get no stress at all in the middle of the
clause. An additional possible explanation might be that the greater ease to make these elements thematic is a result of the verb second-constraint. In the beginning of this chapter, I pointed out that the Verb, in clauses with inversed Subject Theme, functions to divide the weight of the Theme in a way. It is possible to extend this function to those clauses with a marked Direct Object Theme. In English, the Subject stands always before the Verb, together with the Direct Object Theme, and thus there is much experiential weight before the Verb. In Dutch, inversion is an easy way to construct a more balanced division of the important elements in the clause.

In the present material, there is little difference between the original text and the translated text of the same language with regard to the occurrence of Direct Object Themes, and it is certainly not the case that the English or Dutch translators use respectively more or less Direct Objects as Theme under influence of the source texts.

In the next paragraph, I will consider whether the same is true for the other Complement types. A final observation for this passage, which is more a guess as it is based on very few examples, is that the presence of certain other Complement functions makes it more easier for the Direct Object to become Theme. In the Dutch material there are for instance six examples of Direct Object Themes in sentences where there is also a so-called ‘complement of judgement’. (See: 45 and 49 above, 54). A possible explanation would be that there is a kind of link between the judgement and the one who judges, and that the thematic construction balances these linked elements with the element that is judged.

(54)  Dat zou zijn vader fijn gevonden hebben. (BD D: 21)

3. 2. 3.2. Other Complements

The thematisation of Direct Objects is a rather normal and only slightly marked construction in Dutch, but a marked and unusual one in English. For the other types of Complements, the results show a very low frequency for both English and Dutch, as can be seen in Table 5.

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</table>

Table 7: Complements as Theme
Hardly any Indirect Objects as Themes are present in the material: none can be found in the English texts, and only two in the Dutch ones, both in the translated texts, in which cases it seems that the translator had strong reasons to choose such an unusual Theme:

(55) A parlour-maid who wore a frilly apron served coffee and cakes - there was lemonade for Peter (BD E: 14)
    Een dienstmeisje met een schort met stroken voor serveerde koffie en cake - voor Peter was er limonade
    (BD D: 22)
(56) He had been told that the future of Denmark lay in the eradication of shoddy work. (TR E: 22)
    Hem was verteld dat de toekomst van Denemarken afhing van de uitroeiing van Broddelwerk. (TR D: 30)

In (55), the translator probably objected to the original Theme choice, as in this sentence (which appears in a passage that tells a story about Peter as a child) the protagonist is completely backgrounded by an existential construction, while he was already hardly present in the previous passage. The translator thus thematizes him again, in the mean time preserving the other, existential characteristic of the clause. The construction of (56), in which the Subject of a passive sentence would be the Indirect Object of the corresponding active sentence, can’t be translated into Dutch as such. Therefore, the translator chose an element with the same content, the receiver of the message, but another function. Even if these Theme Choices are motivated in the referential context of the text, the results are rather marked. In (55), the Theme in Dutch clearly gets more prominence than in English. There is, of course, too little material to make observations about differences in frequency or markedness.

Thematic Prepositional Complements, too, are too rare in the material to enable valuable conclusions. However, the results suggest that, while the frequency of Prepositional Objects in thematic position is low in both languages, they are more common in Dutch than in English (see Table 5). Further, it is shown that in Dutch, Prepositional Objects with a variation in form and relation to the context similar to that of Direct Objects can be thematized. The Dutch Thematic Prepositional Objects combine their prepositions both with nominal and pronominal phrases. Some of the nominal ones refer to new elements, as a way to introduce the next topic (57) while others repeat (58) or reformulate (59) previously mentioned elements.

(57) Aan de restaurants heb ik ook een broertje dood. (EL D: 455)
(58) Aan alle vier had ze een even grote hekel (BD D: 11)
(59) voor dat soort gedoe ben ik helemaal niet in de stemming.’ (BN D: 22)
When they consist of a preposition and a pronoun, the thematized Prepositional Objects can refer to the
same categories of elements as the Direct Object Themes: they can stand for facts (60) or actions (61)
or for persons or things (62) and they can be paraphrased in ways similar to the pronominal Direct
Objects:

(60)  (hij was Vincent Dungarvan, M. A., geschiedenisleraar verbonden aan de middelbare school van
St.Theodoric,) en daarmee (=met het feit dat hij … was) mocht hij blij zijn (BN D: 20)
(61)  (Ik vraag u een ter zake kundige schatting te maken) Daar bent u toch wel toe in staat. (= Tot het
maken van een ter zake kundige schatting bent u toch wel in staat.) (BD D: 29)
(62)  (Zijn talent lag in de economie der middelen) en daar ben ik verzet op. (= en op de economie der
middelen ben ik verzet) (TR D: 14)

The sentences quoted illustrate that the group of thematized Prepositional Objects includes not only the
cases in which the complete Prepositional Phrase is fronted, but also cases in which the Theme
consists of the nominal part only and the preposition is at the end of the clause. This phenomenon is,
like the raising of Objects from lower ranks, part of the thematic aspect of inter-rank conflation
developed by Steiner and Ramm (1995: 66). In each of the examples above, both the constructions with
a complete and with a partial Prepositional Object Theme are possible, but the former adds more
prominence to the sentence opening and seems slightly more marked, while the latter is slightly more
common in the Dutch material.

In the English material, all of the 7 examples of Prepositional Object Themes refer to Given information,
both with repeating of reformulating Noun Phrases (63) as with Pronouns (64). The tendency that it is
more common to take only a part of the Prepositional Object as Theme seems more stronger even in
English than in Dutch. In English this is done with those Phrases in which the second part is nominal,
too. In both languages this tendency can be placed next to the situation in wh-interrogative sentences:
when a Prepositional Object is the element asked for, the Theme includes only the interrogative
element, while the preposition follows at the end.

(63)  Each visitor in turn was made a fuss of. (MO E: 32)
(64)  (Economy of means was his gift) and this I dote upon. (TR E: 6)

As for the markedness, there are not enough occurrences to conclude whether the same conclusion can
be drawn as for the Direct Object.
The last subcategory in the group of participants other than Subject as Theme, which was labelled ‘Complement’ itself, consists, in the English as well as in the Dutch material, merely of thematic Complements to the Subject, except for two Complements to the Object, both in Dutch (65?66):

(65)  *Ongehoord* vond ik het dat zij zo-even nog leefde en nu niet meer. (EL D: 451)
(66)  *The old age of Pan* zou hij het noemen. (BD D: 27)

The Complement to the Subject - Themes appear in different forms. The largest group, especially for the Dutch material, are Adjective Phrases. The Adjectives are more often than not accompanied by a marker of the degree of the quality expressed by it. In both languages there is only one example of a Thematic Adjective Complement without such a ‘marker’ (67, 68).

(67)  *and visible now* are hundreds of casks, lying like miniature ships in dry dock on curved wooden supports. (TR E: 15)
(68)  *Ziek* was ze eigenlijk niet, maar grondig versleten. (EL D: 447)

The Adjective Phrases with markers of degree are of two kinds. Firstly, in both languages there are a few examples of exclamatives clauses in which the Theme consists of a WH-element and an adjective that together have the function of Complement (69). Besides, these are some of the very rare cases in which an English and a Dutch Complement to the Subject Theme match. Secondly, there are several examples in Dutch with the Adverb zo modifying the Adjective (70). In these cases, the main clause is often followed by a subordinate clause that depends on the Adjective Phrase and that refers to a result of it (71). The Theme in (70) refers back to previous sentences, meaning ‘zo eenvoudig als jij het stelt’ while the Theme in (71) refers forward to the clause that depends on it.

(69)  *How apt* his choice of mathematics had been! (I E: 17)
*Hoe juist* was zijn keuze voor wiskunde geweest. (I D: 23)
(70)  *zo eenvoudig* is het natuurlijk niet. (MU D: 14)
(71)  *Zo minuscule* waren de spuitgaten dat de indruk werd gewekt dat het vrijkomende water ragfijne draden vormde die zich ter plaatse met elkaar vervlochten. (VH D: 24)

A few Complements to the Subjects are nominal or pronominal phrases. Some English ones consist of the proform ‘so’. Finally, there is also one example in the material of nominal clause, which seems to get the status of a Complement Theme as the finite verb and the Object clearly form a whole (72) and one of a prepositional phrase as a Complement Theme(73).
Flanking the picture of the three boys were the grandmother's father and mother (MO E: 22)

Van directer belang is de kwestie van Sams testament en mijn prominente plaats daarin. (S D: 15)

3. 2.3.3 Summary: Non – Subject Participant Themes

With regard to the different types of participant Themes that are no Subjects, only Direct Object Themes are sufficiently present in the material to draw certain conclusions. Direct Objects are considerably more frequent in the Dutch material than in the English. Strikingly, most English Direct Object Themes are not derived from Dutch ones, and are extremely marked. Most of the Dutch Direct Object Themes seem to be not as marked as was expected beforehand, although this depends from their integration in the larger text. Apart from the varying extent of markedness, the Themes within this category are also rather varied, in their form as well and in their relationship with the context. Prepositional Object Themes and to a smaller extent Complement to the Subject Themes are also more frequent in Dutch, but they seem to be equally marked in both languages. Indirect Object Themes are very rare in both languages.

3.2.4 Predicated Themes

The material includes a small number of Predicated Themes, about 30 in the English texts and seven in the Dutch texts. These are mostly Subject and Adjunct Themes, but there are also a few Direct Object Themes and one Predicated Prepositional Object Theme. Halliday (1994: 58) uses the label of ‘Theme predication’ for the construction that is sometimes called ‘cleft sentence’ in traditional grammar. This construction consists of a pronoun it/het, a form of the verb to be/zijn and a noun phrase modified by a relative clause, for instance ‘it was the queen who sent my uncle that hatstand’ (Halliday 1994: 59), in Dutch ‘het was de koningin die mijn nonkel…’.

Halliday (1994: 59) links the predication of Themes to the interplay of the thematical and the informational structure of the sentence. He states that English speech consists of tone groups and that one tone group equals one information unit and, if unmarked, also one clause. Normally, the information focus, on the New information, lies in the Rheme at the end of the clause, but in fact it can be put everywhere, also in the Theme, which adds an aspect of contrast with the previous text. When these marked structures appear in speech, the accentuation makes clear where the information focus lies, but in writing they might be mistaken for unmarked structures. Therefore, to avoid such confusion, the Theme can be predicated. With predicated Themes the Theme choice is still marked if the whole sentence is considered, but in the two separate clauses there is an unmarked Theme, as the New information is now situated at the end of the first clause (Halliday 1994: 60). The analysis of the
following example from my material illustrates this Theme structure. The predication is clearly used to contrast with a preceding sentence ("Perhaps there was something he knew that we shall never know.") When this sentence would be formulated as "We had known something which he hadn't known", the information focus could as well be at the end, and the contrastive meaning disappears.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>It was</th>
<th>we who had known something which he hadn't known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme Theme Rheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Rheme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a majority of the occurrences of Theme Predication in the present material, the statements of Halliday are valid. Indeed, most of the predicated Themes include an aspect of contrast. Some predicated Themes are opposed with previous information (74), in others both sides of the opposition are included in the Theme (75). In (76), the contrasting element is a noun phrase attached with a coordinating conjunction, which is in fact the result of a second, heavily eroded Theme predication of which only the Theme itself remains.

(74) (our ancient walls would have seemed the true, real, permanent thing. But now it is those ancient walls which have become artificial and implausible, like a painstakingly contrived film set.) **It is everything beyond** that is real. (S E: 2)

(75) **It was only winter, not a world war**, that had passed: (S E: 18)

(76) **It is not the huge, primary things** that push you over but the odd, secondary things. (S E: 6)

Het zijn niet de hoofdzaken die je het laatste zetje geven, maar de toevallige dingen van ondergeschikt belang. (S D: 13)

All illustrations up to now contain a Predicated Subject Theme, and so do the examples that Halliday uses (1994: 58-60). When the Predicated Adjunct Themes in the material are considered, a considerable part of them appear not to function in the way Halliday describes. Some Predicate Adjuncts of course do introduce new information, for instance (77), a sentence that follows on a passage on what a certain watch means to the protagonist.

(77) **It was at a party** that he first saw this watch of his dreams, gleaming on the wrist of a young man of his age. (I E: 14)

Some others can if desired be considered as contrasting, although mostly with an implicit element. The Predicated Adjunct Theme in (78), for example, contrasts with 'before I learned this', but it should be noted that it simultaneously refers to Given information, through the word 'this'.


(78) It was only after I learned this that I started to appreciate my work on the tapestries. (VH E: 17)

In other cases, the content of the Predication is unambiguously Given information, with the New information in the Rheme. Sentence (79) follows on a passage explaining about wedding gatherings, which is referred to in the Theme, and precedes the meeting with Victoria, who is first introduced in the Rheme. In these cases, it is not at all clear what the Predication structure adds to the meaning of the message as it would be constructed with a comparably marked Adjunct Theme. Probably the Predication functions to add more prominence to an Adjunct Theme.

(79) It was at one such gathering that he met Victoria Kayiwa (I E: 20)

Bij zo'n gelegenheid maakte hij kennis met Victoria Kajiwa.

Something else still is the case with the Predicated Direct Object and Complement Themes. The small set of occurrences all include the aspects of New information and of contrast, but the difference with the Predicated Subjects is that the latter predications could easily be transformed into a normal Theme structure, which would be unmarked except for the accentuation in spoken language. These Direct Objects and Complements as non-Predicated Themes would be very unusual and extremely marked, as is illustrated by the changed clauses of (80) and (81), in which the originally Predicated Themes are taken as a normal Theme:

(80) but of course it was in German that he talked. (TR E: 18)
(81) It is civilization that we are talking about (S E: 9)

Here, Predication is not an alternative structure but the only, or in each case most suitable possibility to thematise a certain element, an aspect which is not included in Halliday’s treatment.

Apart from these observations, based completely on the English material, it is also striking that the Dutch texts have considerably fewer Predicated Themes, especially since Dutch seems to have the same possibilities for predication as English. Only three of the English Predicated Themes are preserved, one of them (76) in a deviant way as a result of a grammatical difference between English and Dutch, with a plural verb in the predication. In Dutch, a construction with an empty Subject ‘het’ and a plural complement can not have a singular verb.
In the Dutch original texts, there are four occurrences of Predicated Subjects. Only one combines the typical aspects of newness and contrast (82), and one clearly contains given information (84). In this sentence and in one other, the predicated element precedes the predication (83), which results in a very marked construction. Maybe as a result of this, the English text in this case does not preserve the Predicated Theme. Besides, it should be noted that this reversed structure allows a singular verb with a plural complement.

(82) Alleen voor het nemen van hun maten mochten de klanten, allemaal dames, de naaikamer betreden. Om vluchtig in magazines te bladeren en zichzelf de illusie te verschaffen dat ze wisten wat ze wilden. (MO D: 30)

(83) Dit soort dingen was het wat hem zo beviel aan Nederland: het goede humeur. (MU D: 3)

Further on, there are no Dutch examples of Predicated Adjuncts. Most of the English ones are transformed to normal Adjunct Themes, for instance in (79) or in (84) below, while the others disappear by small of complete reorganisations of the clause. Overall, it is clear that Predicated Themes are substantially more frequent in English, but there seems to be no real difference in markedness and no obvious explanation for this phenomenon.

(84) It was only the following morning that he remembered the King’s sacred command concerning shoddiness.

Pas de volgende morgen herinnerde hij zich ’s Konings heilige gebod omtrent Broddelwerk.

3.2.5 Existential Themes

Halliday does not really recognize the existence of Existential Themes as a separate category. He states that the existential there is a normal Subject Theme, only it has no real experiential content (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 257). I consider this point of view difficult to accept, as Halliday also states that a Theme always contains an experiential element, and therefore I choose to follow the method of Thompson (2004: 101) for the thematic structure of existential clauses. He observes that existential clauses typically take as their starting point the simple fact that some entity exists. The existence is signalled not just by ‘there’ but also by ‘there’ plus the existential process (typically realized by the verb ‘be’). Thus it seems to make sense to include the process in Theme – and, in addition, this means that the Theme includes experiential content. (Thompson 2004: 101).

In addition to this he signals that, whether you consider only the there or also the process as Theme, these are Themes that do not really include topical information, but they refer to the Rheme or to a
following stretch, saying that this contains the topic of the clause. Another suggestion is made by Margaret Berry, who is not pondering over the range of the Theme in existential clauses, but suggests that we should think in terms of a negative option to account for these Themes, a pass option, an option not to make use of the thematic slot to foreground any particular type of meaning (Berry 1995: 66).

This view is partially followed by Hasselgård (2004:192). She creates a thematic category of ‘Empty Themes’, in which she groups both existential Themes and different types of clauses with it-extraposition. A reason to opt for a pass – option in a clause can for instance be that the clause only contains new information only.

Rachel Whittaker (1995: 110-111), who studies the way in which Theme realizes meaning, suggests that speakers or writers can also select these ‘pass options’ for a particular reason, other than to formulate a completely new statement: she distinguishes between personal and impersonal ways to formulate an opinion, and states that the latter disguises an opinion as a neutral statement. Thus, a there – or it-construction adds neutrality to a certain meaning.

Apart from these considerations, the characteristics of the English existential Theme are quite clear. Existential Themes always appear in combination with an indefinite Subject in the Rheme, more specifically with indefinite Subjects (85) as well as with indefinite pronouns (86). (85) shows how a definite element is added to the Subject by means of a coordination after the clause itself. As illustrated in (87), Existentials also often contain a noun phrase modified by many, much or a lot. When we consider the existential verb, it appears in all possible tenses, and sometimes it is also modified by a modal auxiliary, as in example (88).

