Chapter 6

Beyond the clause:
connexity of texts

6.1   Introduction

The systems of THEME, INFORMATION and VOICE in the grammar of Chinese were formulated in Chapters 4 and 5. These systems provide various strategies for assigning elements of the clause different degrees of textual prominence and status. Two questions inevitably arise: First, what are the purposes/functions of assigning a particular constituent, instead of another, a particular kind of prominence? Second, why does the language need THEME as well as VOICE? To answer these questions, we have to move our focus from the grammar of the clause into the semantics of text and from the domain of message to that of text. The purpose of this chapter is to construct the semantic systems in relation to text and their realisations in lexicogrammar. It is thus important to explicate our understanding of the meaning of text at the outset. I emphasise 'our understanding' because linguists have defined 'text' differently, depending on their ideas about language and their foci of study. However, it would take up too much space here to undertake an extensive review of the differences, and so the discussion will be limited to the most relevant notions of text in respect of the present research.

As modelled in the systemic functional approach, text is a unit of meaning at the level of semantics. In this thesis, it represents a functional unit which is above the unit of message on the rank scale at the semantic stratum of the grammar of the textual metafunction (cf. Batalova 1977; Scinto 1983). A text usually but not necessarily comprises a number of messages. According to Halliday & Hasan (1976: 1), a text is "any message, spoken or written of whatever length, that does form a unified whole." It is therefore not length that defines a text but unity. To achieve this sense of unity, a text must possess at least two major properties, namely cohesion and coherence.

The notions of cohesion and coherence are usually set up as a dichotomy[11]. Halliday (1976: 299) notes that "cohesion expresses the continuity that exists between one part of the text and another." Cohesion is "a syntagmatic relation and, insofar as it is grammatical, it is partly accounted for by structure" (Halliday 1964: 219); it is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the unity (cf. de Beaugrande 1980; Brown & Yule 1983; Baker 1992); and it is one of the 'standards of textuality' which hold the clauses together by creating sequences of meanings and achieving the sense of unity (cf. Bell 1991; Nunan 1993) and thus creating the 'texture' of a text (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976; Hopper 1983; Hasan 1984, 1985; Armstrong 1987).

Coherence, on the other hand, concerns the semantic relation between the propositions construed by the clauses in a text. How a text does achieve coherence is a comparatively controversial issue among linguists. In the field of pragmatics, coherence is sometimes equated with a text's interpretability (see Edmondson 1981; Brown & Yule 1983; Levinson 1983; Blum-Kulka 1986; Mey 1993) and associated with the reader's or hearer's ability to comprehend (see Hoey 1983; Charolles 1983). The element of 'language users', especially hearers and readers, brings a new topic to the discussion of coherence: Is coherence a feature of the text or of the situation? Halliday & Hasan (1976: 23) suggest that

> ... a text is a passage of discourse which is coherent in these two regards: it
> is coherent with respect to the context of situation, and therefore consistent
> in register; and it is coherent with respect to itself, and therefore cohesive.

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[11] For instance, de Beaugrande (1981: 9) dichotomises a text into surface structure, which is concerned with textual connectivity, and deep structure, which is concerned with conceptual connectivity. He suggests that cohesion is the means by which sequential connectivity is maintained in the surface structure of a text while coherence comprises those procedures which "actuate elements of knowledge such that their conceptual connectivity is maintained and made recoverable" (de Beaugrande 1981: 19). Grade (1984) defines cohesion as a means to show the relations which hold between elements in the text (at the micro-structure) and coherence as the underlying relations that hold between propositions and contribute to the overall macro-structure. Baker (1992: 218) defines cohesion as "the network of surface relations which link words and expressions to other words and expression in a text" and coherence as "the network of conceptual relations which underlie the surface text". Similarly, Blum-Kulka (1986: 17) defines cohesion as "an overt relationship which holds between parts of the text, expressed by language specific markers".

In the present study, the main focus will be on the semantic and lexicogrammatical strata while the element of context of situation will not be explored. Three types of resource in the grammar of Chinese will be explored, viz. resources

(1) for identifying, keeping track and developing various kinds of information throughout the text,

(2) for indicating the logico-semantics relations between messages, and

(3) for guiding the method of development as the texts unfolds.

These resources are concerned with the issue of connexity in the present study: the connexity of information chunks, which is concerned with the property of cohesion; the connexity of messages, which is closely related to the property of coherence; and the connexity of text, which includes methods of thematic progression and thematic selection. The 'potential' of these three types of connexity is set up as the semantic systems of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY, TEXTUAL RELATIONS and TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT, which are realised by the grammatical systems of COHESIVE DEVICES, CONJUNCTION and THEME respectively. Their relationships between semantic and grammatical systems are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Relation between various semantic and grammatical textual systems

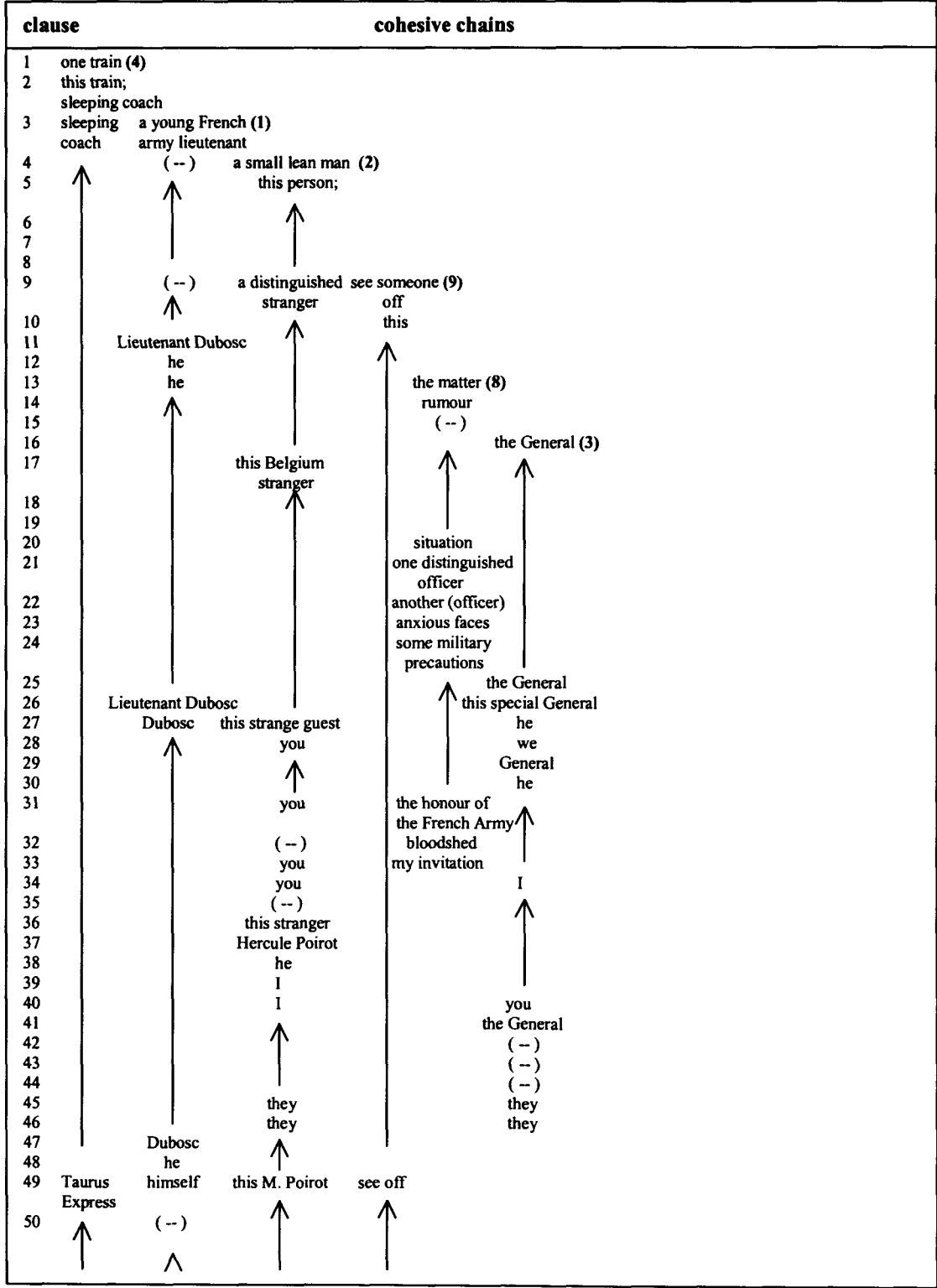| SEMANTICS		LEXICOGRAMMAR	
Rank	System	Rank	System
text	TEXTUAL CONTINUITY (tracking of information chunks in a text)		COHESIVE DEVICES
	TEXTUAL RELATION (concerning the logical relationship between messages in a text)		CONJUNCTION
	TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT (concerning the development of messages into a text)		THEME, INFORMATION, VOICE
chain	(to be explored)	clause complex	CONJUNCTION
message	TEXTUAL STATUS (assigning textual markedness to messages)	clause	THEME, INFORMATION, VOICE
information chunk	TEXTUAL PROMINENCE (assigning textual prominence to information chunks in a message)	group(s)/ phrase(s)	THEME, INFORMATION

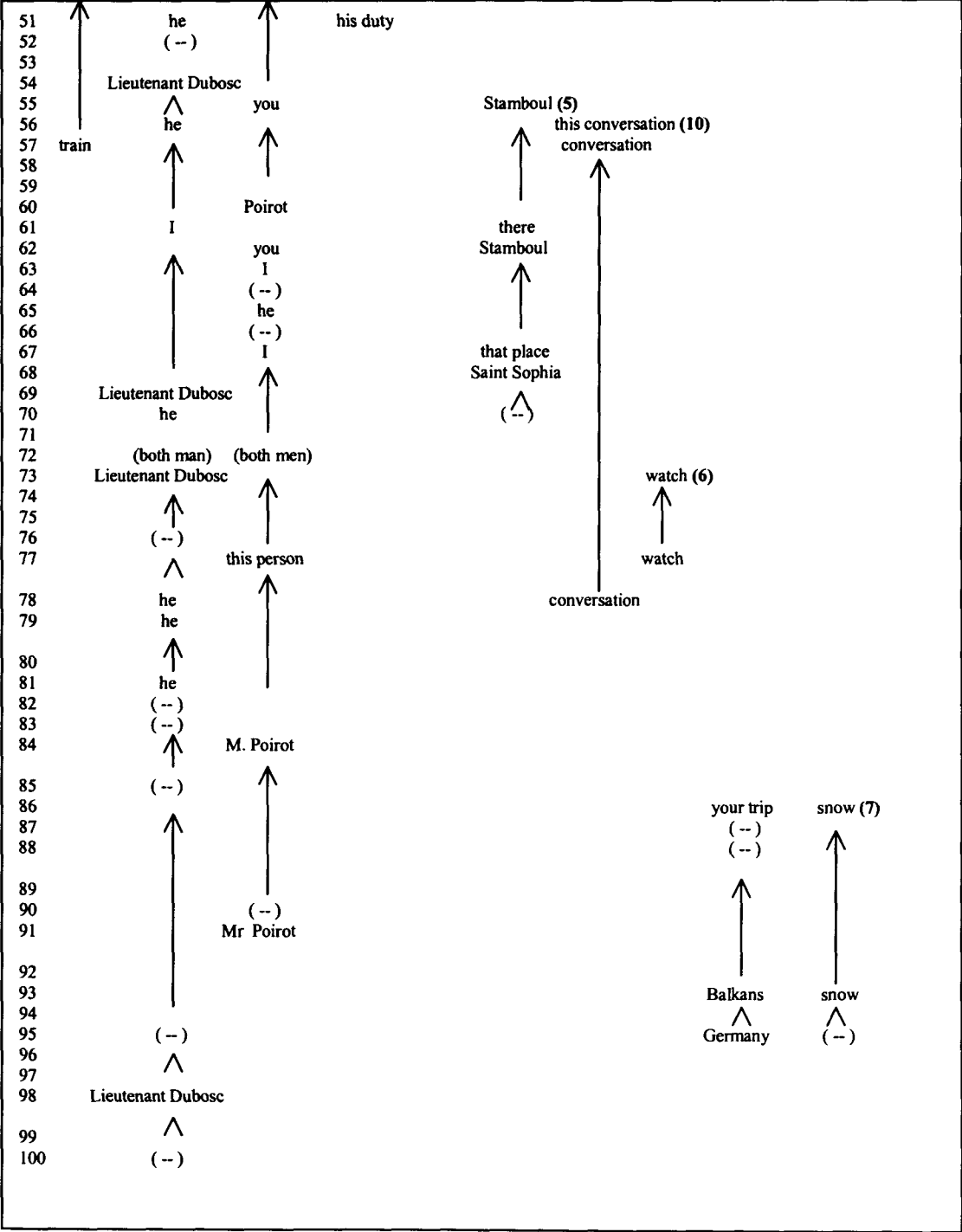## 6.2   Textual semantics (1): the semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY

In this section, I will examine how information is identified and tracked in a Chinese text (Appendix J). The main types of information in the text (mostly participants in terms of the grammar of the ideational metafunction) are categorised into four groups, namely characters, things, matters and activities.

Grouping	Semantic typology
Characters (1) *dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc); (2) *hèqiūlǐ báiluó* (Hercule Poirot); (3) *jiāngjūn* (the General)	participant: thing: simple thing: conscious
Things (4) *huǒchē* (train) and its parts; (5) *yīsītǎnbǎo* (Stamboul) and its parts; (6) *shǒubiǎo* (watch) (7) *xuě* (snow)	participant: thing: simple thing: non-conscious: material
Matters (8) *yáoyán* (rumour) and its development	participant: thing: simple thing: non-conscious: semiotic
Activities (9) *sòngxíng* (seeing someone off); (10) *tánhuà* (the conversation)	participant: thing: macro thing: act

The analysis of cohesive chains in the text is shown in Figure 6.1; due to limitations of space, I can only provide the glosses there.