(85) There was a name on it, and the address of an establishment unfamiliar to me. (VDJ E: 11)
(86) There's nothing we can do for him, (MO E: 16)
(87) There were lots of them, (EL E: 13)
(88) There must be someone like that. (MU E: 13)

While the status of existential Themes in English is already a little difficult to pin down, the situation becomes even more complicated when Dutch clauses are considered. The Dutch adverb er is at first sight very similar, but in fact it has a much broader use than the English there. Some types of the adverb er are not at all relevant in this context, as they hardly ever appear in thematic position, but even when these are excluded different uses remain. The Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst (Geerts et al.: 1984: 395), treats all these uses relevant for the concept of Theme as one category, under the heading of ‘plaatsonderwerp er’. It is said to have a predominantly syntactic function, as it fills the preverbal position instead of elements that are experientially more meaningful. In fact, they fill the place of the Subject. Within this category, the ANS distinguishes between optional adverbs er, and necessary ones.
Firstly, *er* is necessary in passive clause that have no other Subject, as in (89). In fact, these sentences contain no participant constituents at all. Such impersonal passive construction are also mentioned by Ebeling for Norwegian (1998: 170), and by Steiner and Ramm for German (1995: 80):

The *Es* (from 'Es haben heute schon viele Leute nach Ihnen gefragt') (...) is non-referential. It will not appear on the Theme-Rheme dimension of the analysis at all, being neither textual, nor interpersonal, nor referential. (...) Note that this construction is close to the presentational *es gibt* construction in its function, but not in its structure.

Secondly, *er* is obligatory with the verb *zijn* when it has the meaning of ‘to exist’. As is shown in (90), this second construction with obligatory *er* is completely parallel to the English existential construction.

Thirdly, *er* can be obligatory in clauses that contain a very small number of elements, especially clauses with an intransitive verb, like (91), which contains only a Subject and a Verb. However, *er* can often be left out and the Subject can be fronted when other constituents are added, as the extended clause in (91) illustrates.

(89) Er werd in ploegen gewerkt. (VH D: 19)
(90) 'Er is nog hoop!' (VH D: 22)
(91) Er heerste een ongewone spanning. (EL D: 450)
(Een ongewone spanning heerste onder de menigte sinds de vrouw was verschenen.)

Optional adverbs *er* appear in passive clauses that contain a Subject, which could alternatively fill the first place in the clause (92). In the present material, there are also a few examples of optional adverbs *er* in clauses with intransitive verbs that contain enough other constituents for the Subject to be fronted. In several cases, however, for instance in (93) the Subject Theme results in each case in a rather marked construction, despite the presence of other constituents. The markedness of (93) seems to be linked with the indefiniteness of the Subject. However, (92) also features an indefinite Subject, but it is less marked in nature. The possibility of leaving out *er* seems to be heavily dependent on the meaning of the sentence, or on the nature of the verb and the adjuncts, and there seem to be no clear rules.

(92) Er zijn in tussen honderdduizend studies aan hem gewijd (MU D: 16)
(Honderdduizend studies zijn in tussen aan hem gewijd.)
(93) 'Er ligt alweer een herdruk in de winkel. (VDJ D: 3)
(Een herdruk ligt alweer in de winkel.)

While the range of the use of the Dutch adverb *er* is fairly clear by now, its status within these different categories still remains to be resolved with regard to Theme structure. Only the second category has the exact characteristics of the English Existential Themes. I will argue, however, that the other uses are
sufficiently similar to the English construction to be treated under the same heading, and in addition, of course, to be counted as one group in the statistics for the data. As a result, the definition of the Existential Theme will become a little more complicated. The meaning of signalling an existence can also be attributed to the thematic structure of passive clauses with intransitive verbs and without a Subject like (89): the Theme signals the existence or the occurrence of a certain activity, of which the agent is not mentioned. The same can be said of clauses of the type of (92), as these too have no present agent, although they have a Subject. The passive construction backgrounds the agent, while the Existential thematisation constructs the clause as foregrounding the activity (of devoting studies) itself. The type that is illustrated in the clauses (91) and (93) is in one way more similar to the English existential construction, as these clauses have no completely different construction, but only a another finite verb instead of a copula. However, in another way this type is slightly more deviant. In fact, in these clauses something is added to the typical meaning of existential: they do not only signal the existence of something that follows in the Rheme, but they also mention in what kind of process this existing element is involved. In other words, these Themes contain more experiential information than the other Existential Themes. However, they still possess the special characteristic of pointing to the content of the Rheme instead of simply positing a Theme, as such a verb on its own can never completely exhaust the experiential thematic potential of the clause. These verbs are only slightly more semantically rich than copula, and they do not contain enough content really to fulfil the role of starting point of the message.

There is still another group of Dutch constructions that I want to add to the category of Existential Themes. The clauses involved, however, do not contain an existential Adverb er. This is a result of the Dutch Verb-Second constraint. The adverb er, just like other participants in thematic position, is sometimes driven away by the presence of a textual or an interpersonal element. In the case of typical Existential clauses with zijn, the adverb follows after the verb (94), but with passive constructions, the adverb just disappears (95,96), while there is no reason why it can't be present. The Theme here consists of the Verb and the elided adverb er, as the signalling function still stands. The sequence of the other elements in these clauses clearly show that this elided adverb is necessary in their construction. In (95), the Subject dat zij dood was should follow directly after the finite verb when there was no element that took its place, while in (96) the prepositional agency element precedes the Subject, which also points to the absence of an existential Theme.

(94)  Natuurlijk waren er een paar kortstondige romances in mijn leven geweest,  (VDJ D: 8)
(95)  maar toen werd verklaard dat zij dood was.  (EL D: 450)
(96)  Daarop werd door mijn nichtje koffie gezet  (EL D: 451)
At this point, it is more or less clear how the definition of Existential Themes should be extended so that it is fit to analyse both English and Dutch clauses, and which thematic significance this construction has. With this clearer view, the numbers of existential Themes in the material can be considered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E orig</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D trans</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>E total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential Themes</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Existential Themes

It should be noted that the absolute numbers are not very big, and that conclusions drawn from this material should not be taken too seriously. In general, the English texts contain more Existential Themes than the Dutch ones, and this is mostly the result of the situation in the original texts. The difference amounts not even to one percent, but it might be significant when it is taken into account that the group of Dutch Existential Themes includes a wider range of constructions, but less occurrences, at least in the original text. Both languages loose a number of Existential Themes in the translation. There seems to be some influence of the source language on the translation, as the percentage for the Dutch translated texts is considerably higher than that for the original ones.

Finally, in order to compare Dutch and English, it is in fact necessary to know how the Dutch Existential Themes are divided among the different kinds of existential constructions. In the translated and the original material together, there are 38 Existential Themes of the typical English type, 38 of the type with other, intransitive verbs and 13 of the passive type, with or without present Subject. Thus, when only the occurrences for the classical Existential construction, with a copula to be or zijn, would be counted, the difference between English and Dutch would be much bigger. However, I think that the picture is more true to the reality when all the different Dutch constructions are included. Further on, in section 3.3.3 the way in which Existential Themes of different types are modified or preserved will be considered.

3.2.6. Theme ellipsis

The preceding sections treated all possible elements that appear in thematic position, but a considerable part of the clauses in the material remains uncovered. As it happens, 5 to 9 percent of the clauses in the material have ‘no’ Theme, or rather, an elided Theme, which can be reconstructed by the reader by looking at the context, most often at the previous clause. The second clause with the elided Theme, then, is a second statement that should be hooked to the same starting point as the statement in the first, previous clause. As is shown in Table 8, the highest percentage of such clauses is found in

54
the Dutch original material. In addition, the Dutch translation also preserves most of the English occurrences of Theme ellipsis, while the English loses a considerable part of the Dutch ones. The numbers suggest a rather strong influence of the source texts on the translations: the English translation has much more, and the Dutch one much less elided Themes than the original in the same language, and these numbers are very close to those of the originals in the other language. As a result, there is almost no difference between the total numbers for English and for Dutch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E orig</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D trans</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>E total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme Ellipsis</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Theme Ellipsis

To get a more detailed overview of these clauses, three variables were used for further study: the Theme of the previous clause, the extent of the ellipsis and the textual relation with the previous clause. A majority of these previous clauses from which the content of the elided Theme can be derived, clauses (henceforth ‘first clauses’) have an ordinary Subject Theme. In these cases, as in (97), the Theme to be recovered by the reader in the second clause is clearly the Subject of the first clause.

(97) She soaked her bread in milk, made sure she went to the toilet, and gave her potatoes to peel to keep her occupied. (EL E: 3)

The remainder of the first clauses have an Adjunct Theme. In these cases it is not always straightforward to identify the Theme of the second clause that is elided. For a small part of the subsequent clauses, it can be easily retrieved, namely when the ellipsis extends no further than the Adjunct itself. However, this is a phenomenon that can only be observed in Dutch: an invisible Adjunct Theme in the second clause leaves its traces, and causes inversion of the Subject (98). A speaker of English, even if he would like to construct a clause in a similar way, can never do this unambiguously: in (99), the Subject can be interpreted as fulfilling the thematic role, and there are no indications of an elided Theme. The Dutch translation, however, chooses to elide the Theme, as the inversion indicates.

(98) Om zijn onophoudelijk praten in te tomen kreeg hij rood en zwart krijt en werd hij aangemoedigd de dingen om zich heen te tekenen. (TR D: 27)

(99) Day and night he cried and the trumpeters blew. (TR E: 17)

Dag en nacht huilde hij en bliezen de trompetters op hun trompet. (TR D: 26)
There are only five such occurrences, and remarkably they all appear in the translated texts, four of which match with English clauses without any visible ellipsis, one (98) with a more extensively elided clause:

(100) To calm his incessant talking he was given red and black chalks, and encouraged to make drawings of the things which surrounded him. (TR E: 19)

As illustrated in (100), when the Theme of the first clause is an Adjunct, the Subject most often disappears together with it. As a consequence, it is not completely clear how these clauses should be interpreted. It has to be decided whether the Theme of the second clause is the Theme of the first clause, which is then elided with a part of the Rheme, or whether the second clause takes a Subject which originates in the Rheme of the first clause as Theme, while the Adjunct from the previous clause plays no role at all. If we accept the second interpretation, this means that all elided Themes in the material, except for these five occurrences of elided Adjunct Themes that cause inversion, are Subject Themes. However, this second interpretation feels intuitively wrong: an element can not be established as a starting point in the invisible, but only something that already appeared as a Theme can be understood as the Theme when there is none visible. I take the first interpretation to be the most viable one. In addition, the fact that a rhematic Subject is also elided, is in a way parallel to other phenomena: in a small part of the clauses with Theme ellipsis, the finite verb is simultaneously elided. It seems to be a common practice to elide the Theme together with a part of the Rheme. These elided verbs are mostly auxiliaries, like in (101), but they can be copula verbs as well (102). The ellipsis of finites is most common in the English original, where it appears in 25 percent of the clauses with elided Themes, and least common in the Dutch original with, 2 percent, while the numbers for the translated texts can be positioned in between those percentages.

(101) The General's father had followed in his father's footsteps and joined the army. (I E: 11)
Zijn vader was in de voetsporen van zijn vader getreden en ook bij het leger gegaan. (I D: 15)
(102) he was Vincent Dungarvan, MA, Senior History Master at St Theodoric's Grammar School and lucky to be that; (BN E: 17)

The two phenomena, namely that of Subjects and that of finites elided together with the Theme, might even be connected in a certain way. When the largest group of clauses with elided finites, i. e. that of the English originals, is considered, it can be observed that more than half of it appears after a first clause with an Adjunct Theme, and thus the elided part often contains an Adjunct, a Subject and a finite Verb, as in (103).
Less than an hour ago, the good burghers here had torn themselves away from their television screens and started off the ceremony by setting alight a fifteen-foot-tall Corn King made of papier maché. (BD E: 6)

A final word on Theme ellipsis concerns the way in which second clauses are textually linked to first clauses, a point which will be touched upon again in the chapter about interpersonal Themes, 5. In all categories, the majority of the second clauses includes a conjunction, a conjunctive adjunct or both in the Theme. The rest of the clauses are asyndetically linked, and this group is strikingly bigger in the Dutch original and its translation than in the others. This difference, however, should not be taken as the result of a general Dutch tendency which has influenced the translation, as it is mainly caused by one of the Dutch texts, the novel Tongkat by Peter Verhelst, which contains several paragraphs that group a range of clauses with Subject Theme ellipsis, many of which contain no textual Theme. The style of this text also includes a higher occurrence of elided Themes than the other Dutch texts, and thus the considerable difference between English and Dutch in general might be influenced by this one text, which means that the difference is less big if this text is excluded.
4. Functional changes to the experiential Theme in the translated clauses

In the previous chapter, which treated each functional element occurring in thematic position on turn, we have already touched upon certain occasional or systematic changes in the translations. In this chapter, all frequent changes of the function of the experiential Theme will be covered. Formal changes within a functional class are omitted here, as the cases in which they are the result of systematic transformations and not of the occasional reformulation of a clause were already sufficiently considered in the sections about Subject and Adjunct Themes. Of course, the majority of the Theme structures remains unchanged: only 15.8 percent (387) of the 2454 original Dutch Themes and 13.2 percent (358) of the 2723 original English Themes are changed. These numbers are comparable to the results of similar studies about English and Norwegian by Hilde Hasselgård: in one study she states that 'In the great majority of the cases (83%), the original and the translation have the same (or an equivalent) theme. (1998: 151), and in a later one the high numbers for preserved Themes even increase to 85-90 % (2004: 194). According to Hasselgård, 'this suggests strongly that the Topical Theme is something translators try to preserve'. (2004: 194).

The results of the present study are also similar to Hasselgård’s when it comes to frequently made changes. The most frequent changes in this material are changes from Subject Themes in English to Adjunct Themes and Direct Object Themes in Dutch, and the other way round. In addition, however, all categories also feature changes that go against the most frequent tendencies.

4.1 (English) Subject Theme corresponds with (Dutch) Adjunct Theme

4.1.1 English original to Dutch translation

From the English original to the Dutch translation, 89 unmarked Subject Themes (or 4.5 % of all) are transformed into marked Adjunct Themes. This means that approximately 20 % of the translated Dutch Adjunct Themes come from an original Subject Theme. In a majority of the cases with prepositional (1) and adverbial (2) as well as with clause Adjuncts (3), the Dutch Adjunct Theme goes back to a similar English Adjunct in clause final position. A few adverbials and clause Adjuncts are also fronted from medial position (4).

(1) Yarn was shipped to her from England in boxes labelled 'goose down'. (TR E: 10)
In kisten met het etiket 'ganzendons' werd uit Engeland wol naar haar verscheept. (TR D: 18)
but she said **politely**. (BD E: 12)

maar beleefd zei ze: (BD D: 20)

They relied on their thumbprints in order to make sure that nobody would forge their signatures and swindle their money. (IE: 18)

Om er zeker van te zijn dat niemand hun handtekening vervalste en hun geld inpikte, vertrouwden ze op hun duimafdruk. (ID: 23)

He would, **while she talked**, play with the tresses of her hair. (TR E: 18)

Terwijl zij **praatte**, speelde hij altijd met de lokken van haar haar. (TR D: 26)

In general these translations are rather close, as they preserve many or all of the constituents of the original sentences. As a result there are in most cases no specific reasons for the Theme structure to change, so the Dutch translators are deliberately fronting another element as Theme. Thus, the tendency to front Adjuncts more often in Dutch than in English seems to be a genuine tendency, which exists on its own and is not informed by other structural characteristics. Only in clause (1), a literal translation with the original word order: ‘Wol werd naar haar uit Engeland verscheept in kisten met het etiket ‘ganzendons’) would be more marked than the actual translation, which can be related to the inanimate Subject Theme in the passive clause.

Other Dutch Adjunct Themes, however, have no real equivalent in the Rheme of the English sentence. Some translations simply add an Adjunct that can be traced nowhere in the original. These are mostly small adverbs, for instance *nu*, as illustrated in (5), or *zo*. These elements should be considered as full experiential Themes, and not as Textual continuatives, as the other experiential elements follow after the verb. Sometimes the Dutch translations also thematize an element that is semantically more rich and which seems to be added to remove a lack of clarity in the original text. Other added Adjuncts express an aspect of mood or tense of the English verb that disappeared in its translation. The close future meaning of ‘To be about to come true’, for instance, in (6), can’t be translated in an equally concise wording. *Stonden op het punt om uit te komen* would be a more closely translated, although more elaborate alternative, but the translator chose to express the aspect of nearness in time by the adverb *straks*. In (7), the meaning of the expression *to nurse a drink*, which includes the aspect of doing a long time over its consumption, disappears in the translation, as there is no real equivalent Dutch expression, and thus the act of holding of the drink is changed from an activity to a posture.

(5) Leo, *I’ve wept all my tears*. (BN E: 8)

Leo, *nu zal ik nooit meer kunnen huilen*. (BN D: 10)

(6) My dreams are about to come true. (IE: 9)

*Straks kwamen zijn dromen uit*. (ID: 11)

(7) Bat was nursing his drink while listening to an army officer with bad breath… (IE: 20)
Certain English constructions with Subject Themes result more often in Dutch clauses with an Adjunct Theme. One tendency can be observed with a range of English Thematic Equatives (of the marked type). Thematic Equatives with a spatial or temporal wh-clause in the second half of the construction, and a pronoun *it* or *this* in the first half, are translated as clauses with Adjunct Themes consisting of the adverb *hier* or *daar* or of a noun phrase determined by a demonstrative pronoun (8,9). Providing information linked to a certain point in space or time by means of a Thematic Equative seems to be a standard construction in English, which is very rare in the Dutch material, although it is probably possible to use such a construction in some cases. Another construction that is frequently changed into an Adjunct Theme clause corresponds to ‘Xsubj MAKE Yobj VERB Zobj. The content of the Subject remains in thematic position, but gets the function of Adjunct (often of Manner) while the Y-object becomes Subject and the Z-Object keeps its function. As a result, the verb *to make* disappears (10,11). Again, this process is the result of an original construction that can’t easily be translated as concisely with the same Subject Theme: a possible translation for (10) would be ‘dat gekke ding maakt dat u eruit ziet als een heks’, with an added Subclause, while ‘dat gekke ding doet u eruitzien als een heks’ would clearly only appear in Dutch under English influence.

(8) *It is where I grew up.* (IE: 8)
*Daar ben ik opgegroeid.* (ID: 10)

(9) *this is when the spirit of Hamlet breathed newly and fiercely in me,* (SE: 7)
*In die dagen werd de geest van Hamlet opnieuw intens over mij vaardig* (SD: 15)

(10) ‘*Those damned things make you look like Old Mother Riley.*’ (BN: 11)
*met dat gekke ding ziet u er uit als een heks.* (BN: 13)

(11) *It made him decide to look after his overworked mother.* (IE: 12)
*Om die reden besloot hij voor zijn moeder te zorgen.* (IE: 15)

The latter phenomena often consist in a preservation of the referential content of the Theme, while its function is changed. This also occasionally occurs without the obvious reasons of non-equivalence of construction and subsequent problems of translation. A literal translation of (12) would probably sound rather stiff, but was certainly possible (*zijn muziek laat geen ruimte voor…*). The same can be said for (13), in which the adverb modifying the original Subject Theme becomes Adjunct Theme, in addition to which the Head of the original Subject Theme is recovered in the complement, and an Empty Subject *het* is inserted.

(12) *His music leaves no room for exhibitionism on the part of the performer.* (TE: 8)
When those Themes are considered that run contrary to this general tendency (so from English Adjunct Themes to Dutch Subject Themes), this group includes also a certain number of changed Themes for which there are no real structural or stylistical motivations. In other words, they are changed deliberately, but this happens much less in terms of frequency. The most important reason to change an English Adjunct Theme to a Dutch Subject Theme, seems to be a result of the Dutch Verb-Second constraint. Before the English Verb, there is room for several thematic and non- thematic Interpersonal, Textual, and Experiential elements, but these combinative possibilities are much more limited in Dutch. As a result, when an English sentence contains several preverbal elements, a selection needs to be made in Dutch. It seems that in the translation process all elements are considered, and this selection does not always turn out to the advantage of the original experiential Theme. The Adjuncts losing their thematic position in this way are mostly temporal and always semantically light: it are mostly short adverbs like now and here, or general expressions like these days. In (14), for instance, the interpersonal Theme, namely the modal adjunct of probability ‘perhaps’, is preferred over the experiential Adjunct Theme now. The Adjunct is positioned behind the Predicator and Subject and the experiential Theme coincides with the inversed Predicator and Subject. It should be noted that there are only two examples in the material of Dutch inversed clauses in which the Theme consists of finite and Adjunct, so this is no real option for the translators.

(14) Perhaps now I should return - now I am this free, this disengaged man. (S E: 13)
Misschien moet ik nu teruggaan nu ik een vrij en onbezet man ben. (S D: 21)

In other cases, the experiential material that stands between Theme and Predicator in English, i.e. the Subject, is simply fronted (15), without the urge of a textual of interpersonal element, which leads to the occasional disappearance of the Adjunct (16). There is no direct influence by the verb-second constraint in this clauses, but the translation to Dutch of English Adjunct Themes supposedly always causes a certain competition with the Subject that is also preverbal, and sometimes the Subject as Theme and a non- inversed sentence are preferred.

(15) In those days he liked socializing with civilians. (I E: 13)
Hij ging in die dagen graag met burgers om, al deed het hem wel pijn dat ze geen oog voor zijn prestaties hadden.
(I D: 18)

(16) Here the situation was exacerbated by the large presence of Amin’s uneducated stooges. (I: E: 18)
Other Theme changes are the result of structural idiosyncrasies which are in all not very common. The material also contains a few examples of two sentences which exchange a Subject Theme and an Adjunct Theme in the translation, a process that changes the meaning of the separate clauses but not necessarily that of the whole clause complex, although it certainly changes the angle from which it is seen in the context, as illustrated in (17). Sometimes, a clause with a thematic Subclause is restructured in such a way that two coordinated clauses are created. The Subject of the original Subclause coincides with the Theme in both clauses, once present and once elided (18).

(17) and a year after she died, she followed her baby to the grave. (BN E: 8)
maar haar baby stierf, en een jaar later volgde ze het kind in het graf. (BN D: 10)

(18) Looking at her as she washed up, her movements quick and ferocious and impatient, he felt an enormous fatigue; (BN E: 20)
Hij keek naar de vlugge, bijna woeste en ongeduldige bewegingen waarmee zijn moeder afdekte en voelde een grote vermoeidheid; (BN D: 23)

4.1.2 Dutch original to English translation

In the English translation of the Dutch originals, 28 percent of the Adjunct Themes is changed into a Subject Theme. Similar to what happens in the other direction, the majority of these original Adjunct Themes can be found back in the Rheme of the translated clauses without substantial modifications (19).

(19) Onhoorbaar deed zij de deur achter ons dicht (EL D: 449)
She closed the door behind us without a sound (EL E: 8)

A large group of Adjuncts, mostly closed-class adverbs, disappear in the translation. An interesting passage in this respect is illustrated in (20).

(20) Het echtelijke bed vind ik de meest geschikte plaats voor het bespreken van ernstige aangelegenheden. Daar ben je tenminste alleen met je vrouw. (…) Daar wordt alles medegedeeld wat men met open vizier niet goed durft te zeggen en daar was het dan ook dat ik, toen ik goed op mijn rechterzijde lag, na een inleidende stilte aan mijn vrouw zei, dat ik koopman ging worden. (EL D: 458)
I think the marital bed is the best place for discussing serious matters. At least you're alone with your wife then. (…) One is able to say all those things one doesn't really dare to say to someone's face, and so it was there that, having settled nicely on my right side, after an introductory silence, I told my wife I was going into business. (EL E: 25)
In Dutch, the central element to this passage is a location, the marital bed, introduced in a marked and thus emphatic way in the thematic Complement of Judgement of the first sentence, and further on expressed by a few other spatial Adjunct Themes. The English text loses this thematic structuring from the start, firstly by choosing a Subject Theme, secondly by replacing one thematic Place Adjunct by a rhematic Time Adjunct, thirdly by simply deleting another and finally by changing the sequence of the last, predicated, Adjunct Theme. The centrality of the location is obviously lost. In both languages, the passage is a clear example of Theme reiteration, but the English one needs a contrastive switch at the end, with a Theme coming from the Rheme from the first clause, to re-establish a small part of the centrality of the location.

Apart from these two most frequent practices (i.e. restructuring the sequence of the constituents and deleting the Adjunct Theme) the material shows several particular constructions that cause the transformation of an Adjunct Theme into a Subject Theme. Some are the exact opposite of those that signalled in the previous section about the translation from English to Dutch. English clauses, for instance, sometimes turn a Dutch Adjunct Theme (of condition or reason) into the thematic Subject of an X make Y Verb Z construction (21), and they tend to turn Adjunct Themes consisting of closed-class spatial or temporal adverbs into marked thematic equatives with a pronominal first element, as in (22). Some clauses are quite drastically reformulated. Example (23), for instance, resembles (21) in that it turns the content of an Adjunct Theme into a Subject, but while (21) preserves all constituents in one way or another, the original Subject completely disappears by the reformulation in (23). In (24), a reformulation causes the main clause and the Subclause to exchange status while they keep their sequence and an Empty Subject it takes over the thematic position from an Adjunct Theme, although the resulting sentence could also be considered a deviant type of Theme Predication, in which case the content of the Theme is preserved in some way.

(21) Als het maar blinkt en schittert, dan denken ze dat ze rijk zijn.' (MO D: 13)
Anything gaudy and glittery makes them feel rich." (MO E: 15)

(22) Daar broedde hij al die verschrikkingen uit, (MUD: 14)
That was where he hatched all those terrors, (MU E: 14)

(23) en als Stella protesteerde, gaf de grootmoeder haar een preek.(MO D: 30)
Stella's occasional disparaging remarks would earn her a lecture. (MO E: 32)

(24) en wanneer de zomer uitgeblust over de daken hing, belde ze aan voor haar najaarsdracht. (MO D: 29)
and it would be midsummer when she called to discuss her autumn requirements.(MO E: 31)

Finally, in the translation from Dutch to English, there are also some 25 Subject Themes, contrary to the general tendency, that are replaced by Adjunct Themes. It is striking that both some of the added
Adjunct Themes and some of the fronted original Adjuncts are of certain rather clearly definable types. More specifically, they are often sentence adverbials, Adjuncts that relate to the sentence as a whole rather than to a particular part of it. In addition of all Dutch rhematic Adjuncts that could possibly be fronted, the English translators pick out those of Angle (25), Opposition (26), and temporal Adjuncts that point to a sequence or a co-occurrence (27) in time. In sentences like (27) the fronted elements are experiential elements with a link to the textual. For a few added or fronted Adjunct Themes, there is no obvious motivation; other changes result again from Dutch idiosyncrasies that are difficult to translate. They, for instance, put the content of original Subject Themes into Adjunct Themes, as often happens in the translation to Dutch. Example (28) illustrates a rather radically reformulated clause.

(25) maar ik vond aan dat artikel iets walgelijks en iets belachelijks. (EL D: 459)  
but to me there was something revolting and ridiculous about this commodity. (EL E: 26)

(26) Ik heb mijzelf nooit als een charmeur beschouwd, ondanks mijn uiterlijk. (VDJ D: 7)  
Despite my good looks, I have never thought of myself as a charmer. (VDJ E: 6)

(27) en ik ben niet van plan hierna ooit nog één woord op papier te zetten. (VDJ D: 3)  
and after this I have absolutely no intention of putting another word on paper. (VDJ E: 1)

(28) Je ging de straat op, in kleren die binnen de minuut rond je opgestoven waren als karton. (VH D: 12)  
Outside, your clothes stiffened instantly into cardboard. (VH E: 6)

On the basis of this summarising overview concerning Adjunct Themes, it becomes clear that the general tendencies observed in the material (i.e. Subject Themes replace Adjunct Themes in the English translation and the other way round in the Dutch translation) are in one respect an accumulation of several particular processes, which have to do both with specific structural characteristics of both languages as well as with deliberate but structurally unmotivated choices by the translator, and which are even slightly compensated by changes in the opposite direction. On the other hand, the statement that Adjuncts are more easily fronted and less marked in Dutch and that the English Theme is more strongly associated with the Subject certainly remains valid.

4.2. (English) Subject Theme corresponds with (Dutch) Complement Theme

Section 2.3 has shown that both the translated and the original Dutch texts account for many more thematic non-Subject participants than the English ones, and illustrated the wide range of Complement Themes that are possible in Dutch. In this section I will focus on Complement Themes that correspond with Subject Theme counterparts. More specifically I will concentrate on the origin of these Themes and the way they are translated. Note that the term ‘Complement’ in this passage will be used again to group
all non-Subject Participants.

4.2.1 English original to Dutch translation

44 of the 67 (i.e. 65.7 %) Dutch sentences which have Complement Themes in the translated texts originally had Subject Themes. About half of these Dutch Complement Themes are simply added and can not be retraced in the English original. Although the same observation was made with regard to Dutch Adjunct Themes, this practice is nevertheless striking since Complements are by definition obligatory elements, and adding them always brings along changes to the complete construction. This is partially true for the sentences at hand, but the main reason can be brought back to a structural difference between Dutch and English: the specific features of ellipsis in English. There are several patterns in which an English sentence partly repeats a previous sentence (to modify it in a certain way or in an answer to it) where the Complement is ellided, sometimes in combination with parts of the verb clause. In Dutch this is impossible, and a Complement - generally the pronoun dat - must be inserted. This inserted Complement is often thematized at the same time. The pronoun, as was shown in section 2.3., can be a substitute for nominal constituents, for complete clauses or for parts of them. It should also be noted that the Dutch construction is impossible or in at least improbable in English as well, which is illustrated in (29). In this sentence, a previous one is repeated, in combination with the addition of the adverb always and a modification of the verb, to create more emphasis. The repetition in (30) adds a modal auxiliary, which slightly changes the meaning of the clause, and elides the main verb and the Direct Object, while (31) is an answer to an imperative, and the elided element is the whole of the previous sentence.

(29) ( and he was a slow writer) He always had been. (BD E: 19)
(\* That he had always been/\*He always had been that.)
(en hij was een trage schrijver) Dat was hij altijd geweest. (BD D: 27)
("Hij was altijd geweest")

(30) (You don't mean it.) You can't. (BD E: 7)
(Dat meen je niet.) Dat kun je niet menen. (BD D: 14)

(31) (Describe it to me) 'I can't.'(BD E: 19)
(Beschrijf het dan voor me) 'Dat kan ik niet.'(BD D: 27)

It was already mentioned that English thematic equatives of the marked kind in combination with communicative verbs are often translated with a fronted Direct Object with the contents of the original Subject. There are other cases, however, in which the referential content but not the function of the
Theme is preserved. In (32), a passive construction without a present Agent and a Goal Subject as Theme is transformed into an active sentence, with the same Goal as Prepositional Object Theme and a newly inserted Subject. In (33), the Subject Theme of the verb to mean becomes the Object Theme of the verb vinden and an original prepositional phrase becomes Subject. Of course, there are also many occurrences of Complement Themes that are simply fronted from the Rheme of the original. With one verb, to know/weten, this change is made strikingly often, as in (34). It should be noted that the English original in (34) is also an example of a present pronominal Direct Object, and thus of a case in which the typical ellipsis is not necessary.

(32)  A man who openly boasted about owning a fifth of the country could be managed. (I E: 8)
Met een man die openlijk opschepte dat hij een vijfde van het land bezat, wist hij wel raad. (I D: 10)

(33)  It would have meant so much to his father. (BD E: 13)
Dat zou zijn vader fijn gevonden hebben. (BD D: 21)

(34)  she knew that. (BD E: 19)
dat wist ze. (BD E: 21)

There are a few Themes that change in the opposite direction, but these are mostly cases in which a very marked Complement Theme disappears in the Dutch translation, or in which the meaning of the complete original clause is expressed in a rather different way, as in (35). It is not clear how important an influence the Theme choice was for this reformulation.

(35)  massacre had been the word. (BN E: 13)
anders zou men niet in de geschiedenis spreken van in de pan hakken. (BN D: 15)

4.2.2 Dutch original to English translation

In the translation of Dutch sentences with Complement Themes, sixty percent gets a Subject Theme in English. Strikingly, there are only two occurrences of changes in the ‘wrong’ direction. The majority of the ‘correctly’ changed clauses preserves all the constituents without significant alterations, and Complement and Subject just switch places in Theme and Rheme, while keeping the same referential content. In others, comparable to certain theme modifications in the opposite translational direction, Theme and Rheme exchange functions but keep the same content. However, the original Subject, which looses its function to the original Object Theme, is not always preserved. Example (36) shows how the original Subject can disappear in the translation, by replacing a transitive verb by an intransitive one and formulating the content of an Object Theme into a Subject Theme, while (33) turns an active clause into a passive clause, as a result of which the original Subject appears as a by-phrase.
Clutches of aunts, nephews, distant cousins, nieces came up for review. (MO E: 11)

and many of those strange inhabitants, rich and poor, had been brought home by my mother. (VDJ E: 9)

Parallel to the added and thematicized Complements in the English to Dutch translation, certain Complements just disappear, and sometimes this is again caused by the different methods of English and Dutch to refer to elements from previous clauses (38). In (39), the complement disappears together with the whole level of the main clause, and the Subject Theme of the original subclause becomes Theme of a new Main Clause.

Finally, quite drastic restructuring or reformulation can also lead to the disappearance of a Complement Theme to the advantage of a Subject Theme. In (40), the thematic Complement is degraded to an added subclause level and leaves room for the original Subject to become Theme.

A global view on the correspondence between English and Dutch Subject and Object Themes reveals that the majority of the changed clauses keeps most of its constituents. Few clauses are completely reformulated. A considerable part is altered because of structural differences, for instance the difference between the Dutch replacement of things, actions or facts, when they are repeated, by the pronoun that, and the English ellipsis of these elements. Other clauses are unnecessarily and thus deliberately changed. Only a very small number of clauses changes in the opposite direction

4.3 The correspondence between English and Dutch Existential Themes

Section 3.2.5. showed how the Dutch Existentials found in thematic position have in some ways a wider range of form and use than the English ones. Nonetheless, there are slightly more Existential Themes in
English than in Dutch: 69 Existentials in the English original (2.5% of the total number of Themes) and 41 in the Dutch one (1.7% of all Themes). In both languages the absolute numbers and the percentages are lower in the translation: the Dutch translation counts 52 Existential Themes, the English one 37 (respectively 2.0 and 1.6% of all Themes). These changes in percentages are the sum of changes in different directions: the Dutch translation loses 30 Existential Themes (43% of the original number) and adds 16 (30% of the translated number); the English translation loses 21 (51% of the original) and adds 11 Existential Themes (30% of the translated number).

It is certainly significant that for the originals, Existential Themes are more frequent in English than in Dutch, while the English translation loses more original Existentials than the Dutch one. This might be a result of the greater variety within the Dutch Existential group: it is possible that there is a considerable number of Dutch cases for which the English translation can find no equivalent Existential construction.

4.3.1 Dutch original to English translation

In order to study the changes in the translation from Dutch to English, it is relevant to consider each Dutch category of Existential Themes in turn. Of the 18 occurrences of the classical type, similar to the English Existentials, with the verb *zijn*, 10 occurrences are preserved. One other translated clause still includes an Existential process, but an Adjunct is thematized instead. Others are transformed into ordinary Subject Themes, as in (41), in a rather radical way. In some cases this is triggered by an untranslatable Dutch expression, like *sprake zijn van* in (42), in two others the content is reformulated from ‘nearly no one being present’ to ‘almost everyone being gone’ (43).