Figure 6.1: Cohesive chains in the Chinese text

clause	cohesive chains

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clause                                    cohesive chains

1    one train (4)
2    this train;
     sleeping coach
3    sleeping   a young French (1)
     coach      army lieutenant
4         ↑         ( -- )      a small lean man  (2)
5         |         ↑           this person;
                    |
6                   |                ↑
7                   |                |
8                   |                |
9         |         ( -- )      a distinguished  see someone (9)
          |         ↑           stranger         off
10        |         |                            this
11   Lieutenant Dubosc            |
12        he                      |          ↑
13        he                      |          the matter (8)
14        ↑                       |          rumour
15        |                       |          ( -- )
16        |                       |                    the General (3)
17        |         this Belgium  |          ↑         ↑
                    stranger      |          |         |
18        |                       ↑          |         |
19        |                       |          |         |
20        |                       |          situation |
21        |                       |     one distinguished
                                              officer   |
22        |                       |     another (officer)
23        |                       |     anxious faces   |
24        |                       |     some military   |
                                        precautions     |
25        |                       |                ↑   the General
26   Lieutenant Dubosc            |                |   this special General
27        Dubosc   this strange guest             |         he
28        ↑             you                       |         we
29        |             ↑                         |      General
30        |             |                         |         he
31        |             you       the honour of   |
                                   the French Army↑
32        |             ( -- )     bloodshed       |
33        |             you        my invitation   |
34        |             you                        |
35        |             ( -- )                    I
36        |        this stranger                   |
37        |        Hercule Poirot                  ↑
38        |             he                         |
39        |             I                          |
40        |             I                          |
41        |             ↑                     you
42        |             |                     the General
43        |             |                     ( -- )
44        |             |                     ( -- )
45        |             they                  they
46        |             they                  they
47        |        Dubosc    ↑
48        |          he      |
49   Taurus    himself  this M. Poirot   see off
     Express
50     ↑       ( -- )        ↑               ↑
       |                     |               |
       |         ∧           |               |
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Line				
51		he		his duty
52		(--)		
53				
54		Lieutenant Dubosc		
55		∧	you	Stamboul (5)
56		he		this conversation (10)
57	train			conversation
58				
59				
60			Poirot	
61		I		there
62			you	Stamboul
63			I	
64			(--)	
65			he	
66			(--)	
67			I	that place
68				Saint Sophia
69		Lieutenant Dubosc		
70		he		(--)
71				
72		(both man)	(both men)	
73		Lieutenant Dubosc		watch (6)
74		∧		
75				
76		(--)		
77		∧	this person	watch
78		he		
79		he		
80				
81		he		
82		(--)		
83		(--)		conversation
84		∧	M. Poirot	
85		(--)		
86				your trip snow (7)
87				(--)
88				(--)
89				
90			(--)	
91			Mr Poirot	
92				
93				Balkans snow
94				
95		(--)		Germany (--)
96		∧		
97				
98		Lieutenant Dubosc		
99		∧		
100		(--)		

6.2.1 Continuity of characters in Text 1

1. The cohesive chain 'Lieutenant Dubosc'

Dùbósīkè zhōngwèi (Lieutenant Dubosc), one of the characters in the text, is introduced for the first time (initiated) in clause (3) as *yī míng ...niánqīng fǎguó lùjūn zhōngwèi* (a young French army lieutenant) and ellipsed in (5) and (9). His name is first given as *dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc) in (11), and then referred to by the pronominal *tā* (he) in (12) and (13). In (26), it is repeated as *dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc) again. In (27) and (47), only the name *dùbósīkè* (Dubosc), but not the title is used. It is then referred to as *tā* (he) in (48) and *zìjǐ* (oneself) in (49). Then it is repeated as *dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc) in (54), (69) and (98). It is again referred to as *tā* (he) in (56), (78), (79) and (81), ellipsed in (50), (52), (76), (82), (83), (85), (95) and (100), and as *wǒ* (I) in a dialogue with Poirot in clause (61). All of these items refer to the same referent or to put it in another way, they have a relation of co-referentiality (see Hasan 1984, 1985). Besides the first-mentioned referent (presented), all the following referents are instances of anaphoric reference (presumed). These anaphoric references are grammatically marked as either personal reference (*tā*, *wǒ* and *zìjǐ*) and repetition (*dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* and *dùbósīkè*) or presented by means of ellipsis. These referential relations may be summarised as in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'Lieutenant Dubosc'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
1	*yī míng niánqīng fǎguó lùjūn zhōngwèi* (a young French army lieutenant)		3	
		dùbósīkè zhōngwèi (Lieutenant Dubosc)	11, 26, 54, 69, 73, 98	(additional information)
		dùbósīkè (Dubosc)	27, 47	ellipsis (partial)
		tā (he)	12, 13, 48, 51, 56, 70, 78, 79, 81	personal reference
		wǒ (I)	61	personal reference
		zìjǐ (oneself)	49	personal reference
		-- (ellipsed)	4, 9, 50, 52, 76, 82, 83, 96, 100	ellipsis (total)

2. The cohesive chain 'M. Poirot'

Monsieur Poirot, the main character in the novel, is first introduced as *yī gè ǎixiǎo de nánrén* (a small lean man) in clause (4). Then he is referred to as *zhè rén* (this man) in (5); as *yī míng xiǎnyào de mòshēngkèrén* (a distinguished stranger) in (9); as *zhè wèi bǐlìshí de shēngkè* (this Belgium stranger) in (16); as *zhè wèi mòshēng kèrén* (this strange guest) in (27); as *zhè wèi mòshēngkè* (this stranger) in (36) and as *zhè rén* (this person) in (77). Not until (37) is his name, *hèqiūlǐ báiluó* (Hercule Poirot), mentioned and then it is repeated in part as *zhè wèi báiluó xiānshēng* (this Mr. Poirot) in (49), simply as *báiluó* (Poirot) in (60), or as *báiluó xiānshēng* (Mr. Poirot) in (86) and (91). In the conversation between him and Lieutenant Dubosc, Poirot is addressed as *nǐ* (you) in (28), (31), (33), (34), (55) and (62). And he refers to himself as *wǒ* (I) in (39), (40), (63) and (67). Again, ellipsis is used in (32), (35), (64) (66) and (90). Personal reference *tā* (he) is used in (38) and (65). All of these items stand in a relation of co-referentiality, which is grammatically realised by personal reference, substitution, ellipsis and repetition as shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'M. Poirot'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
2	*yī gè ǎixiǎo de nánrén* (a small lean man)		4	
		zhè rén (this person)	5, 77	demonstrative reference, nominal substitution
		yī míng xiǎnyào de mòshengkè (a distinguished stranger)	9	(additional information)
		zhè wèi bǐlìshí de shēngkè (this Belgium stranger)	17	demonstrative reference; (additional information)
		zhè wèi mòshēng kèrén (this strange guest)	27	demonstrative reference; (additional information)
		zhè wèi mò shēng kè (this stranger)	36	demonstrative reference
		hèqiūlǐ báiluó (Hercule Poirot)	37	(additional information)
		zhè wèi báiluó xiānsheng (this M. Poirot)	49	demonstrative reference
		báiluó (Poirot)	60	ellipsis (partial)
		báiluó xiānsheng (M. Poirot)	84, 91	ellipsis (partial)
		tā (he)	38, 65	personal reference
		nǐ (you)	28, 31,33, 34, 55, 62	personal reference
		wǒ (I)	39, 40, 63, 67	personal reference
		-- (ellipsed)	32, 35, 64, 66, 90	ellipsis