(41)  *Er waren geen zekerheden meer.*  (VH D: 21)
    *nothing was certain.*  (VH E: 15)

(42)  *Er was dus sprake van buitengewone dapperheid,*  (MU D: 13)
    *So he must have been exceptionally brave,*  (MU E: 13)

(43)  *Er was bijna niemand meer.*  (VH D: 17)
    *Almost everyone had gone.*  (VH E: 11)

Some of the 13 original Existential Themes containing other verbs than *zijn* are also partially preserved, and appear in English as normal Existential constructions with *to be*. Sometimes the adverb *er* can combine different functions, for instance when it is both ‘plaatsonderwerp’ and a transformed pronominal part of a Prepositional Object, as in (44). Such a combination is impossible in the English *there*, so in those cases the translation needs a pronoun *it*. In Dutch clauses that contain an existential verb with a rather specific meaning, the English translation often features a similar verb in the Rheme to preserve
that meaning, like the *pushing* in (45).

(44)  *Er stond* niet veel op. (VDJ D: 12)  
There wasn’t much on it. (VDJ E: 11)

(45)  *Er groeiden* dag in dag uit margrieten op de graven. (MO D: 7)  
There were always daisies pushing up from the graves. (MO E: 9)

When the Existential Theme disappears, different strategies are used to reformulate the content. A pronoun can be inserted as a Subject Theme - in some cases one with a more general reference -, which adds an unspecified Agent to the original process in (46). When the original process is semantically less rich, a Subject Theme can also accompany a new, more meaningful process with a link to the context, as in (47). Sometimes a specific personal pronoun is added (see (48)) as a natural result of the change from a verb referring to presence to a verb signalling possession. A few other clauses get nominal Subject Themes. (49) just takes the original Subject and the original Process, while (50) semantically but not formally derives a Subject from the verb and transforms the original nominal phrase of the Subject into an adjective phrase Complement.

(46)  *Er speelde* nu pianomuziek. (VDJ D: 14)  
They were playing piano music now. (VDJ E: 14)

(47)  *Er ligt alweer een herdruk in de winkel.* (VDJ D 3)  
“They’ve just published another edition. (VDJ E: 2)

(48)  *Voorzover ik heb kunnen nagaan, zit er* niets Braziliaans in mijn bloed. (VDJ D: 7)  
As far as I have been able to ascertain, I have no Brazilian blood in me. (VDJ E: 6)

(49)  *Er stond* een man te plassen (VDJ D: 11)  
A man was standing there, peeing, (VDJ E: 10)

(50)  *Er heerste* een ongewone spanning (EL D: 450)  
The atmosphere was unusually tense. (EL E: 9)

With respect to the the Dutch Existential clauses of the third category, i.e. original passive Existential constructions, it can be observed that three of them also get an Existential Theme in the translation, in which the content of the original main verb is transferred to a nominal phrase that becomes Subject (51). When the original contains a Subject, this can become Theme in the translation as in (52), and when it does not, the construction sometimes becomes active, with a Subject Theme that is added as in (53) or which stems from an agentive prepositional phrase.

(51)  *Er werd al zoveel over ons gepraat,* (VDJ D: 13)  
There was already so much talk about us, (VDJ E: 13)
An extensive variety of practices changes non – Existential Dutch Themes into English Existential Themes, and I will only illustrate those that occur relatively frequently. First, a few non-thematic Existential constructions are fronted to thematic position, taking the place of the Existent-Subjects, of Adjunct Themes or of a Prepositional Object Theme as in (54). In some cases, like in example (54), the adverb er was elided in Dutch as a result of the fronting of another element.

(54)  *Over de begrafenis valt weinig te zeggen.* (EL D: 452)
*There’s not much to say about the funeral.* (EL E: 13)

Secondly, there are certain Dutch clauses with copulative verbs (zijn as well as hebben) and Subject Themes as well as Adjunct Themes, which are transformed into (thematic) Existential constructions with the original Complement to the Subject as Subject and the original Subject reduced to a prepositional phrase with about or to. The originally thematic element changes from the starting point of the message to clause-final informational focus of the message, to which the Existential Theme points forward, as in (55), which is an important change to the presentation of the information. A third construction consists of an element being picked out of an original clause and made into the Subject – Existent of a thematic Existential, while the rest of the clause for instance becomes a subclause modifying that element. In (56) the element in case is the original Subject, but it can also be a Direct Object. Similar to all other groups of translational changes, some transform an idiosyncratic Dutch expression into an English one (57).

(55)  *Een klerk heeft niets heiligs over zich.* (EL D: 453)
*There’s nothing sacred about a clerk.* (EL E: 16)

(56)  *Eén ding spookte haar nog door het hoofd,* (EL D: 448)
*There was only one thing that still played on her mind:* (EL E: 5)

(57)  *We waren met zijn vijven.* (VH D: 19)
(*We were with five.*)
*There were five of us.* (VH E: 13)

4.3.2. English original to Dutch translation

The Dutch translations of the English texts preserve 39 of its Existential Themes. 17 of these keep the
typical English characteristics, and have the verb zijn. A part of the other clauses have slightly deviating verbs, like the verb bestaan in (58), which expresses the aspect of ‘signalling an existence’ more explicitly, the verbs zitten (59), liggen en steken, which are used for certain elements that exist in an (abstract or concrete) environment, and the verbs vallen (60) and komen, which point to the start of an existence. For the category represented in (59), which presupposes some kind of spatial element in the Rheme, it should be noted that this spatial element can only consist a preposition in Dutch clauses, as the adverb er takes over the function of the English pronoun it in the prepositional phrase.

(58) There's no friendship between grown men and grown women, (BN E: 13)
Er bestaat geen vriendschap tussen volwassen mannen en volwassen vrouwen (BN D: 11)
(59) There were white streaks in his hair, (BD E: 18)
Er zaten witte strepen in zijn haar, (BD D: 29)
(60) There was a pause. (BD E: 21)
Er viel een stilte. (BD D: 29)

The rest of the preserved Existential Themes contain verbs that are semantically more colourful. They can take over the meaning of an element in the Subject-Existential, as the verb ‘klinken’ in (61) which adds similar information to the message as ‘note’ does in the original. In (62), the Existential Verb is fronted from the past participle dependent on the original Subject. However, there are also Dutch clauses in which the Existential verb adds completely new information.

(61) there was a note of petulance in her voice (BN E: 8)
er klonk nu iets van ergernis op uit haar stem (BN D: 10)
(62) There were a lot of girls employed at the Honeychile factory; (BN E: 13)
Er werkten veel meisjes in de fabriek van Honeychile; (BN D: 16)

Other Themes lose the Existential. Sometimes the existential construction remains in the translation, but another element is fronted as Theme (63). However, when focussing on English Existentials that disappear in the translation, it is quite striking how a considerable part of the clauses in this group is drastically reformulated. Apparently, this does not happen according to a particular pattern. Because of the absence of many of the original constituents, it does not seem relevant to explore the new thematic structure of these clauses.

(63) There wasn't a soul around but themselves. (BD E: 18)
Behalve zijzelf was er geen sterveling te bekennen. (BD D: 26)
In the remaining material, in which most constituents -except the Existential Construction- are preserved, some Dutch clauses are built around the verb that was the postmodifier of the English Subject (64), others around a verbal equivalent of a noun from the Subject-Existent (the Dutch *opvangen* can be linked to the English *glimpse* in (65). Other minor patterns are the replacement of the Existential Theme by the Dutch *je hebt* (66), for which I propose that, in accordance to the Existentials, Subject and Verb are taken together as Theme, and which is the opposite of this phenomenon illustrated in (55).

(64) There was a space in the world occupied by my father which would never be occupied by him again. (S E: 24)

*Mijn vader had in de wereld een stukje ruimte ingenomen dat hij in de toekomst nooit meer zou innemen.* (S D: 35)

(65) There was a glimpse of a man and a woman in the back seat; (BN E: 16)

*Hij ving de silhouetten op van een man en een vrouw op de achterbank;* (BN D: 18)

(66) There are, these days, those sexy young studs of academe who attempt to go against the grain. (S E:1)

*Je hebt tegenwoordig natuurlijk van die jonge sexy academici die de kont tegen de krib gooien.* (S D: 7)
5. Systemic Functional Grammar categories in Theme

Apart from the analysis of the material according to the categories of traditional grammar, it was also studied what the role of the Themes of the clauses would be in the Systemic Functional Grammar System. This second analysis was not as straightforward as the first. At first sight, Halliday's categories seem to be based on naturally logic distinctions between basic Process Types, which would be easy in use, but when they are applied to relatively large amounts of rather complex data it becomes clear that their delineation has certain shortcomings, and one can often only guess how the system should be used. For this reason this chapter will first focus on the problems encountered during the analysis, before turning to the actual results of the analysis.

5.1. Problems with the Hallidayan framework

Halliday distinguishes between six different process types. Material, mental and relational processes are the principal types in that they are the cornerstones of the grammar in its guise as a theory of experience, they present three distinct kinds of structural configuration, and they account for the majority of all clauses in a text (Halliday 1994: 138). The other three kinds of processes, namely behavioural, verbal and existential processes, are ‘subsidiary process types, located at each of the boundaries’ (1994: 138). Each type is clearly delineated, and they cause no problems as such. However, some (minor) constructions are problematic in the application of this categorisation.

Some auxiliary verbs in Dutch turn out to be somewhat problematical. Normally, such verbs do not play a role in the classification of a certain clause in the category of one of the process types, as this entirely depends on the main verb. Example (1) contains a behavioural process, and thus the Theme is a Behaver, and the aspect expressed by the auxiliary willen is not taken into account.

(1) Ze had niet willen snauwen. (BD D: 19)

However, the Dutch auxiliaries hoeven, moeten, kunnen en willen can also appear on their own, and then it seems that they are not modifying an independent or a copula verb. The ANS (Geerts et al. 1984: 544) signals that these modal auxiliaries can be used in two different ways, ‘proper’ (‘eigenlijk’) and ‘improper’ (‘oneigenlijk’). Improper modal verbs can appear without an infinitive, although an infinitive, can be added in most cases. (Geerts 1984: 558). The actual status of the verbs in these cases is not specified, while this is rather important to determine which process type rules the clauses. As a possible solution, one could consider these constructions as a kind of ellipsis: the main verb is elided, but the other elements in the clause still function as participants of that process. In most cases, it can be
deduced which verb should be used: in most cases, one of the most frequent Dutch verbs can be inserted, for instance *zijn, gaan or doen*, and these can be appropriated to more specific verbs according to the context. Thus, the Themes in all of the following examples can be identified as Actors, as in all three a main verb *gaan* can be added. Moreover, the three examples are translations, and in the case of (2) and (4), the reconstructed process is the same or similar to the complete construction with auxiliary and main verb in the original. In (3), the clause is not exactly an elided version of the original, but rather of an reformulation of the original.

(2) They don’t really want to get out. (BD E: 4)
*Ze willen niet echt naar buiten.* (BD D: 12)
(3) Damon wanted to become a politician. (I E: 10)
*Damon wilde de politiek in.* (I D: 13)
(4) Alice Kessler had to go past them (BD E: 3)
*Alice Kessler moest wel langs hen heen.* (BD D: 11)

The analysis on the basis of added main verbs seems a smooth solution. However, it is not quite sure whether these are really elided constructions: it is also possible to see them as verbs that have become completely independent. Then, it is not at all clear to which process types these verbs belong, as they seem to contain aspects of mental, material as well as behavioural processes.

While I think that the status of these Dutch verbs should be seriously considered, and that the theory needs some adjustment to fit these Dutch particularities, for the purpose of the present analysis I will simply follow the first hypothesis, and the preceding example clauses are all analysed as Actor Themes.

A second problem arises with impersonal *it* and *het*-Themes. They were not problematic in the traditionally grammatical analysis, because they were simply counted as Subject Themes. In fact, they are only anticipatory Subjects, and the real Subjects in the following clauses are nominal clauses or that-clauses that appear at the end of the main clause. These clauses can be reformulated with Subject Clause Themes, the form of which Themes is sometimes completely the same, sometimes slightly appropriated, as is illustrated between brackets. This kind of Subject Clause Themes seem always slightly marked, presumably because they lay to much weight in the beginning of the clause.

(5) It’s your business to describe things. (=*To describe things is your business.*) (BD E: 19)
*Het is je vak om dingen te beschrijven.* (=*Dingen beschrijven is je vak*) (BD D: 27)
(6) It is strange that I never told Ruth about this secret affinity. (=*That I never told Ruth about this secret affinity is strange*) (S E: 5)
It would be certainly problematical to consider these pronouns *it* and *het* as ordinary Subject Themes, i.e. as the element the clause is about and the link that attaches the message to the rest of the text. The anticipatory Subjects have no experiential content at all, and thus they have no relation with the preceding text. Halliday does not really offers a suggestion on the thematic structure of these clauses, as he only states that they are certainly different from Predicated Theme clauses. At the same time he seems to suggest that the Theme contains the subclause of the real Subject together with the anticipatory one (Halliday 1994: 98), which would be a rather awkward exception to the rule that the Theme in English always appears clause-initial. A third, and seemingly better option is to range the *it*-Themes with the existential Thematic construction. Both lack experiential content, and both thus refer forward to their Rheme. When Hasselgård analyses her material according to Halliday’s configuration, she introduces the category of ‘Empty Theme’

as a cover term for the formal subjects *it* and *there* or the corresponding Norwegian det. Clauses with an Empty Theme include existential constructions and clauses with *it*-extraposition, in addition to expressions of time, distance, weather etc. involving ‘prop *it*’. (2004: 192).

I will adopt this category for my analysis. It is not clear what Hasselgård does with the similar construction of Predicated Themes, but they are no part of my category of Empty Themes. Instead, Predicated Actors or Circumstances are grouped with the ordinary Actors and Circumstances.

Although the insertion of the ‘Empty’ category is sufficient for the purpose of the analysis, I will focus for a moment on the precise character of the *it*-themes: because they are similar to existential *there*-Themes, but certainly not the same. The existential Theme can be characterized as ‘signalling an existence’, a definition to which certain extensions were added in section 3.2.5, but the *it*-Themes do not really fit this characterization. Only the so-called ‘prop- *it*’, like in (7), can perhaps match the criteria. (7) is a typical weather statement, and the Theme (in which -parallel with the existential Themes- the Verb should be included together with the *It*) signals the existence of a certain quality. It is significant that an existential construction can’t normally introduce an adjective, and that this construction is thus as parallel as possible to for instance ‘There was a cold wind outside’. This type of *it* – constructions seems to fill a gap in the possible uses of the existential constructions.

(7) *It was cold outside.* (own example)

*Het was koud buiten.*

Clauses like (8), which are rather frequent, do not signal an existence, but when the complete expressions *It was as if* and *Het was alsof* are taken as Theme, it is, in a similar way, signalling the illusion of an existence. The extension of these Themes to include the Process and even the
Conjunction does not change anything to the lack of experiential content, and thus the Themes should still be characterized as ‘Empty’. However, even if these Themes can be said to have a signalling function, they are very different from Existential Themes.

(8) It was as if her energy were rightfully his. (BN E: 20)
Het was alsof haar energie eigenlijk hem moest toebehoren. (BN D: 23)

At first sight, the other Empty-it clauses still seem rather varied in nature. First, a distinction can of course be made between the different clause types of the real Subjects, but this is not really relevant. Secondly, the clauses differ with respect to their remaining content, next to the it and the Subject Clause. The most common type, illustrated by the Dutch clause in (9), contains a relational process to be with an adjective as Attribute. The English (9) shows that the attribute is also a noun phrase sometimes, while (10) is an example with another verb and another participant present. (11) contains a mental process, in which an Object is Senser, and the thematic ‘it’ fulfils the role of phenomenon.

(9) It's a terrible thing to see your own child suffering. (BN E: 7)
Het is afgrijselijk je eigen kind te zien lijden. (BN D: 9)
(10) Het lijkt me niet waarschijnlijk dat ik ooit zal trouwen. (BN D: 11)
(11) It had never struck me before that Reality and Romance could so poignantly collide with each other. (SE: 13)
Het was me nooit eerder opgevallen dat Werkelijkheid en Idylle het zo treffend op een akkoordje konden gooien. (SD: 21)

A suggestion to make sense of some of these constructions with Empty Theme is made by Thompson (2004: 152): ‘Another special thematic structure, which in some ways resembles predicated Theme, allows speakers to start their message with their own comment on the value or validity of what they are about to say’. She states that the main information appears in the Subject Clause, but that ‘one’s own attitude is a natural starting point’. The Theme, according to her, would thus for instance be Het is afgrijselijk in (9). She justifies why her approach is more valuable than that of not taking it as a thematizing device by stating that

my own experience of analysing texts suggests strongly that it makes more sense to include the comment: in many cases, thematized comment occurs at key transition points in the text and it obscures the method of development of the text if one simply labels ‘it’ as Theme. (Thompson 2004: 153).

She only illustrates her approach with sentences of the type ‘It is x(Adj)’ and one It may be, which refer to a degree of certainty or truth value (like (10)), or to a subjective comment or affect (like (9)). I would like to extend this notion to other types: the inclusion of sentences like the English (9) is quite
straightforward, but (11) too can be seen as a thematized comment, a comment about the perception of the main information by the speaker.

Thus, the Theme of these *it*-clauses should in fact be extended to include experiential content, and as a result these are no longer Empty Themes. However, I will not make this distinction in the analysis of the material, because it would concern only a relatively small group of clauses, and I leave them with the Empty Themes, although this is not completely correct.