3. The cohesive chain 'the General'

The General is first introduced as *jiāngjūn* (the General) in clause (16) and then again in the same clause, he is referred to as *tā zhè wèi dǐngtóu shàngsī jiāngjūn* (his superior General). He is then referred to as *zhè wěi jiāngjūn* (this General) in (25) and (41); as *zhè wèi tèshū de jiāngjūn* (this particular General) in (26); and as *jiāngjūn* (the General) in (29). He is also referred to pronominally, *tā* (he) in (27) and (30), *wǒ* (I) in a conversation in (34) and *nǐ* (you) in (40). A reference to the General is ellipsed in (42), (43) and (44). He and M. Poirot are also referred to as *tāmen* (they) in (45) and (46), and as *wǒmen* (we) in a conversation in (28). Again, all these items stand in a relation of co-referentiality. This relation is realised grammatically by personal reference, ellipsis and repetition as shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'the General'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	Grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
3	*jiāngjūn* (General)		16	
		tā zhè wèi dǐngtóu shàngsī jiāngjūn (his superior General)	16	(additional information)
		zhè wěi jiāngjūn (this General)	25, 41	demonstrative reference
		zhè wèi tèshū jiāngjūn (this particular General)	26	demonstrative reference
		jiāngjūn (General)	29	
		tā (he)	27, 30,	personal reference
		wǒ (I)	34	personal reference
		nǐ (you)	40	personal reference
		-- (ellipsed)	42, 43, 44	ellipsis

In chains (1) and (2), the identities of the first-mentioned (presented) item of each chain are presented as 'new' by their clause-final position. They are indefinite and specific, and the indefiniteness is shown by the construction of the nominal group: Numerative ^ Noun classifier[12] ^ Thing. In chain (3), the first-mentioned item however is marked by the grammar as 'given'. Though Chinese grammar need not assign definiteness, it is usually, if not always, associated with clause-initial position (see Ho 1993). The first-mentioned item here is thus followed immediately by nominal group, forming an esphoric reference (see Martin 1992).

The first-mentioned and second-mentioned item(s), or phoric item(s) in Martin's terms, in each chain form a cohesive tie in a relation of co-reference as the situational referent of both items is the same thing. Both items, in respect of their status of information, may be either 'presented', which signals that the information in question cannot be recovered from the context, or 'presumed', which signals that it can (see Martin 1992). As Martin (1992) has observed, 'presented' information is strongly associated with first mention, whereas 'presumed' information categorically associated with second mention. However, not every first-mentioned item is 'presented', e.g. the first-mentioned item in chain (3), which is an esphoric reference, is 'presumed', involving presuming information within the same nominal group. The second-mentioned item on the other hand is always 'presumed'. Aside from the first-mentioned item in chain (3), all the presumed items in the three chains are instances of endophoric references, involving presuming information from the preceding co-text (anaphoric). Up to this point, the central oppositions of the semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY is concerned with the source of information, namely 'presented' or 'presumed'. There are two ways in which information can be presumed, namely 'preceding', i.e. from the preceding co-text (anaphoric), or 'following', i.e. from the following co-text, which may be either within the group (esphoric) or beyond the group (cataphoric). These options can be formulated systemically as in Figure 6.2.

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[12] As Halliday & Matthiessen (1999) have noted, these are the unit- or measure-words of Chinese. They group things into classes according to a mixture of criteria based on shape, natural class and functional domain. They have no equivalent in English.

Figure 6.2: The most general semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY
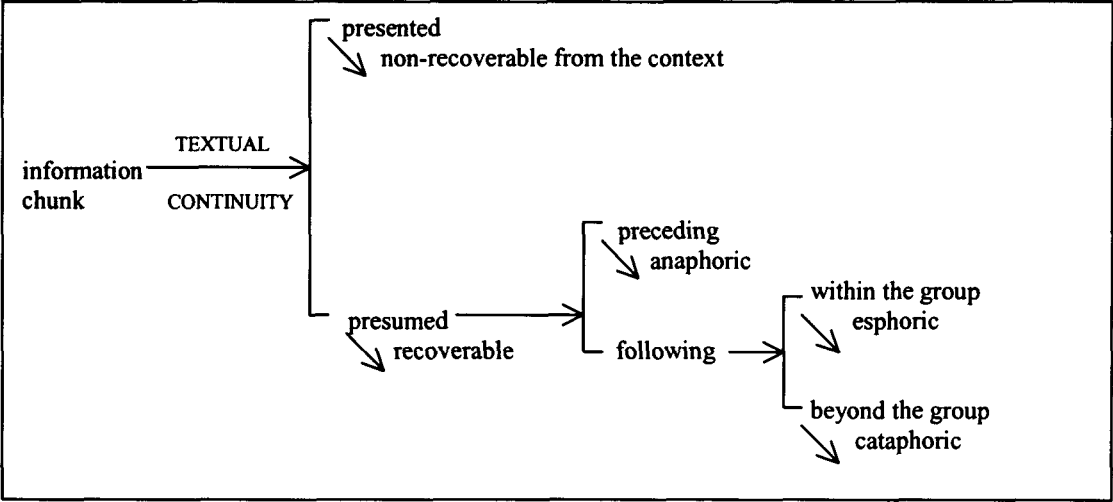
the second-mentioned items in the three chains may be (1) pronouns, (2) nouns (recurrence or partial recurrence of the first-mentioned items), (3) proper nouns, (4) demonstrative compounds, (5) ellipsis or (6) some combination of the above, and additional information may sometimes be added in the second-mentioned item. Of these realisations ellipsis, or 'zero pronoun', has been widely studied and usually considered a functional item (see Tai 1969; Lu 1977; Li & Thompson 1979, 1981). This study takes the same position as Okurowski (1986), viz. that textual continuity, in this case continuity of reference, is maintained whether or not there is an overt referring expression. Accounting for this position in the system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY, we have a further contrast for presumed items, namely [explicit/implicit]. Thus the option of 'presumed' leads to two simultaneous systems [preceding/following] and [explicit/ implicit] as in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: A modified semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY
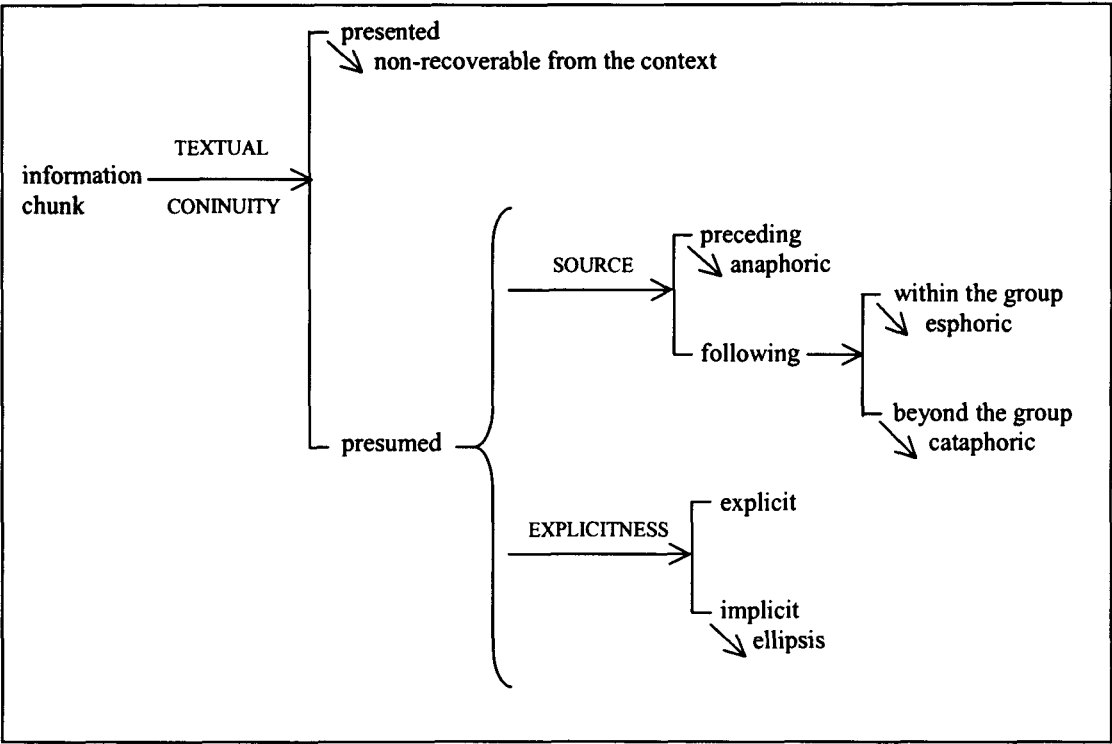
6.2.2 Continuity of things in Text 1

4. The cohesive chain 'train' and its parts

The train is first introduced in clause (1) as [[*zài tiělù zhǐnáng chēngwéi tuōlǔsītè kuàichē de*]] *yī lièchē* (a train which was designated in the railway directory as the Taurus Express). It is then referred to as *zhè liè huǒchē* (this train) in (2); and as *tuōlǔsītè kuài chē* (Taurus Express) in (49). These items stand in a relation of co-referentiality. *Huǒchē* (train) in (56) is obviously a continuation of this chain; however, it can refer to any train, including the Taurus Express. As Martin (1992: 103) has pointed out, "generic reference is selected when the whole of some experiential class of participants is at stake." In contrast, specific reference refers to a specific manifestation of that class. This opposition can be represented as a subsystem, [generic/specific], which cross-classifies [presented/pre-sumed] in Figure 6.3 (cf. Martin 1992: 93-155). Thus any information chunk leads simultaneously to both systems as shown in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: An expanded system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY

information chunk — TEXTUAL CONTINUITY
- presented / presumed → SOURCE OF INFORMATION → / EXPLICITNESS →
- generic / specific
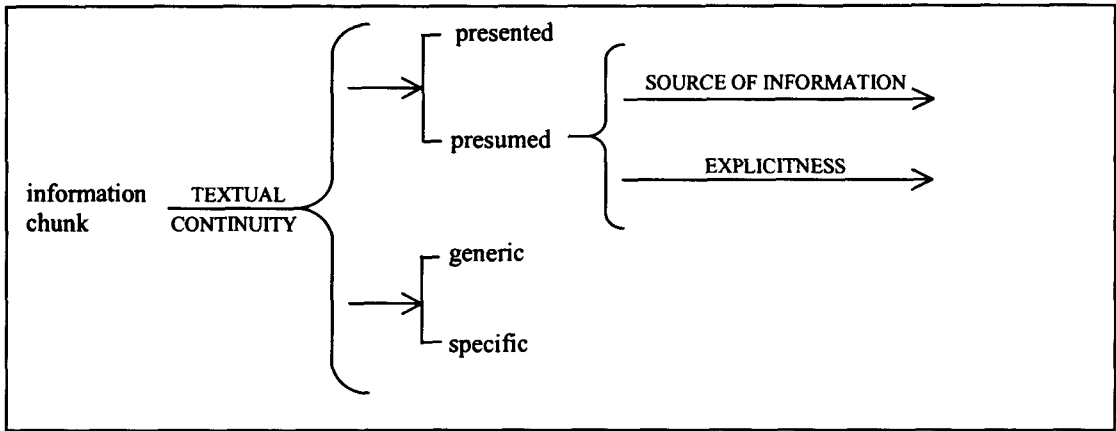
There is a related chain in the corpus which develops from the chain 'train'. This second chain is first introduced in clause (2) as *yī jiè wòpùchē* (one sleeping coach) and then move on to *dĕng wòpù chēxiāng de jiētī* (the steps leading to the sleeping coach) in (3). The source of information of the 'presumed' item in this chain is obviously in the context of situation, i.e. a train usually has some sleeping coaches, and steps are attached to them. Thus the source of information for a 'presumed' item can be modified as in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5: The modified subsystem of SOURCE

presumed → SOURCE
- verbal / endophoric → preceding / anaphoric
- following → within the group / esphoric
- beyond the group / cataphoric
- non-verbal / exophoric
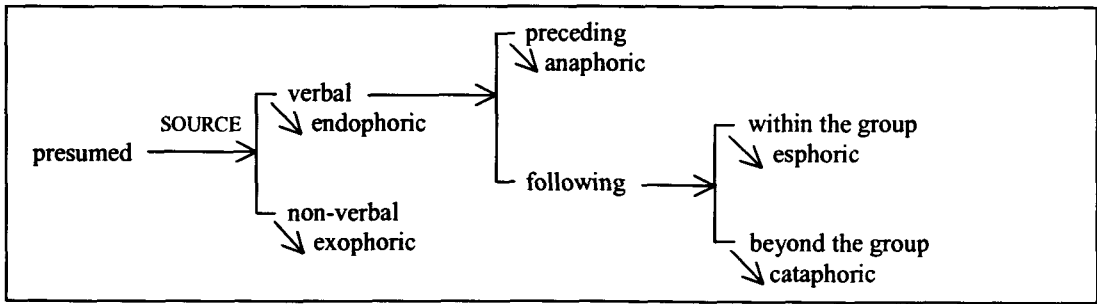
Furthermore, *huŏchē* (train), *wòpùchē* (sleeping coach) and *dĕng wòpù chēxiāng de jiētī* (the steps leading to the sleeping coach) in this chain do not refer to the same situational referent, but to something within the same general field of meaning instead. This means that the items stand in a relation of co-extension. Though the chain formed is not a reference chain, it is still a cohesive chain in which each pair of items forms a cohesive

tie. In other words, here reference is not concerned with tracking the 'identification of a participant' but with the development of information and with creating 'texture' in the text. In this study, such reference is also included in the semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY[13]. Up to this point we have thus identified two kinds of semantic relation among the information chunks in Text 1, namely co-referentiality (where both information items refer to the same situational referent), and co-extension (where both items refers to something within the same general field of meaning).