5.2. Analysis of the elements in thematic position

Table 1 shows the ten most frequent elements in Thematic position. Some results are self-evident in view of the results the functions of traditional grammar. The most frequent element in every category are the ‘Actors’, the participant role that collides most often with the Subject in the present material. As the other Subject Themes are divided into different categories, most importantly Behaver, Carrier, Identified, Sayer and Senser, the unified group of Circumstance Themes precedes them in all categories except the English original texts, which had the lowest amount of Adjunct/Circumstance Themes.

<table>
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<td>(752)</td>
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<td>3.Circum</td>
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<td>Carrier</td>
<td>(262)</td>
<td>Carrier</td>
<td>(302)</td>
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<td>6.Identified</td>
<td>(159)</td>
<td>Behaver</td>
<td>(111)</td>
<td>Behaver</td>
<td>(101)</td>
<td>Identified</td>
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<td>7.Empty</td>
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<td>Goal</td>
<td>(78)</td>
<td>Identified</td>
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<td>8.Goal</td>
<td>(90)</td>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>(72)</td>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>(83)</td>
<td>Behaver</td>
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</table>

Table 1: Systemic functional elements in thematic position

The distribution of the Subject Themes over the different groups is not really relevant, because it is supposedly a matter of style and content of the specific text and not of characteristics of the language. This is illustrated by the fact that the versions of the texts in the two languages are at several points more alike than the original and translated texts in one language. More relevant are the differences between each original text and its translation, and the changes from which these result will be studied in some detail. A general observation is that there are very little systematic changes, and that many of the clauses with changes in the Theme are in fact radical reformulations of the original clause. These reformulations include both cases in which the content of the Theme is preserved while getting another
participant role and the Rheme changes, and cases in which the whole clause changes, resulting in another Theme. Only the latter changes of course have a real influence on the thematic progression of the text.

5.2.1. English original to Dutch translation

A first observation is that the Dutch texts have less Actor Themes. It can be expected that a considerable amount changes into Circumstance Themes, which are clearly more frequent in Dutch, and into Goal Themes, which are not really more frequent but which can be expected to conflate with many of the Dutch new Direct Object Themes. The fact that many of them change into Carrier Themes can not immediately be explained. These Themes most often have the same referent, and the Rhemes are rather closely (12) or quite freely (13) reformulated. However, there seems to be no real consistency in the changes.

(12) the chicken browned without burning. (BD E: 18)
    de kip werd bruin zonder te verbranden. (BD D: 26)
(13) and he lived to be grateful for it. (BN E: 9)
    en hij is me daar later dankbaar voor geweest. (BN D: 12)

Secondly, the Dutch texts have less Identified Themes. Here, there is even less unity in the observed changes, apart from the great influence of radical reformulations.

Finally, the results show more Phenomenon Themes for the Dutch material. The original sentences in these pairs have often Senser Themes. Most changes conflate with changes in traditionally grammatical terms, but some Themes are changed because the Process is changed into the other direction, like (14) and (15).

(14) she didn't care. (BD E: 3)
    en het kon haar ook niet schelen. (BD D: 11)
(15) He liked this hotel, its four flours, the laid-back greyish colour and its aeroplane windows. (I E: 10)
    Dat hotel beviel hem wel, met zijn vier verdiepingen, die rustige grijze kleur, zijn vliegtuigramen. (I S: 13)

5.2.2. Dutch original to English translation.

For the results from Dutch to English, a most remarkable difference is that the number of Actor Themes increases heavily: 159 Dutch Themes that belong to other categories become English Actor Themes.
An important part of this, of course, corresponds to two of the most important changes in the analysis with traditionally grammatical means: the Subject Themes that result from Complement Themes and Adjunct Themes are often Actors. Another frequent change that creates new Actor Themes - which was not touched upon in the earlier analysis because translation pairs with different Subjects that are both in thematic position were hardly considered - is the transformation of passive clauses with a Goal Theme into Active Clauses, as in (16) and (17). In (16), the Actor comes from the Rheme of the original clause, and in (17) it is added, while both clauses keep the Goal in the Rheme. In (18), the translation adds an Actor and deletes the Goal. Another source of new Actor Themes is the translation of relational processes referring to a location, which get a material 'to go' in English (19).

(16) *Het was door de koning verboden.* *(VH D: 18)*  
*the king had forbidden it.* *(VH E: 12)*

(17) *Vrouwen werden aangesteld om de seconden te tellen,* *(VH D: 13)*  
*The king assigned women to count the seconds,* *(VH D: 7)*

(18) *Alles was weer opgerakeld, geordend en aangeharkt.* *(MO D: 24)*  
*She had reflected, reassessed and rearranged.* *(MO E: 27)*

(19) *Mijn Lucien is nooit, nooit in Korea geweest!* *(MO D: 18)*  
*My Lucien never, ever went to Korea.* *(MO E: 20)*

Most other new Actor Themes result from reformulating translations. The same is true for the increase of Carrier Themes in the English translated texts. It may be significant that in a majority of the cases, only the process changes, mostly from material and mental to relational, and the content of the Themes is preserved. Moreover, the meaning of Process and Objects is often more or less retrievable from the Attribute, as in (20) and (21). New Identified Themes are sometimes created in the same way.

(20) *De winter trok zich nergens wat van aan* *(VH D: 11)*  
*The winter was pitiless,* *(VH E: 5)*

(21) *Ik schaamde me omdat hij naar me op moest kijken.* *(VH D: 24)*  
*I was embarrassed because he had to look up-at the red uniform, the red tapestry, the flaming red face.* *(VH E: 18)*

The loss of Goals was said to be a cause of English gaining more Actor Themes, but changes in the other direction are even more frequent. There are a few translation pairs in which an originally rhematic Goal becomes thematic, for instance in (22), but much more often a Goal Theme with the same experiential content is created because the rest of the clause is transformed into a more or less equivalent passive, as in (23). A subtype changes an active verb *krijgen* in to a passive *to give* (24).
(22)  *Mijn vader nam die foto’s,* (MO D: 25)

*Those snapshots would have been taken by my father.* (MO E: 26)

(23)  *maar ze vinden elkaar dan toch weer* (MU D: 7)

*but they are still reunited* (MU E: 7)

(24)  *en jullie krijgen liefde.* (VH D: 18)

*and you’ll be given love;* she said. (VH E: 12)

As a final observation, the English translations have less Phenomena as Themes than the originals. Some changes are relatively parallel to the changes from Senser to Phenomenon in the other translational direction, and with a larger corpus this could be evaluated as a systematic change. Most of them are indeed transformed to Senser Themes. These changes often correspond with a change from a Direct Object Theme to a Subject Theme, but sometimes both are Subject Themes, as the Process changes from a like- type to a please – type (25), or a similar change (26). In (26), the change might be informed by the modifying relative clause, which can more easily be split from its Head in Dutch than in English.

(25)  *Maar dat beviel mij niet.* (EL D: 460)

*But I didn’t like that idea.* (EL E: 28)

(26)  *De grijze duivenvlerk schoot hem te binnen, waarmee hij ooit op tekenles de gumresten van het schetspapier veegde,* - (MU D: 11)

*He suddenly remembered the gray pigeon’s wing with which he used to brush the remnants of rubber off the sketchpad in drawing class.* (MU E: 11)

Overall, there are changes in many of the possible directions, and little of these are systematic in any way. The changes of Theme structure are too often the result of changes that affect the word order of the whole clause, and thus no strong conclusions can be drawn. It is possible, of course, that the analysis of this material fails to lay bare certain tendencies, but I do tend to state the analysis with the tools of Systemic Functional Grammar revealed little more than the previous analysis already did. Only those sentence pairs that display an opposition between Senser and Phenomenon, and those in which an active clause corresponds with a passive equivalent seem to be really relevant within the present material.
6. Textual and Interpersonal Themes

According to Halliday’s view on Theme, a Theme can simultaneously include elements of three different functional classes, of which only the experiential elements are obligatory. The majority of the clauses in the material contains only an experiential Theme, but about a quarter of the clauses has a multiple Theme, with Textual and/or Interpersonal elements, as can be seen in Table 1. In this chapter, the occurrence of these optional classes of thematic elements will be treated.

<table>
<thead>
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</table>

Table 1: Occurrence of Simple and multiple Themes

6.1 Textual Themes

6.1.1 Types

The global frequency of textual Themes is strikingly similar in the English and Dutch texts in, and in the translated and original texts: in all four groups of texts, approximately 22 percent of the clauses have textual Themes. These Textual Themes are also rather equally spread over the different categories Halliday distinguished. It should be noted that the total sum of all elements of different classes of Textual Themes is slightly higher than the number of clauses that contain a textual Theme (on which the shown percentages are based), as there is a number of clauses that contains elements from different classes.

<table>
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<td>Conjunctive Adjuncts</td>
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<td>Structural Themes</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>575</td>
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<td>646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of all Themes</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Distribution of Textual Themes
As Table 1 shows, Halliday (1994: 53) labelled three different categories of textual Themes. Continuatives are small elements like *yes* and *oh* which signal a new move in the discourse. These elements, which account for roughly 8 percent of the Textual Themes in all subgroups of the material, have hardly any meaning and certainly no grammatical function. A second group is that of the Conjunctive Adjuncts, elements of several types which semantically link the clause to the preceding text. Halliday (1994: 49-50) states about these Conjunctive Adjuncts (and about the Modal Adjuncts, which are treated in the next section) that

> it is not difficult to see why they tend to come at the beginning of the clause: if one of them is present at all, then in a sense it is a natural Theme. (…) If there is some element expressing the relationship to what has gone before, by putting this first we thematize the significance of what we are saying: I’ll tell you how this fits in.

A Conjunctive Adjunct can of course also be put further back in the clause, without the status of starting point of the message. When the original texts are compared with respect to the frequency of these elements in thematic position, it becomes clear that the percentages which are so neatly alike are the result of slightly different constellations: 16 % of the original English Textual Themes contain a Conjunctive Adjunct, for only 10 % of the Dutch ones. The English translations have considerably more Conjunctive Adjuncts than their Dutch source texts, which leads to a relative frequency close to the original English texts. The Dutch translations behave differently, and show a clear influence of the source texts, as they seem to keep most Conjunctive Adjuncts of the original. Indeed, 15 percent of the translated Dutch Textual Themes contain a Conjunctive Adjunct. However, the general percentages of all subgroups are similar, as the Dutch originals have relatively speaking more Textual elements of the third category than the other subgroups.

This third group, i.e. the group of structural themes, which is by far the biggest one in all text groups, only includes conjunctions in the present analysis. Halliday also includes relatives in the category of structural Themes, but as these elements are said to have both experiential and textual meaning, and as they are not very common in the material, I have chosen, not to include them here and I will consider them to be predominantly experiential. They have textual qualities, but they are not exclusively introduced as textual Theme.

The conjunctions under consideration are (of course) coordinating conjunctions, as only main clauses are studied. Conjunctions can be defined as ‘items which relate the clause to a preceding clause in the same sentence’ (Halliday 1994: 50) In the material, this is not always strictly true, as a range of sentences opens with a conjunction (with a capital letter and following a final stop), but this is more a matter of deviant punctuation than of a special thematic structure. Conjunctions differ from Conjunctive Adjuncts in having both a semantic and a grammatical function, especially when they appear in the
middle of a sentence, and the latter function makes them obligatory, although they can of course be left out when they are sentence-initial.

6.1.2 Textual and Experiential

Conjunctions also differ from Conjunctive Adjuncts in that they can only be clause-initial and as such thematic. As a result, choice of the speaker is only involved in its insertion, and not in its positioning, and this has consequences for the weight of Conjunctions in the thematic field. Halliday (1994: 51) observes that

the thematic status comes as part of the package, along with the meaning of the conjunction. But since these items are thematic by default, not by option, when one of them is present it does not take up all the thematic potential of the clause. Whatever is chosen to follow it will still have thematic force, although not as much as when nothing precedes at all.

In the first place this is shown by the possibility for Conjunctive Adjuncts to come after Conjunctions within the Theme. Halliday, however, only states that it is proved by the fact that there can still be a marked Experiential Theme after Conjunctions. The frequency of marked Themes is clearly lower than when no Conjunctions are present, which shows that the Conjunction carries some thematic weight in each case. In the material, both in Dutch and in English, there are indeed examples of marked Adjunct Themes following a Conjunction, like the Adjunct of Means in (1). When the slightly more marked types of Themes are considered, the Complement Themes, some of them also occur after a Conjunction, and this part is bigger in Dutch than in English: 8 out of 67 (11%) English Complement Themes and 27 out of 171 (16%) Dutch Complement Themes. Some of the most extremely marked English Complement Themes are preceded by a conjunction, like (2), while in Dutch this position is predominantly taken by less marked pronominal Complement Themes, as in (3).

(1) *En met die schreeuw kwam het huis tot leven.* (VH D: 10)

and with that scream the house came alive. (VH E: 4)

(2) *and visible now are hundreds of casks, lying like miniature ships in dry dock on curved wooden supports.* (TR E: 15)

(3) *want zo iets mag je aan geen derden toevertrouwen, ook niet aan je eigen kinderen.* (EL D: 459)

In view of the total number of clauses which contain (only) a Conjunction as textual Theme, these kind of marked Themes seem to occur indeed slightly less with Conjunctions than without them: 11 percent of the English Complement Themes and 16 percent of Dutch ones appear in respectively 15 and 18 percent of all clauses. In Dutch, there is an additional indication that Conjunctions do not extensively
exhaust the thematic potential: a Conjunction can appear together with another (textual, interpersonal of experiential) thematic element before the verb, and does not cause inversion.

According to Halliday (1994: 51), 'the same principle extends to the items which are typically though not obligatory thematic'. These items are for example Conjunctive Adjuncts (and Modal Adjuncts), and here he observes that marked experiential Themes following Conjunctive Adjuncts are less frequent still. This observation seems even more true for Dutch than for English: as a result of the verb-second constraint, an other element before the verb when there is a Conjunctive Adjunct should be impossible, and there should always be an inversed Verb+X Theme in those cases. The second element of this Theme is nearly always the Subject of the clause. However, the material shows that marked Themes, or rather Adjunct Themes but not Complement Themes, can occur between a Conjunctive Adjunct and the Verb.

It should be noted that there is an additional factor which perhaps allows this: in these cases there are always commas between the different constituents, as in (4) which combines a dismissive Conjunctive Adjunct and an Adjunct of Reason. In English too, these marked Themes are more often than not separated from one or both of their neighbouring constituents by commas. In only two occasions, one of which is presented in (5), the constituents follow each other without punctuation marks. Although some combinations in Dutch are made possible by the use of commas, others remain impossible, or would sound very marked. This is for example the case with the Adjunct toch: when an English clause combines thematic yet with a marked circumstantial Theme, the Dutch translation can never be an exact equivalent. As in (6), where the English Theme combines a Conjunctive Adjunct and a Subclause of time, the Conjunction maar partly carries the meaning of yet in those cases. As can be expected, to replace the English marked Theme by an unmarked Dutch Verb+Subject Theme is also quite common, as is shown in (5).

(4) Anyhow, because of Jamie, Alice and Peter had the whole day to themselves. (BD E: 17)
    Hoe dan ook, dankzij Jamie hadden Alice en Peter de hele dag voor henzelf. (BD D: 24)

(5) and yet even at nine years old I had this recurring sensation of encountering a vision made fact. (S E: 19)
    toch had ik, al was ik nog maar negen, telkens het gevoel dat ik oog in oog stond met een visioen dat werkelijkheid was geworden. (S D: 28)

(6) Yet, as Ellison Plastics went from strength to strength (without my assistance), it would have been clear to anyone that Sam's appetite for the 'real stuff' developed in proportion to his capacity. (S E: 7)
    Maar toen Ellison Plastics zich (zonder mijn hulp) in een razend tempo bleef uitbreiden werd het iedereen duidelijk dat Sams honger naar 'echte spullen' even snel toenam als zijn vermogen om ze aan te schaffen. (S D: 15)
6.1.3 Textual themes in the material

This section will consider the numbers for each class of textual Themes in turn, but first some preliminary remarks are necessary. Apart from the exclusion of structural Themes which are no Conjunctions, the classification in Table 1 differs in yet another way from Halliday’s system of textual Themes. He does not only assign the status of coordinating conjunction to *and*, *but*, (*n*) *or* and (*n*) *either*, but also to *yet*, *so* and *then*. I treat these elements as Conjunctive Adjuncts, like most traditional grammars do. Halliday (1994:49) uses these elements to illustrate the prototypical meaning of certain subtypes of Conjunctive Adjuncts, respectively of the temporal, causal and concessive ones, but does not consider them part of these subtypes, while I do. Unfortunately, this is not completely parallel with the way in which the situation in Dutch is traditionally seen: *toch* and *toen/dan* are indeed Conjunctive Adjuncts, but *dus* is sometimes considered a coordinating conjunction, sometimes a Conjunctive Adjunct, according to whether it does or does not cause inversion of Subject and Verb (Conjunctive adjuncts always cause inversion, Conjunctions never do), and whether or not it can be combined with a coordinator in the thematic field (two Textual elements of different subtypes can be combined in thematic position, but two of the same type can not). In the material the textual Theme of (7) turns out to be the only *dus* behaving like a Conjunction, as it causes no inversion and as it is incompatible with another Conjunction, while all others are causal Conjunctive Adjuncts like (8).

(7) *Dus u zult eraan wennen? (TR D: 23)
(8) *en dus weet hij dat het zijn eigen schaduw is. (TR D: 11)*

In addition, the coordinator *for* is not mentioned at all in Halliday’s treatment of textual Themes. Although it is not completely clear whether this is a coordinating or a subordinating conjunction, I consider it to be the first, as this is the most common opinion in traditional grammar, and it is parallel with the Dutch *want*, which makes the analysis more straightforward.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E orig</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>D trans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AND/EN</strong></td>
<td>338</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BUT/MAAR(DOCH)</strong></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOR/WANT</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OR/OF</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DUS</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>510</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3: Distribution of Coordinating Conjunctions*
The most frequent class of textual Themes is that of the coordinating conjunctions. Within this category, English and Dutch show similar frequencies for the different Conjunctions, as Table 3 shows.