Table 6.5: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'train' and its parts

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
4	*zài tiělù zhīnáng chēngwéi tuōlǔsītè kuàichē de*]] *yī lièchē* (a train which was designated in railway directory as the Taurus Express)		1	
	zhè liè huǒchē (this train)	2	demonstrative reference
	tuōlǔsītè kuàichē (Taurus Express)	49	proper noun
	huǒchē (the train)	56	general word
	yī jiè wòpùchē (a sleeping coach)	2	collocation
	déng wòpù chēxiāng de jiētī (the steps leading to the sleeping coach)	3	collocation

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[13] In Martin's (1992) system of IDENTIFICATION, redundancy phoricity has been set aside because he focuses on participant identification only. In this study, both information tracking and information development are seen as important to the 'texture' of a text and both will be included in the system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY.

5. The cohesive chain 'Stamboul' and its parts

Yīsītǎnbǎo (Stamboul) is first-mentioned in clause ((55) and then referred to as *nàlǐ* (there) in (62) and again as *yīsìtǎnbǎo zhè gè dūshì* (Stamboul the city) in (63). Strictly speaking, the referent in (63) is not an exact repetition because additional information, i.e. "Stamboul is a city", is added. The item is then ellipsed in (64) and is referred as *dāngdì* (the place) in (67). Then part of the city of Stamboul – in fact, a famous tourist spot – *shèngsūfēi* (Saint Sophia), is mentioned in (68). And finally Stamboul is ellipsed in (70). Although Saint Sophie does not have to the same situational referent as Stamboul, it is treated as a presumed item as its source of information is the context of situation.

Table 6.6: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'Stamboul' and its parts

| chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
5	*yīsītǎnbǎo* (Stamboul)		55	
		nàlǐ (there)	62	demonstrative reference
		yīsìtǎnbǎo zhè gè dūshì (Stamboul the city)	63	(additional information)
		-- (ellipsed)	64	ellipsis
		dāngdì (the place)	67	demonstrative reference; general word
		shèngsūfēi (Saint Sophia)	68	collocation
		-- (ellipsed)	70	ellipsis

6. The cohesive chain of 'watch'

Table 6.7: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'watch'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
6	*shǒubiǎo* (watch)		73	
		shǒubiǎo (watch)	78	repetition

Though *shŏubiăo* (the watch) is first-mentioned in clause (73), it is considered presumed information available through membership of a civilised society. To put it in another way, certain participants, for instance the watch here, can be treated as inherently 'given' because the source of information is the context of culture. Reference of this kind is known as 'homophora', which can be included into the subsystem of SOURCE as in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6: The comprehensive subsystem of SOURCE
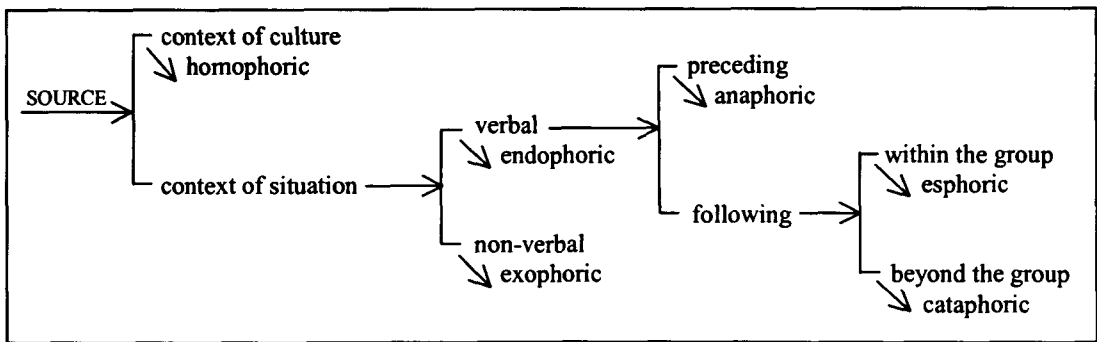
7. The cohesive chain 'snow'

Table 6.8: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'snow'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
7	*tuōlŭsīshān zhōng de dàxuĕ* (the heavy snow at Taurus)		86	
		băĕrgàn nàbiān fēngxŭe (snow in the Balkans)	94	collocation
		zài déguó – (snow in Germany)	96	collocation; ellipsis (partial)

Xuĕ (snow) in this chain is first-mentioned as specific reference *tuōlŭsīshān zhong de dàxuĕ* (the heavy snow at Taurus) in clause (86). It continues as *băĕrgàn nàbiān fēngxŭe* (snow in the Balkans) in (94), and partly ellipsed as *zài déguó* -- (snow in Germany) in

(96). All of the items are instances of different specific references but refer to the same generic class, namely snow, and so they are not in a relation of co-referentiality, but of co-classification (see Hasan 1984, 1985). At this point we can identify three kinds of semantic relation among the information chunks in Text 1:

(1) co-referentiality, where the information items refer to the same situational referent;

(2) co-extension, where the items refers to something within the same general field of meaning; and

(3) co-classification, where the items refer to different specific referents which belong to an identical class.

We can thus set up a subsystem of SEMANTIC RELATION which indicates the semantic relations among the information items in a cohesive chain as in Figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7: The subsystem of SEMANTIC RELATION
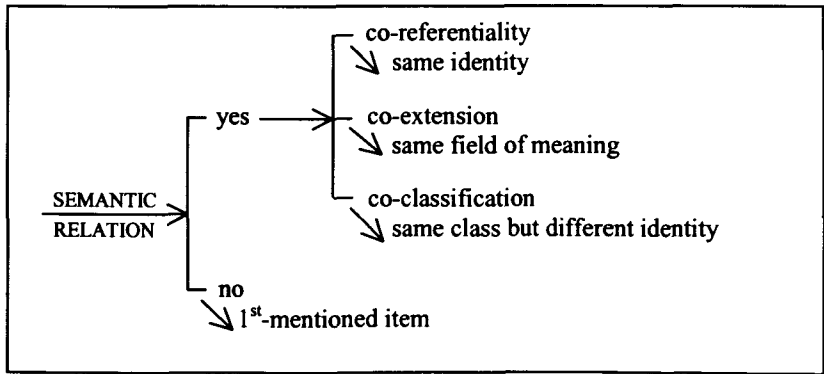
6.2.3   Continuity of matters in Text 1

8.   The cohesive chain 'rumour' and its development

Table 6.9: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'rumour' and its development