And/en appears in approximately 65 percent of the cases, but/maar in 30 percent, and for or/of the frequencies lay between 1 and 3 percent. The most striking difference can be seen for the coordinators for and want, between the English (2 percent of the coordinators) and Dutch (8 percent of the coordinators) original texts. Also, the English translation loses more than half of the occurrences of for, while the Dutch translation adds a few coordinators want to its original.

For the Conjunctive Adjuncts, Halliday distinguishes 14 subtypes. The material contains at least one example for each of these subtypes, and except for the appositive and comparative Adjuncts there are examples in both languages. However, most numbers are not sufficiently substantial to enable any further conclusions other than that it is possible to have them in thematic position. Apart from the rather high occurrence of causal Adjuncts in English, both languages show somehow higher numbers for concessive and for temporal Adjuncts, but these three seem to be the only subtypes that are really common in thematic position in the material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Eng orig</th>
<th>Dutch orig</th>
<th>Eng trans</th>
<th>Dutch trans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elaboration</td>
<td>appositive (i.e)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>corrective (rather)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dismissive (in any case)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>summative (in short)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verifactive (actually)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extension</td>
<td>additive (and)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adversative (but)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>variative (instead)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enhancement</td>
<td>temporal (then)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>comparative (likewise)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>causal (so)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conditional (if..then)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>concessive (yet)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>respective (as to that)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Distribution of thematic Conjunctive Adjuncts
Because of the abundance of small numbers for the specific types, it makes more sense to classify them in larger categories. Halliday establishes three different ways in which a sentence can expand on the preceding text, and he classifies the previous subtypes in these categories of elaboration, extension and enhancement. He defines these in the following way:

In *elaboration*, the secondary clause does not introduce a new element into the picture but rather provides a further characterisation of one that is already there, restating it, clarifying it, refining it, or adding a descriptive attribute or comment. (1994: 225)

In *extension*, one clause extends the meaning of another by adding something new to it. What is added may be just an addition, or a replacement, or an alternative. (1994: 230)

In *enhancement* one clause enhances the meaning of another by qualifying it in one of a number of possible ways: by reference to time, place manner, cause of condition. (1994: 232)

The use of (thematic) Conjunctive Adjuncts is one of the ways to express these expanding relations. In the material, a large majority of the Conjunctive Adjuncts (in both languages, original and translated texts) expresses an enhancing relation, while elaborating and extending relations are less frequently represented. The general numbers in Table 2 already showed that the Dutch original texts contain less Conjunctive Adjunct Themes, while the Dutch translations seem to be heavily influenced by the source text. In Table 4, it is shown that these general tendencies can be seen for elaborating as well as extending and enhancing Adjuncts. However, Table 4 also shows that a translational influence is also present in English, but this influence is compensated by the occurrence of many causal Conjunctive Adjuncts so. Apart from these elements, the translated English texts clearly have less Conjunctive Adjuncts than the original ones.

Distinguishing between different ways of expansion can also be done with coordinating conjunctions, and when these two categories are combined, the results are completely different. It should be noted that Table 5 represents the complete textual Themes that actually occur, and not the different parts, and that the textual Themes that combine a Conjunction and an Adjunct are classified according to the kind of Adjunct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhancement</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>1073</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5: Types of expansion*
Again, the results are very similar for both languages. The table shows that the group of enhancing Themes is in fact the smallest of all three. The largest group within the Conjunctive Adjunct Themes proves to provide the majority of all Enhancing Themes, as there are only few occurrences of for/want, while the Elaborating an Extending Themes are predominantly Conjunctions. Elaborations are by far the most frequent group, due to the large number of Conjunction and/en.

6.1.4 Simple and Multiple Textual Themes

Table 2 already presented a view on the occurrence of different types of Textual Themes in the Dutch and English translated and original parts of the material, but it did not show the distribution of the textual elements over the clauses. Although a great majority of the clauses (95%) contains either a Conjunction, a Conjunctive Adjunct or a Continuative, some combine more than one of these elements. Table 5 shows the elements and combinations of elements that appear in the clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>D orig</th>
<th>E trans</th>
<th>D trans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj Adj</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuative</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction + Conj Adj</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction + Continuative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction + Conj Adj + Discourse marker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6 Simple and multiple Textual Themes**

Only one clause (in its English and Dutch version) combines all three elements (9): Conjunction and/en, Temporal Conjunctive Adjunct then/dan and Continuative hey presto/hopla together form a textual Theme. Continuatives combine with Conjunctions in an number of other cases, like the Theme in (10) always coming after them, but never with Conjunctive Adjuncts. Examples (11) and (12) illustrate the combination of Conjunctions with Conjunctive Adjuncts, which occurs in the material with all subtypes of the former and with all types of the latter except for summative and verifactive Adjuncts.

(9) and then - hey, presto! - Peter Kessler appears. (BD E: 13)
en dan, hopla, komt Peter Kessler tevoorschijn. (BD D: 21)

(10) But what the hell, a promise is a promise. (BD E: 10)
Maar ach ja, eens beloofd blijft beloofd. (BD D: 18)

(11) and yet he feels lost. (TR E: 4)
6.2 Interpersonal Themes

About 25 percent of the clauses in the material has a multiple Theme, but this is mostly the result of the occurrence of Textual Themes. Interpersonal Themes are present in one to three percent of the clauses, which amounts to 60 interpersonal Themes in the English original texts and their translation, and 40 in the Dutch original texts and their translation. Halliday (1994: 53-54) distinguishes three types of elements that can appear as Interpersonal Theme, but in this section only his two first categories are considered: Vocatives, those elements that are used to address, and Modal Adjuncts, which are ‘those which express the speakers’ judgement regarding the relevance of the message’ (Halliday 1994: 49), and which can be considered to be natural Themes, comparable to Conjunctive Adjuncts:

If the speaker includes within the message some element that presents his or her own angle on the matter, it is natural to make this the point of departure: ‘I’ll tell you what I think’. (Halliday 1994: 49-50)

Similar to the situation with thematic Conjunctive Adjuncts, Modal Adjuncts in the Theme are not often combined with marked experiential Themes. In all analysed texts, there are only three English and two Dutch examples of this combination. None of these have the equivalent construction in the translation. However, the comparison of (9) and (10), combinations of a Modal Adjunct of Probability and an Adjunct of time, and of (11) and (12), which combine a Modal Adjunct of respectively Obviousness and Doubtlessness, two rather similar types, with Experiential Adjuncts, shows that both languages have similar possibilities. This probably proves that these kind of combinations are, although possible, fairly unusual in both languages.

In Table 7, the occurrence of different types of interpersonal Themes in the material is shown. Contrary to the textual Themes, there are no combinations of different types of Themes. For the vocatives, seven of the ten texts contain one or more of these, mostly in the dialogical parts. Interestingly, there are no cases at all of Vocatives that disappear or are added in the translation. This might be the result of the
fact that a vocative, while it is highly significant as identifier and as expression of socially relevant functions, is no real part of the message, not even an element which shows the evaluation by the speaker, but just a signifier in the situation in which a certain message is expressed. Its significance can be separated from the main significance of the message. As such, its translation happens rather independently from that of the rest of the clause, on which it has no real influence, and there are few reasons to omit or add one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mod Adj</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>probability</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obviousness</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desirability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>persuasion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opinion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doubtlessness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 Interpersonal Themes

For the textual Conjunctive Adjuncts, the material contained examples for all subtypes that were distinguished in Halliday: (1994). This is not the case for the interpersonal Modal Adjuncts. Halliday (1994: 49) establishes fourteen subtypes, but the texts contain examples for only six of those subtypes. One subtype, that of probability, accounts for more than half of the thematic Modal Adjuncts. Overall, the English texts contain slightly more Modal Adjuncts than the Dutch texts, but the numbers are too small to make generalizing statements. The following examples illustrate some of the Modal Adjunct types (desirability, persuasion and opinion); some others have already been illustrated above.

(17) *Gelukkig weende mijn broer òók niet.* (EL D: 451)
    *Fortunately my brother wasn't crying either.* (EL E: 11)
(18) *eerlijk gezegd heb ik altijd een beetje moeite met de term "fantasie".* (MU D: 7)
    *to tell you the truth, I always have a bit of a problem with the term 'fantasy.'* (MU E: 7)
(19) *Volgens mij zit hij in de hel* (MU D: 9)
    *If you ask me, he's sitting in hell* (MU E: 9)
6.3 Textual, Interpersonal, and Experiential?

Halliday (1994: 55) illustrates his theory with a clause whose Theme contains all possible textual and interpersonal elements. In real stretches of text, however, such a clause is of course very unusual. In the present material, even Themes containing both a Textual, an Interpersonal and an Experiential Theme are very rare. There are 27 English and 25 Dutch occurrences of such a combination, and even then nearly half of these have a Continuative as Textual Theme and a Vocative as Interpersonal Theme, which are two elements that do not add to and do not comment on the content of the message, and which take up very little of the thematic potential. Because of the similarity between those two kinds of elements, it is in fact very natural and logical that they appear together – they are more similar to each other than to the other categories of interpersonal and textual elements. Clauses like (20) only situate the clause in the situation of a dialogue, and not really in the surrounding text, and it is clear that they do not really possess a full Textual-Interpersonal-Experiential-combination. As is shown in (20), this is often proved by the fact that the projecting clause interrupts the projected one in the middle of the Theme.

(20) *Ja jongen,* zuchtte ze uiteindelijk, *waarom doet een mens zoiets?* (MO D: 10)

"Indeed lad," she sighed at last, "why would such a thing?" (MO E: 12)

Several other clauses contain a Conjunction as textual Theme and a Modal Adjunct as interpersonal Theme. (21) and (22) are examples of two combinations that occur more than once: Conjunction *but/maar* combines with Adjuncts of respectively probability and obviousness. In addition, there are two cases in the material of combinations present in one single occurrence. The Theme of (23) contains a Conjunctive and a Modal Adjunct, that of (24) a Continuative and a Modal Adjunct. The former combination -which is by the way impossible in Dutch as a result of the V2-constraint- seems to be rather marked, and may therefore be rare in general, although this can’t be observed from the material. The scarcity of the latter combination can be no more than the result of the scarcity of its elements, as a continuative does not take up enough of the thematic potential to give rise to a marked combination.

(21) *But perhaps the pensive prince was always there, lurking in some morbid toy-box* (S E: 5)

*Maar misschien lag de piekerende prins altijd op de loer in een of andere droefgeestige speelgoedkist.* (S D: 12)

(22) *but of course it was in German* that he talked. (TR E: 18)

*m maar natuurlijk was het Duits dat hij sprak.* (TR D: 26)

(23) *so maybe he was afraid he’d have to stop writing if he finished the book.* (BD E: 20)

(24) *Alas, upon reflection,* I do not think so. (TR E: 9)

*Helaas, bij nader inzien denk ik van niet.* (TR D: 17)
6.4 Textual and Interpersonal Themes in translation: changed or preserved?

With respect to the occurrence of Textual and Interpersonal Themes in general, and to the distribution of these Themes over the different subtypes, no important differences were found between the English and the Dutch material. This is partly the result of the fact that the material contains only few of these Themes. This, however, does not mean that there are no considerable changes in the translation of those clauses with Textual and Interpersonal Themes. Certain changes, for instance, equal out in the results.

6.4.1 Changes to Interpersonal Themes

The changes made to Interpersonal Themes are limited. It has already been mentioned that all vocatives are preserved. For the other Interpersonal Themes, it can be observed that nearly a quarter of the Modal Adjuncts in both the English and the Dutch translated texts is added in thematic position. In the English translation, only one Interpersonal element is really new: the Modal Adjunct in (25), which takes over the aspect of probability from the Dutch auxiliary *kunnen*. This Modal Adjunct is presumably added because the English clause would otherwise not express the same peculiar meaning as the Dutch one, which states a possibility together with the suggestion of the wish that the matter in case becomes true.

(25) Zij *konden* de indruk geven dat ik medeging om Karels wille, (EL D: 451)

   *Perhaps* they would give the impression that I was going for Karel's sake, (EL E: 12)

The other Modal Adjuncts that are new in the English Themes are fronted from Dutch Medial position, and this is partly the result of a structural difference between English and Dutch. In English, 'Medial Position' most often indicates that the Adjunct appears between the Subject and the finite Verb (Vandenbergen 2000). The use of Medial Position for Adverbials asks for certain conditions, and also certain Modal Adjuncts, like for instance *of course*, *maybe* and Adjuncts of opinion with *according to* are not easily put in this position. They can only appear clause-initially or clause-finally, while their Dutch equivalents easily occur in Medial position. Besides, this 'Medial position' differs from the English one, as it indicates elements which between the finite verb and the non-Subject participants that follow. Thus, the Medial Dutch *natuurlijk* in (26) is translated as an thematic English of *course*, and the same happens to *misschien/maybe* in (27).
Heeft natuurlijk gelijk. (MU D: 7)
Of course you are right. (MU E: 7)

De sterren hadden misschien iets heviger geblonken aan de hemel, iets roder. (VH D: 9)
Maybe the stars shone a bit brighter in the sky, a bit redder. (VH E: 10)

In other cases, the same Modal Adjuncts are not made thematic in the translation, but they keep the position they had in the Dutch clause, i.e. after the finite verb. Vandenbergen (1995:81) signals that this can happen after unstressed auxiliaries, like in (28) or after an unstressed copular Verb be, which is the case in (29). Dutch clause-final Modal Adjuncts remain clause final in English, for instance in (30)

Ik kan daar natuurlijk een neep of twee in leggen, (MO D: 32)
I can of course make a few tucks here and there, (MO E: 34)

Hij was natuurlijk een routinier, (MU D: 6)
He was of course an old hand; (MU E: 6)

"Ik herken u natuurlijk. (MU D: 2)
"I recognize you, of course, (MU E: 2)

The Dutch translations only add six Modal Adjuncts. Three of these take over the aspect of probability from the auxiliary might (31), one perhaps is fronted from Medial Position. The other two clauses are cases of complete reformulation.

Or Kirsten might have invented it. (TR E: 18)
Of misschien heeft Kirsten het bedacht. (TR D: 26)

The Dutch translations lose as many Interpersonal Themes as they add. Some are preserved in medial of clause-final position. In (32) this is probably of the change of the Experiential Theme into a Direct Object Theme, with which the Interpersonal element changes places. In most cases, however, there are no apparent reasons. Again, the Theme of other clauses is changed because the whole clause is slightly reformulated, as in (33), in which the content of the original Predicated Theme, Interpersonal Theme included, is more or less moved to a subclause.

The English translations delete only one Interpersonal Theme: the Modal Adjunct of Probability misschien occurs in two subsequent clauses, and the second time it disappears in the translation (34).

but of course you know that, (TR E: 6)
maar dat weet u natuurlijk, (TR D: 14)

And perhaps it was this sense of deprivation, rather than the simple fact that my father was dead, that made tears rush to my eyes. (S E: 21)
De tranen sprongen me in de ogen - misschien niet zozeer vanwege het simpele feit dat mijn vader dood was, maar door het besef dat ik iets spannends gemist had. (S D: 31)

misschien was het eigenlijk precies andersom: misschien was hij inderdaad onveranderd, maar dan in die zin dat hij voor zichzelf altijd al degene was geweest die hij nu ook voor anderen was, ook al op zijn zolderkamer met de ijsbloemen op de ruiten. (MU D: 3)

perhaps it was completely the other way around: he was indeed unchanged, in the sense that for himself he had always been as he now was for others, too, even in his attic with the frost flowers on the windows. (MU E: 4)

6.4.2 Changes to textual Themes

In the translation of clauses with Textual Themes, some changes occur considerably frequent, others only occasionally. These changes are shown in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E to D</th>
<th>D to E</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuative dissappears</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuative added</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conjunction dissappears</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction added</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction changes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conjunction replaces Conj Adj</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conj Adj dissappears</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conj Adj added</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj Adj changes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj Adj replaces conjunction</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause dissappears (as main clause)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 Changed Textual Themes.

6.4.2.1 Changes to continuatives

Continuatives do not really have an important function as a Theme, not in the meaning nor in the structure of a text, and they can thus be omitted and added freely without great changes. However, from a translational perspective, their appearance in the Theme can certainly be important. The English clauses (35) and (36) add continuatives to their Dutch originals, and this for obvious reasons. In (35), the Dutch clause contains a proliferation of Textual elements: the thematic Conjunction maar and two rhematic Conjunctive Adjuncts, toch en dan. This is a way of adding a kind of emotive urgency to the
imperative. In English, it is very unusual to have such a cluster of Textual elements, but a similar urgency is expressed by the Interpersonal Theme 'for goodness' sake'. (36), too, is difficult to translate, but in another way: the Subject Ge and the verb form zoudt are deliberately non-standard, or Flemish dialect. The translation reformulates the clause drastically, into a kind of imperative question which, together with the addition of the continuative, results in a similar effect of informal language.

(35) 'Maar begin dan toch met dat agentschap aan te vragen,' (EL D: 459)

'For goodness' sake start by applying for the agency,' (EL E: 27)

(36) Ge zoudt mij beter wat helpen. (MO D: 18)

Come along now, why don't you give me a hand (MO E: 20)

Other examples of changes concerning Continuatives may point to certain general tendencies. The Dutch clauses contain more Textual Themes ja and nee than there are English elements yes and no, especially when there is no real preceding yes-no. In (37), the Dutch translation adds such an element, and in (38), the English translation leaves one out. Ja and nee seem to be more likely to stand for a weakened affirmation or negation than yes and no. Another phenomenon which appears several times is the loss of Continuatives before imperatives from English to Dutch, as in (39). Rhematic Conjunctive Adjuncts, in this case maar, often take over the function of softening the imperative.