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
8	*shìshí* (the matter)		13	
		yáoyán (rumour)	14	(additional information)
		zhè zhǒng shìqíng (this kind of matter)	15	demonstrative reference
		shìtài (the situation)	20	collocation
		yī wèi zhuōyuè de jūnguān (One distinguished officer)	21	collocation
		lìng yī wèi (another one)	22	comparative reference; ellipsis (partial)
		jiāolǜ de miànkǒng (anxious faces)	23	collocation
		yīxiē jūnshì jièbèi (some military precautions)	24	collocation

Shìshí (the matter) is first-mentioned in clause (13). It is then classified as *yáoyán* (rumour) in (14) and referred as *zhè zhǒng shìqíng* (this kind of matter) in (15). It is referred to as *shìtài* (the situation) in (20) and is then developed to cover *yī wèi zhuōyuè de jūnguān* (one distinguished officer) in (21), *lìng yī wèi* (another one) in (22), *jiāolǜ de miànkǒng* (anxious faces) in (23), and *yīxiē jūnshì jièbèi* (some military precautions) in (24). The system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY that we have developed so far can cover all the options in this chain but not the relation between (21) and (23). The type of phoricity realizing the relation between *yī wèi zhuōyuè de jūnguān* (one distinguished officer) in (21) and *lìng yī wèi* (another one) in (23) is what in MartiN (1992) terms 'relevance phoricity', which signals that the identity of an information item that is related to the item being realised, is recoverable. It is thus directly concerned with the tracking of information although the two items do not refer to the same situational referent. In this

study, this option is set up as a subsystem [comparison/-] as in Martin (1992) and this subsystem cross-classifies [presented/presumed] and [generic/specific]. This means that any information chunk leads to these three systems simultaneously as shown in Figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8: A comprehensive semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY
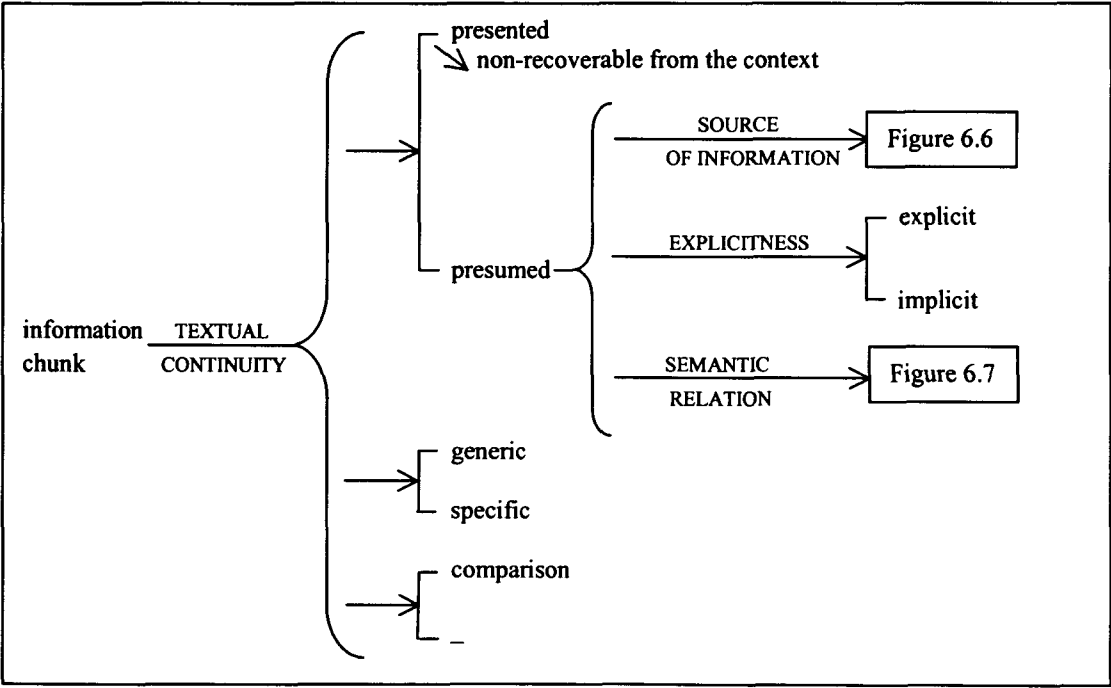
6.2.4 Continuity of activities in Text 1

Up to this point I have developed a comprehensive semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY from the reference chains of 'character' (chains 1-3), cohesive chains of 'thing' (chains 4-6) and chains of 'matter' (7). In this section I will examine whether the system can account for the cohesive chains of 'activity' (chains 9-10).

9. The cohesive chain 'seeing someone off'

Table 6.10: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'seeing someone off'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
9	*sòngxíng* (seeing someone off)		9	
		(-) (ellipsed)	10	ellipsis
		sòng zhè wèi báiluó xiānshēng chéngdà tuōlùsītè kuàichē (see this M. Poirot off by Taurus Express)	49	repetition (additional information)
		rènwù (duty)	51	general word

Sòngxíng (seeing someone off) in clause (9) is the first-mentioned item of this chain. The item is non-recoverable from the context, i.e. it is 'presented'. The item refers to the whole of some experiential class, i.e. it is 'generic' rather than an instance of relevance phoricity, i.e. '-'.

The second-mentioned item in the chain is an ellipsed one in (10). It is recoverable in the context, i.e. it is 'presumed', and its source of information is the preceding text, i.e. it is 'preceding'. In addition, the item is totally ellipsed, i.e. it is 'implicit'. The item refers to the same situational referent as *sòngxíng* (seeing someone off) and it therefore forms a co-referential relation with a previously mentioned item, i.e. the item is 'co-referential' and thus must be 'generic' and '-'.

The third-mentioned item in the chain is *sòng zhè wèi báiluó xiānshēng chéngdà tuōlùsītè kuàichē* (see this M. Poirot off by Taurus Express) in (49). Additional information is provided further to the original item so that it now refers to a specific manifestation instead of the whole of some experiential class, and it is therefore 'specific'. As in the case of the previously mentioned item, it is not a case of relevance phoricity, i.e. it is therefore '-'. In addition, the item is 'presumed' and 'preceding', but 'co-extensive' and 'explicit'.

The last item in this chain is *rènwù* (duty) in (51). It is a general word and can mean more than seeing someone off. However, it refers specifically to the third-mentioned item in the text. This means that this item and a previously mentioned one have the same situational referent, and the item is therefore 'specific' and '-'. In addition, the item is 'presumed' and 'preceding', but 'co-referential' and 'explicit'. The above analysis of the four items in this chain is summarised in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Analysis of Chain 9

information item	[generic/specific]	[comparison/-]	[presented/presumed]
1st-mentioned	[generic]	[-]	[presented]
2nd-mentioned	[generic]	[-]	[presumed]: [preceding]; [implicit]; [co-referentiality]
3rd-mentioned	[specific]	[-]	[presumed]: [preceding]; [explicit]; [co-extension]
4th-mentioned	[specific]	[-]	[presumed]: [preceding]; [explicit]; [co-referentiality]

10. The cohesive chain 'conversation'

Table 6.12: Grammatical means in the cohesive chain 'conversation'

chain	first-mention	second-mention	clauses	grammatical means (in addition to repetition)
10	*zhè huà* (this conversation)		56	
		yuètái shàng de tánhuà (conversation at the station platform)	58	collocation
		huàtí (topic of conversation)	70	collocation

Zhè huā (this conversation) is first-mentioned in clause (56). It refers to (55) which is a paratactic projected clause, the Verbiage of the verbal process in (54). The item is therefore 'specific' and '-'. It is also 'presumed' because its referent can be found in the co-

text. It points backward to the source of information, i.e. the reference is 'preceding' and 'explicit'.