(37) You'll alway stick up for him. (BN E: 20)

Ja, jij neemt het altijd voor hem op. (BN D: 22)

(38) Ja, ik leef daar voortdurend in angst (EL D: 454)

I'm in a constant panic, (EL E: 19)

(39) Here now, have your milk (TR E: 14)

Drinkt u eerst maar eens uw melk op, (TR D: 22)

6.4.2.2 Replaced Conjunctions and Adjuncts

The more frequent changes concerning the Textual Theme consist of Conjunctions and Conjunctive Adjuncts being added or deleted. Less frequently, the translations replace a Conjunction of a Conjunctive Adjunct in the original by an element from another group, or from another subcategory. The small numbers for these changes allow no observations concerning systematic patterns, but some of the examples are interesting in their own right. Some passages, for instance, when examined in detail, either show certain slight shortcomings as a translation, or should be considered as instances where the translator deliberately changes certain aspects of meaning. Probably those changes in meaning are not relevant to the whole, but the local intended meaning of the original writer is certainly altered.
sometimes. Some changes of these types are necessary changes, for instance those concerning the English *nor*, which has no real Dutch equivalent and thus should be changed into *en*, with the aspect of negation following in the Rheme (40). Moreover, the conjunction *nor* is a special case in English, as it causes inversion of Subject an Verb.

(40) *Nor was he* to blame for the circumstances which induced in me a particularly acute rapport. (S E: 5)  
*En hij was ook niet verantwoordelijk voor de omstandigheden die me ertoe brachten me intens met Hamlet te vereenzelvigen.* (S D: 13)

In (41), the change of Conjunction -which is not a necessary but a deliberate Theme Change- does not really change the meaning, as the translated Conjunction is of the same category of expansion as a Conjunctive Adjunct in the original. A slight change can be found in (42): the original clearly states the existence of an opposition between its two parts, by means of the Conjunctive Adjunct *yet*, but the translation replaces this element by the Conjunction *en*. The result is that the translation suggest that the ambition and hatred of the man and the delicateness of his music are elements that logically come together, while it is much more natural to oppose these elements and stress this in the linking of the clauses, like the original does.

(41) *En toch vroeg mijn vrouw wat ik aan de hand had.* (EL D: 457)  
*But still my wife asked what was the matter with me.* (EL E: 24)  
(42) The man was all ambition and hatred, *yet his ayres were as delicate as rain.* (TR E: 6)  
*De man was een en al ambitie en haat en zijn airs waren zo verfijnd als regen.* (TR D: 14)

This meaning difference is only of a very local relevance, but a similar difference between translation and original can be found in (43). This is a passage that is rather important to get insight in the protagonist of the novel. The original uses the Conjunction *but* between the third and the fourth clause to oppose the negative aspects of Clare (her lack of intelligence and her leading the protagonist into mortal sin) with her positive aspects (that she would have diverted the protagonist's mind and would have been much more entertaining than his present thoughts about martyrs of the third century). The translation, however, adds a Conjunction *maar* between the second and the third clause, and changes the original *but* into *en*. As a result, it is no longer clear which aspects the protagonist values as negative or positive. Either he likes her unintelligence, but dislikes the sinful aspect and the fact that she would disturb his useful thoughts about martyrs, or he dislikes her unintelligence and the process of leading him into mortal sin was part of the entertainment he enjoyed about her. None of the two possible interpretations of the opposition makes sense, and the Dutch reader can’t possibly gain the same insight.
about the opinion of the protagonist as the English reader does, so it can be stated that in this case the translator has really made a slight mistake in changing the Conjunctions.

(43) Clare wasn't clever, Clare wasn't well informed, Clare had been leading him into mortal sin; but if he'd had before him the prospect of taking her out tonight he wouldn't now be occupying himself with speculations about martyrs of the third century. (BN E: 13)

Clare was niet intelligent, Clare wist ook niet veel, maar Clare had hem naar de doodzonde geleid; en als hij vanavond met haar was uitgegaan zouden zijn gedachten zich niet hebben beziggehouden met beschouwingen over martelaren uit de derde eeuw. (BN D: 16)

Other changes of these infrequent types precisely happen to maintain a certain meaning aspect, for instance because the use of certain textual elements differs slightly in the different languages. There are several examples of clauses that are mainly linked as subsequent events, but with a slight additional aspect: the first event in a way causes the occurrence of the second, or the condition that precedes it. In Dutch, it is the Conjunctive Adjunct dan that links clauses in such a way, but in English this is simply done with and, or sometimes with or. In (44), both the English and the Dutch clause complex carry the implicit meaning of 'if you take over the responsibility, you'll see'. A similar paraphrase can be constructed for (45), although the negation of the first clause should be deleted: 'If someone told you, you would not have come'. In English, the difference between a positive and a negative condition coincides with the occurrence of respectively and and or; in Dutch this difference is not marked.

A second usage difference is suggested by the repeated translation of the Dutch en, when it simply links subsequent events, by the English then, as in (46), which is the last in a whole range of actions. This may be due to the fact that the temporal meaning of the English then is not too strong.

(44) Take the responsibility for the ministry from me and see what I will do." (IE: 9)

Neem jij nou het ministerie van me over, dan zal je eens wat beleven. ' (ID: 11)

(45) No one told you, or perhaps you would not have come. (TR E: 15)

Niemand heeft het u verteld, want dan was u misschien niet gekomen. (TR D: 24)

(46) en ging het herentoilet in, waar ik mijn handen waste. (VDJ D: 11)

then went into the men's room and washed my hands. (VDJ E: 10)

6.4.2.3 Changes to conjunctions

The preceding examples showed how certain thematic textual elements are translated by others. In considerably more instances in the material, clauses simply lose or gain a Textual Theme. With respect to the changes concerning conjunctions, similar patterns of addition and deletion can be found in the
English and Dutch translations, and most patterns are equally present in the two opposite directions. A first pattern concerns the causal Conjunctions *for* and *want*. The translators at hand probably judge that an implicit causal relation between clauses is not clear enough, or consider an explicit causal relation unnecessary, and therefore they respectively add or delete the Conjunction. Those causal Conjunctions that are deleted have a special status in several cases, not indicating a straightforward causal relation. In (47), the event in the second clause in the complex is not the reason for the event in the first clause, but rather indicates the reason for someone outside of the clause, for the person whose thoughts the clause expresses, to presume the first clause (they are not happy because they were smiling, it is thought that they are happy as they are smiling.) In (48), it is very difficult to point to the (implicit) element with which a causal relation is established. As a result, these causal Conjunctions are perhaps more quickly left out, and the causal relation disappears completely rather than that it remains present in an implicit way, as it does in more straightforward cases like (49). The translation of (50) is an example of an originally implicit causal relation that is made explicit.

(47) Misschien waren ze gelukkig, want iets van een glimlach had zich in hun gezicht genesteld. (VH D: 15)
Maybe they were happy, their lips bore the trace of a smile. (VH E: 9)

(48) No need to reply. For they are all gone from Denmark. (TR E: 5)
U hoeft geen antwoord te geven. Ze zijn allemaal uit Denemarken verdwenen. (TR D: 13)

(49) En sla een sjaal om, want het is koud.’ (EL D: 449)
And put a scarf on, it’s cold.’ (EL E: 8)

(50) Mrs Travers would see his mother’s other face, sane and sensible and gently smiling: to everyone except her family Mrs Dungarvan was the widow who had made such a good adjustment to widowhood. (BN E: 23)
Mevrouw Travers zou het andere gezicht van zijn moeder zien, het gezonde, verstandige, nuchtere gezicht, een glimlachend gezicht; want voor iedereen buiten haar eigen familie was mevrouw Dungarvan de weduwe die zich zo goed bij haar weduwenstaat had aangepast. (BN D: 26)

Similar patterns can be observed with relations of opposition. Some Conjunctions *but* and *maar* are added, making an implicit opposition of the original explicit, others do the opposite, as in (52). In (51), the addition of *but* seems to be due to the reformulation of the Experiential Theme: the two nouns in the original were clearly opposed in meaning, but this is less obvious with the Verb Phrase Subject in the translation.

(51) Postume promotie was niet uitgesloten, *degradatie* viel vaker voor. (MO D: 10)
Posthumous promotion could happen, *but being taken down a peg or two* was more likely. (MO E: 12)

(52) Sommigen zagen hierin een teken dat alle leed binnenkort wel geleden zou zijn. *Maar de non* verzekerde ons dat we op weg waren, maar dat we ons doel nog niet hadden bereikt. (VH D: 20)
Some saw this as a sign that all suffering would soon end. The mystic woman assured us we were on the light path but hadn't reached our goal yet. (VH E: 14)

(53) Maar hoe zorgvuldig we ook zochten, nergens vonden we een scheur in het pleisterwerk. (VH D: 10)

No matter how hard we looked, we couldn't see cracks in the plaster. (VH E: 4)

The situation in (53) is parallel to the disappearance of causal Conjunctions that indicate a non-straightforward relation: there is no real contrast between the clause and the text that precedes, and the maar somehow seems to be an extra marker of the opposition within the clause, between the subclause and the main clause. The conjunctions and and en are more often deleted than the previous ones. When this happens in the middle of a clause, this mostly results in asyndetically coordinated clauses, linked by a comma of a semicolon, as illustrated in (54).

(54) De ramen zaten min of meer beschonken in de gevels en naast de deurpost hingen een paar klompen beplant met petunia's. (MO D: 7)

The windows sat a little tipsily in the walls; wooden clogs potted with petunias hung by the door. (MO E: 9)

This deletion changes little of nothing to the meaning of the clauses or the relation between them, although the link between two clauses might be less strong with such a connection without Conjunction, but in some cases they are important for the aspect of style. One of the novels analysed, for instance, i.e. Tongkat by Peter Verhelst, has a very high frequency of asyndetically linked clauses. These clauses appear in strings of three and more and they all have the same Subject Theme, which is elided in all but first clause. Moreover, the original of this specific text has the highest frequency of elided Themes in the material, accounting for 13 percent of all Themes. The translator could have chosen to decrease or simply to preserve that stylistic characteristic, and some passages indeed contain slightly more or precisely the same number of Conjunctions. However, in some passages this feature of asyndetic links is more pervasive in the translation than in the original.

In (55), the Dutch clause complex counts five clauses, two of these linked by a Conjunction, but the translation removes another Conjunction, although it fronts the temporal Adjunct toen in the fourth clause to thematic position, and as such adds a Textual element. Apart from these strings linked by commas, the Dutch text contains similar strings of verbs with few Conjunctions and with the same, elided Subject Theme, but in different short sentences. Again, the translation is sometimes more extreme than the original. The Dutch passage in (56) contains only one asyndetic connection, and it repeats the Subject once, and in this way puts emphasis on the last, specially thematized clause. The English translation leaves out two Conjunctions as well as the repeated Subject. This means in a way
that only the first clause of this passage contains (expressed) Thematic material.

(55) *En man* ging voor de vrouw staan, maakte met pink en wijsvinger het duivelsteken *en* siste in haar gezicht; keerde zich toen om en ging naar beneden. (VH: 17)

*One man* went and stood in front of the woman, made the sign of the devil with his fingers, hissed in her face, *then* turned around and went down the hill. (VH: 11)

(56) *Mijn broer* kwam mijn kamer binnen, van de ene op de andere voet springend, *en* sloeg de lakens van mijn bed open. *Rillend* kwam hij tegen me aan liggen *en* wreef met mijn handen de kou uit zijn oren weg. Lag als een kuiken onder de warme lamp van mijn adem. (VH: 9)

*My brother* came into my room, hopping from one foot to the other. Threw back my bedcovers. Cuddled up to me, shivering. Rubbed the cold out of his ears with my hands. Huddled like a chick under the heat of my breath. (VH: 3)

In the last example, a Conjunction was deleted as one sentence was translated as two, which is also a common pattern of Conjunction loss, in stylistically less special ways than that previous example. This is sometimes combined with a changing Experiential Theme, for instance in (57), where an Adjunct of Time gets predicated in the translation, but just as often a clause is divided from its original clause complex, while keeping its thematic structure, as in (58). If this is the case and the original contained elided Subject Themes, then these are normally made explicit again, different from (56), which shows a really specific pattern. Other thematic elements can also be elided: in (58), the Theme is in fact an Adverbial clause, which is elided together with the Subject. In the process of dividing one clause into two, the Subject and not the Theme is repeated. This example (58) also illustrates another relatively frequent phenomenon, especially with clause complexes that contain three clauses: one Conjunction is deleted as a clause complex is split up, but as a result a Conjunction is added between the two remaining clauses in the complex.

(57) *Het bellenkoord* slingerde gerinkel door lange gangen en *pas na minuten* wachten trok een kromgebogen non de houten toeganspoort open. (MO: 21)

*A pull on the bell handle* sent a tinkling ring down long corridors. *It was several minutes* before the heavy wooden door was opened by a nun bent double with age. (MO: 23)

(58) *Toen we een kring om de vrouw vormden*, haalde ze haar ogen van de hemel af, veegde moeizaam de ijskristallen van haar lippen en probeerde de letters te vormen. MATADOR. (VH: 21)

*When we encircled the woman*, she wrenched her eyes away from heaven and wearily rubbed the ice crystals from her lips. *She tried to mouth the letters:* MATADOR. (VH: 15)

The replacement of conjunctions *and/en* by commas an semicolons are quite frequent changes, but the opposite also occurs regularly: asyndetically linked clauses get Conjunctions *and/en* in the translation.
Some Conjunctions are added as others in the clause complex disappear, especially when a process of restructuring concerns the last clause of a string of clauses, which more often occurs with a Conjunction than other clauses. The Conjunction moves one clause closer to the beginning of the sentence, because a clause becomes a separate sentence, as in (59) or because an independent clause is translated as a dependent one (60).

(59) *He wake up early each morning, drove to the city, outraced most cars on the way, and arrived at his office with the high of speed still fizzing in his blood.* (I E: 19)

*Hij werd elke ochtend vroeg wakker, reed naar de stad en stoof onderweg de meeste auto's voorbij, zodat de snelheidsoes nog in zijn bloed nabruiste als hij in zijn werkkamer aankwam.* (I D: 24)

(60) *Iets verderop was het Albertinamuseum, daarachter waren de torens en koepels van de Hofburg te zien in het dunne herfstlicht.* (MU D: 4)

*A little farther on was the Albertina Museum and behind it the towers and domes of the Hofburg could be seen in the thin autumn air.* (MU E: 4)

In other clause complexes the addition of a Conjunction between the clauses is the only change as in (60). In contrast to the clause complexes that are split up, the translations also join two separate original clauses into one complex. While all previously mentioned patterns occurred in the translations in both directions, this thematic change is much more present in the English translations. In the specific texts, most examples come from the *Tongkat* – translation, in which, next to the passages that are more extremely asyndetic than the Dutch, there are also a number of original short phrases that are merged into complexes, as in (61), where the original Experiential Themes are preserved in the process, and in (62), in which the content of the Adverbial Experiential Theme is translated into a Subject Theme.

(61) *Door de extreme kou verkruimelde het ijs. De spiegelkerk werd dof.* (VH D: 21)

*Because of the extreme cold, ice turned to powder and the mirrorchurch lost its sheen.* (VH E: 15)

(62) *Iedere werknemer werd gefouilleerd na de dagtaak. Op overtreding stond de doodstraf.* (VH D: 23)

*Every worker was searched at the end of the day, and the punishment for disobeying this rule was death.* (VH E: 17)

Conjunctions *And/En* do not always appear between the clauses of a complex, they also occur sentence-initial. In this position too they are added and deleted in the translations, although the characteristics of the changes are different in the two languages. The English translation adds hardly any of these initial Conjunctions, only in the passage under (63), again from *Tongkat*, in which very little thematic elements are present. The English translation deletes several Conjunctions, all of which were originally combined with an Experiential Theme only (64), while the Dutch translations delete more
Conjunctions that are combined with another Textual element (65). Adding sentence-initial Conjunctions is clearly more frequent in the Dutch translation.

(63) We vonden elkaar instinctief, we troepten samen, vertelden elkaar verhalen om de tijd te doden. Stalen voor elkaar. Verzorgden elkaar. Verzegelden elkaar naar de laatste rustplaats. Wij, eten, overleven. We leerden elkaar dingen aan. Bijvoorbeeld dat twee eetlepels ether in een plastic zak volstond om dromen op te wekken. Tot ook de ether dik werd als marsepein. (VH D: 15)

We found each other instinctively, banded together, told each other stories to kill time. Stole for each other, took care of each other, accompanied each other to the final resting place. Us, fat, survive. And we learned things from each other. For example, that two spoonfuls of ether in a plastic bag werf enough to induce dreams. Until that ether too thickened like marzipan. (VH E: 9)

(64) En hoe meer ijs we naar boven sleurden, hoe meer de kerk op een gotische kathedraal begon te lijken. Steunberen die uit kantwerk leken te zijn opgetrokken. (VH D: 19)

The more ice we gathered, the more the church came to resemble a Gothic cathedral. Buttresses of lace, their mouths. (VH E: 13)

(65) En hoe meer ijs we naar boven sleurden, hoe meer de kerk op een gotische kathedraal begon te lijken. Steunberen die uit kantwerk leken te zijn opgetrokken. (VH D: 19)

The more ice we gathered, the more the church came to resemble a Gothic cathedral. Buttresses of lace, their mouths. (VH E: 13)

6. 4. 2. 4 Changes to Adjuncts

With respect to the addition and deletion of Conjunctual Adjuncts as Textual Themes, the most striking observation is that in a majority of cases, they are in fact repositioned only. From English to Dutch, for instance, only five Adjuncts really disappear, as in (66), and even within this small group one clause is completely reformulated and the meaning of one yet in another is in fact carried by a but replacing an en. In (67), too, the translation contains no textual element, but the whole experiential main clause has in fact a textual character. In short, textual elements that are lost are really rare in this translational direction. Most of the textual elements are preserved clause-medially, as integendeel in (68). In Dutch, this is an element that can only be made thematic when a comma divides it from the rest of the clause, and this structure is clearly incompatible with the Conjunction maar, as well as with the ellipsis of the Subject. This last aspect also plays a role in (69), a clause that contains a textual element (toen) that is often found as a Theme, but not in clauses where the Theme is an elided Subject. Elided Subjects clearly fill the first position in the clause, and they can’t be put behind the verb as the result of the insertion of another thematic element. As such, the translator has to choose between losing the textual Theme and making the Subject explicit behind the verb.
Hours passed, with servants calling its name from the gates and round the vegetable gardens, but still it could not be discovered. (TR E: 19)

Uren verstreken waarin de bedienden zijn naam riepen bij de poort en bij de moestuinen, maar hij werd niet gevonden. (TR D: 28)

As a result, Bat's father refused to give him pocket money. (IE: 17)

Het gevolg was dat Bats vader hem geen zakgeld meer wilde geven. (ID: 22)

it should have driven Clare out of his mind but instead it forced her farther in; (BN E: 14)

het had Clare uit zijn gedachten moeten verdrijven, maar deed hem integendeel steeds sterker aan haar denken (BN D: 16)

The old woman sucked in her breath, pursed her Lips and then went on, (BD E: 12)

De oude vrouw zoog haar adem in, tuitte haar lippen en ging toen verder: (BD D: 20)

A special case is the causal conjunct so. Although it has no real equivalent in Dutch, the translations mostly contain some element that is derived from it, for instance the daarom in (70) and the zo in (71). I consider these elements to be Experiential, namely as Adverbial Adjuncts of Reason and of Manner, although they also have a textual aspect. A special way of treating the problem of translating so can be seen in (72): the causal element is fronted to the previous clause, and this slightly changes the meaning of the passage, as the original clearly states that he deliberately keeps few friends, while the translation presents this aspect as a additional result of his general attitude.

She hadn't found any word other than 'hideous' and so let her sentence trail off. (BD E: 6)

Ze had geen ander woord kunnen bedenken dan 'afzichtelijk' en maakte haar zin daarom niet af. (BD D: 14)

This skill he mastered very quickly and so to the great store of chatter housed in his small flame was added yet another topic of conversation: discussion of his drawings. (TR E: 19)

Deze kunst kreeg hij heel snel onder de knie, en zo werd het grote kwebbelgehalte van zijn kleine lijf aangevuld met nog een gespreksthema: praten over zijn tekeningen. (TR D: 27)

From then on Bat decided to gain control over his life. He kept few friends and so had little trouble from the outside world. (IE: 17)

Van toen af aan besloot Bat zich in het leven te beheersen en afstand te bewaren. Als gevolg daarvan had hij weinig vrienden en weinig last met de buitenwereld. (ID: 23)

The processes of change observed from Dutch to English are clearly different. In general, only half as many Textual Themes disappear and most of these are not preserved in the Rheme. For the addition of Conjunctive Adjuncts, a similar difference between Dutch and English can be observed. The Dutch translation adds more Adjuncts that are not derived from the original, from trouwens and overigens to in ieder geval. In a majority of cases the added Conjunct is dan, and these clauses, as was previously
mentioned, often have the meaning of ‘happening (only) on condition of the event in the previous clause. This condition can be explicit, mostly in original and translation, as in (73) where the Theme of the previous clause is an Adverbial Clause of condition, but also implicit, as in (74). Less frequently, the Dutch translations also front textual elements from the original, from medial position as in (75) or from clause final position as in (76). (76) shows how difficult it can be to determine whether an element then or toen is textual or experiential. A clause-final then seems to have more experiential qualities, but as it is fronted it certainly gains textual ones.

(73) If rifles started popping, they would hurry inside and Bat would depart when the commotion ended. (I E: 19)
    Als er geweren opklonken, haastten ze zich naar binnen en dan ging Bat pas weg als de opschudding voorbij was (I D: 25)

(74) He could wave his hand and all the backlog and the mess at the ministry would froth away. (I E: 10)
    Hij kon zwaaien met zijn toverstokje en dan zouden de hele achterstand en het zootje op het ministerie wegsmeelten. (I D: 12)

(75) He was, above all, fearless and serious. (I E: 13)
    Bovenal was hij onbevreesd en serieus. (I D: 17)

(76) And I burst out crying and he was angry with me then; (BN E: 7)
    Ik barstte in tranen uit en toen werd hij kwaad; (BN D: 6)

The English translated clauses more often contain a Textual Theme that comes from the Rheme of the original. This is often the case with the added causal conjunction ‘so’. In many cases they can be linked to a textual Adjunct dus (77) or dan ook (78) and also other combinations with dan occasionally occur as the source for an English so. Other Conjunctions too are sometimes fronted to the Theme. A smaller amount of English textual Themes is really added. As in (79), this sometimes results in two clauses merging into one complex, but this is not always the case.

(77) Er was dus sprake van buitengewone dapperheid. (MU D: 13)
    So he must have been exceptionally brave, (MU E: 13)

(78) Ik vroeg hem dan ook wat voor soort handel zijn Hollandse vrienden dreven. (EL D: 456)
    So I asked him what kind of business his Dutch friends were in. (EL E: 22)

(79) Ze sloegen hem kapot. Letterlijk. Ze zogen de laatste restjes warmte als merg uit zijn beenderen. (VH D: 15)
    The people beat him to death, literally, then sucked the last remnants of warmth out of his bones as if it were marrow. (VH E: 9)

6. 4.2.5 Lost main clauses

The previous sections explored various changes in the Textual Themes of clauses, but the most frequent phenomenon of the loss of textual elements in the translation from Dutch to English has not
been mentioned yet. Coordinated main clauses often disappear as T-Units by becoming subordinate, as a result of which their Theme structure is no longer included in the analysis. This, of course, is in no way a result of the presence of certain textual elements, but when these elements are present it is interesting to look whether the coordinating Conjunctions are replaced by another thematic textual element in the resulting subclause, or whether they are really lost. A majority of the Dutch main clauses that have become English subclauses contain the Coordinator with a causal meaning want, and in these cases, the thematic structure of the translated subclause often just reflects that of the original. The translations are finite subclauses introduced by because or since, the subordinating equivalents of want, and in most cases, the experiential Theme is also preserved, as in (80). Most marked main clause Themes, hozcze, change into unmarked subclause Themes, as in (81).

(80) Hij moest iets gezien hebben, want hij ging tot in de keukendeur en verzocht het hele gezelschap aan te treden. (EL D: 450)
He must have seen something, because he went into the kitchen and asked everyone to come in. (EL D: 10)

(81) Gelukkig had ik niet verklaard er zelf de laatste weken geweest te zijn, want dadelijk zei er een dat die Jean-Bart al een jaar of drie niet meer bestaat en dat het nu een bioscoop is. (EL D: 456)
Fortunately I hadn’t claimed that I’d eaten there myself in the last few weeks, because someone immediately said that the Jean-Bart had been closed for about three years and was now a cinema. (EL E: 21)

When these pairs are considered, the exclusion from the thematic analysis of these finite subclauses, which are so very similar to certain main clauses, seems a rather arbitrary decision. The question whether finite subclauses should be included or not can be extended to all clause-final ones, as they relate to the main clauses in a very similar way as certain main clauses do to each other. However, the exclusion is mainly based on the occurrence of clause-initial subclauses, which clearly form a starting point for the subsequent main clause, and must thus be considered Theme (which makes the analysis of their own Theme no matter of concern). However, excluding these clauses seems to make sense, especially in Dutch, where the choice of an Experiential Theme is much less free than in main clauses. The English experiential Themes seem to be distributed in a way similar to main clauses, only slightly less freely, and thus the analysis of these subclauses would add little to the general view that resulted from the analysis of main clauses.

As such, finite subclauses that are derived from main clauses are treated equally with other occurring types, in which the structure of textual and experiential theme is less similar to that of the original clause. Some clauses are transformed to ing-clauses (82) or to-infinitive clauses (83). These verbal initial elements can be considered as containing both the textual as the experiential thematic material, and thus they thematise a completely other element. However, as they hardly function as starting point,
being not much more than a constituent or even only part of it, the main effect is that a Theme is deleted from the text. Other clauses are turned into relative clauses, or disappear completely as a result of drastic reformulation.

(82) Volgens mij zit hij in de hel en lacht zich dood. (MU D: 9)
If you ask me, he's sitting in hell laughing himself silly. (MU E: 9)

(83) Hij belt me vaak op en zegt dan dat ik moet leren praktischer te denken en praktischer te leven. (VDJ D: 6)
He calls me up regularly to say that I should learn to think more practically, and above all to live more practically. (VDJ E: 4)

When all these different changes are put together, it can be concluded that there are more changes to textual Themes than there were to experiential Themes. The Dutch translated texts change the textual Theme in 17% of the clauses, but the English translations account for 33% of changed textual Themes. These changes are sometimes informed by larger changes in the structure of the Theme or of the complete clause, but a large part of the changes seems to be a result of deliberate choice.
7. Conclusion

This study started out (in section 2.4) with a formulation of a belief in the importance of the Hallidayan notion of Theme in text and in overall communication. Speakers and writers develop a certain theory about the matter at hand while they are speaking or writing, listeners and readers do something similar in the process of listening or reading, and successful communication takes place when these two theories conflate. The Theme constellation of the clauses in the text plays an important role in that process: the speaker or writer constructs, more or less consciously, a sequence of thematic elements, which form in a way the spine of the text, and the listener or writer follows the track of this sequence to develop a theory which is as close as possible to the theory the speaker of writer tried to build in the text. Translators presumably also follow this track, but the interpretation they built up has to be transferred to another language, and thus they create a new track that will be followed by new readers. This suggests that there is a certain urge from the text towards the translator to preserve the Themes. However, it is not clear to which extent translators consciously recognize this urge, and they certainly often resist it, as it competes at certain points with other influencing parameters.

For instance, different languages vary as to which elements can easily be put in thematic position. This can result in a strange or even wrong construction, and even when they have similar possibilities, they differ in the extent to which they tend to use them. The preservation of Themes does not only depend on their own character, but also on the other elements that appear in the clause, and a non-literal translation influenced by the Rheme can make it impossible to preserve the Theme.

This study looked at such possibilities and tendencies for Theme in English and Dutch fiction texts, analysing clauses and counting the occurrence of elements in thematic position. As a result of their very similar structure, Dutch and English are very suitable for such a comparison. However, at some points the Hallidayan system had to be slightly appropriated, most often to make it fit to describe all of the Dutch clauses, but sometimes also to optimize the description of English.

One such point was the treatment the Themes in those Dutch clauses in which a textual or an interpersonal element causes inversion. I decided not to limit the Theme to the finite Verb, as Hasselgård (2004) does in her study of Norwegian, nor to consider such Themes as containing no Experiential content, as is done for the analysis of German by Steiner and Ramm (1995). Instead, I took the Verb and the subsequent element together as a Theme, and suggested that the fronting of the Verb is a way of dividing a more heavy Theme into two parts. For the analysis, however, these Themes were counted with the ordinary Subject Themes, so that the comparison between English and Dutch would be as straightforward as possible.
A second expansion on the Hallidayan system was made in the context of Existential Themes. Firstly, Halliday devotes not too much attention to this phenomenon, and he basically ranges Existential Themes with ordinary Subject Themes. I opted to consider these Themes in a separate category, and adopted the view of Thompson (2004: 101) that they have no real experiential content, but they point forward to the Rheme. Thus, these Existential Themes consists of the adverb er or there together with the verb. Secondly, there is an additional problem with the Dutch existentials. The Dutch er is very similar to the English there, but it can be used in an additional range of constructions, next to the typical English Existential construction. I argued that the meaning established by those constructions as Theme is similar to that of the English construction, and that these constructions can thus also be called existential Themes.

A related problem occurred with provisional Subjects it and het as Themes. Formally, these Themes are somewhat closer to ordinary Subject Themes, so they were counted as such in the analysis according to the categories of traditional grammar, but it is more difficult to assign them a Participant Role according to the Hallidayan System. A small group of these Themes, namely those that contain weather descriptions, are really comparable to Existential Themes, and for these clauses the it or het together with the verb should be counted as Theme. For the others, the extent of the Themes reaches even further, as I follow Thompson (2004: 152) in considering these constructions as thematized comments. As such, they in fact include experiential content, but for the purpose of the analysis, they were still counted, together with the Existential Themes, as Empty Themes.

A final problem arose with certain Dutch auxiliaries, like moeten en willen, when they appear independently. In these cases it is not clear which Participant Role the Theme of these clauses fulfils. This problem is simply signalled in this study, but no real solution is offered.

The results of the analysis according to this extended system led to quite fixed obvious in some cases and allowed to formulate cautious suggestion in others. These observations considered both differences between the languages as such as tendencies to change certain structures in the translations.

First, in chapter 3, the experiential Themes in the material were analysed for the functions of traditional grammar. In this, a distinction was made between English and Dutch original an translated texts. In all of these four categories, a large majority of the clauses contained a Subject Theme. However, the results showed that the Dutch texts contained considerably less Subject Themes than the English ones. In other studies confronting the Hallidayan system with different Germanic languages (for instance in Hasselgård (2004) for Norwegian and Steiner and Ramm (1995) for German) similar observations were made. This suggests that the strong link between Subject in Theme signalled by Halliday is the most extreme in English, and slightly less so in several of its neighbouring languages.
The smaller amount of Subject Themes in English mainly corresponds with a larger amount of Adjunct and Direct Object Themes, both in the present material for Dutch as in studies for other languages. Thus, the most common changes between English Dutch, as was shown in Chapter 4, are English Subjects changed into Dutch Adjuncts ore Object, and the other way round. The difference between these two categories is that the possibilities for fronting Adjuncts are very similar in English and in Dutch, while it is often almost impossible to front a Direct Object in English, at least when it is pronominal. As a consequence, moving a Direct Object backward or forward in the translation is often a necessary change to a clause, while moving an Adjunct is almost always a matter of choice by the translator. Such a deliberate choice, however, is informed by the general tendencies that are present in all texts in a language. Dutch texts in general contain more thematic Adjuncts, and thus a translator can try to adjust the text to English standards by omitting some of them. The system of the developing of a theory of interpretation during the construction or reception of a text can be extended, by stating that every single language has his own specific way of building such a theory, in which tendencies like these are implicitly present.

In addition to this, the extent of markedness of certain Themes is different in different languages, and the classification of elements according to markedness asks for a certain refining. Halliday (1994) states for English that Subject Theme are unmarked, Adjunct Themes slightly marked, nominal Complement Themes more marked and pronominal Complement Themes the most marked of all. The present results, however, do not really fit this classification. First, certain Subject Themes, namely those that consist of a complete (nominal) clause are not completely unmarked. Secondly, Direct Object Themes, and maybe also Adjunct Themes, are clearly less marked in English than in Dutch.

Apart from the major differences and translational changes, other, less systematic differences have also been treated. These have shown that there are many deliberate changes made to clauses, and as a result to Themes, by translators.

Afterwards, in chapter 5, the material has also been analysed in the framework of Halliday's participant roles of Halliday. Apart from the major tendencies outlined above, many changes appear between different participants, which were before just labelled as Subject Themes. These are nearly all cases of slight or radical reformulation. Strikingly, a majority of them keeps the same referent, which gets another participant role because of the reformulation of the Rheme. This observation shows that translators do think the preservation of the thematic element to be important. A number of

In the first place, the study of interpersonal and textual Themes in Chapter 6 has shown that English and Dutch are still more similar for these metafunctions than for the experiential one, having the same
possibilities almost everywhere, while the translations make as many or even more changes to textual Themes, while very little changes are made to interpersonal Themes. Most of these changes, however, seem to preserve the structure of the interpretative theory of the text: they make present connectors implicit and the other way round, but in most cases the interpretation does not change. Also, they often replace a Conjunctive Adjunct by a Conjunction with a similar meaning. When Dutch clauses are linked by the conjunction *en*, for instance, the English translation does the same with the Conjunctive Adjunct *then*. There are, however, a few examples of changed textual Themes considerably changing the meaning of a passage.

In the introduction this thesis was said to work towards a triple aim: to make a descriptive analysis of theme structure in English and Dutch, to contribute in a limited way to the theory of Systemic Functional Grammar, so that it would become slightly more fit similar purposes and for languages like Dutch, and to be a source of grammatical information that can be used for practical applications. The theoretical points were predominantly made in Chapter two, in the exploration of the extent of Theme, of Theme as an important element in the interpretation theory of creators and receivers of text, and of Theme in different languages. However, certain contributions to the theory of Theme were also made as a direct result of problems within the analyses.

The descriptive part of the thesis, on the basis of fiction texts, certainly offers a view on Theme structure in Dutch and its relation to English, but a lot more can and should be done. For the sake of offering workable tools for human and machine translators, much more data, with different characteristics, functions and styles should be studied. This study, however, hopes to show the use of this kind of analysis for such purposes.
Appendix: Analysed materials

Brady, Joan. *Death comes for Peter Pan*. Minerva, 1997. 3-15 (BD E)


Elsschot, Willem. *Kaas In Verzameld Werk*. Em. Querido’s Uitgeverij B. V. Amsterdam, 1983. 447-460 (EL D)


Isegawa, Moses. *Slangenkuil*. Uitgeverij de Bezige Bij Amsterdam, 1999. 7- 29 Translation: Rien Verhoef (I D)

Mortier, Erwin. *Marcel*. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1999. 7- 32 (MO D)


Swift, Graham. *Lang en gelukkig*. Uitgeverij de Bezige Bij Amsterdam, 1992. 7 -36 translation: Gerrit de Blaauw (S D)


van der Jagt, Marek. *De geschiedenis van mijn kaalheid*. Malmberg uitgever Den Bosch, 2002. 3 -15 (VDJ D)


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