The second-mentioned item is *yuètái shang de tánhuà* (conversation at the station platform) in (58). The item refers to the whole of some experiential class, i.e. the reference is 'generic' and not an instance of relevance phoricity and is thus '-'. It is 'presumed' because the information is recoverable from the co-text, pointing backward to the source of information, i.e. the reference is 'preceding' and 'explicit'. It is 'co-extensive'.

Lastly, the third-mentioned item in the chain is *huàtí* (the topic of the conversation) in (79). It is 'generic', not specifying a particular manifestation of the whole experiential class, i.e. it is not an instance of relevance phoricity and is thus '-'. As in the case of the second-mentioned item, this item is 'presumed', 'preceding', 'explicit' and an instance of 'co-extension'. The analysis of the three items in this chain is summarised in Table 6.13. I can conclude that the semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY as shown in Figure 6.8 can account for the cohesive chains of character, thing, matter as well as activity. However, as in every text-based study the description of this system is subject to further modification when the population of the corpus is enlarged.

Table 6.13: Analysis of Chain 10

information item	[generic/specific]	[comparison/-]	[presented/presumed]
1st-mentioned	[specific]	[-]	[presumed]: [preceding]; [explicit]
2nd-mentioned	[generic]	[-]	[presumed]: [preceding]; [explicit]; [co-extension]
3rd-mentioned	[generic]	[-]	[presumed]: [preceding]; [explicit]; [co-extension]

6.3   Grammatical realisation of textual continuity: cohesive devices

In the analysis of Text 1 we find that a number of grammatical means have been utilised to achieve cohesive links. These grammatical means (cohesive devices) can be grouped into several categories as shown in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14: Cohesive devices employed in Text 1

category	subcategory	examples in the text
reference	personal reference	*nǐ* (you), *wǒ* (I), *tā* (s/he), *zìjǐ* (oneself) etc.
	demonstrative reference	*zhè* (this), *nà* (that)
	comparative reference	*lìng yī wèi* (another one)
substitution and ellipsis	substitution	*shìqing* (the matter), *shìtài* (the situation) etc.
	partial ellipsis	*dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc)➔ *dùbósīkè* (Dubosc)
	total ellipsis	*dùbósīkè* (Dubosc)➔ (ellipsed)
lexical cohesion	reiteration – repetition	*tā* (s/he) ➔ *tā* (s/he)
	reiteration – general word/ superordinate	*sòngxíng* (seeing someone off)➔ *rènwù* (duty); *yīsītǎnbǎo* (Stamboul)➔ *dāngdì* (the place)
	reiteration – synonym	*chāishì* (duty)➔ *rènwù* (duty)
	collocation	*yīsītǎnbǎo* (Stamboul)➔ *shèngsūfēi* (Saint Sophia)

In addition, we find that cohesive ties with different semantic relations, i.e. [generic/specific] and [comparison/-], are realised by different cohesive devices as shown in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: Realisation of cohesive ties

semantic relation	cohesive device	structure	examples from the text
co-referentiality	**reference**		
[specific] only	personal reference speech roles listener singular	pronominal	*nĭ* (you), *nín* (you, intimate and/or respect)
	plural speaker singular plural		*nĭmen* (you) *wŏ* (I) *wŏmen* (we), *zánmen* (we, including)
	other roles singular plural generalised		*tā* (he, she, it) *tāmen* (they) *zìjĭ* (-self), *dàjiā* (everyone of us), *rénrén* (everyone)
	continuous reference		*wŏ* (I) → (-)
[specific] or [generic] as indicated	demonstrative reference proximate specific singular plural generic remote specific singular plural generic	demonstrative ^ nominal	*zhè* (this); *zhèlĭ* (here) *zhèxiē* (these) *zhè zhŏng/lèi* (these kind) *nà* (that); *nàlĭ* (there) *nàxiē* (those) *nà zhŏng/lèi* (those kind)
both [specific] and [generic]	**lexical cohesion** reiteration	nominal; proper noun	*chāishì* (duty) → *chāishì* *dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc)
both [specific] and [generic]	**demonstrative +** **lexical cohesion** general word synonym	demonstrative ^ ^ (MEAS) ^ ^ general word ^ synonym	*yáoyán* (rumour)——> *zhè zhŏng shìqíng* (this kind of matter) *chāishì* (duty)——>*rènwù*
both [specific] and [generic]	**ellipsis/substitution**		*dùbósīkè zhōngwèi* (Lieutenant Dubosc) ——> *dùbósīkè* (Dubosc)

semantic relation	cohesive device	structure	examples from the text
co-classification both [specific] and [generic]	ellipsis/substitution		*bāěrgàn nàbiān fēngxǔe* (snow in the Balkans) —> *zài déguó --* (snow in Germany)
	others	modifier ^ identical Head	*tuōlǔsīshān zhōng de dàxuě* (the heavy snow at Taurus) > *bāěrgàn nàbiān fēngxuě* (snow in the Balkans)
co-extension [specific] only	lexical cohesion collocation		*quán shēn* (whole body) —> *ěrduō* (ears) —> *bítóu* (nose)
[comparison]	reference comparative	comparative ^ (numeral) ^ classifier	*lìng* (another), *bié* (others)

Apart from reference, substitution, ellipsis and lexical cohesion, cohesive devices in Chinese also include conjunction and parallelism (for English, see Halliday & Hasan 1976; for Chinese, see Hu 1981, 1984; Okurowski 1986; for comparison between Chinese and English, see Li 1997). Of these, mainly reference, substitution, ellipsis and lexical cohesion are utilised as the grammatical realisation of the semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY; whereas conjunction and Theme chain (see the following sections) are concerned with textual development while parallelism plays a significant role in the identification of the New (see Chapter 4). The typology of cohesive devices in Chinese is presented diagrammatically in Figure 6.3, in which the parts and/or sub-systems which are most relevant to the connexity of information in text are elaborated and bolded in the figure. Substitution and ellipsis may be grouped into a single category. However, as ellipsis can be either totally or partially ellipsed, it is presented as a separate category in the above typology.

Figure 6.9: Typology of COHESIVE DEVICES

```
                         ┌─ personal
                         ├─ demonstrative
    ┌─ reference ──────→─┼─ comparative
    │                    └─ continuous
    │
    │                    ┌─ nominal
    ├─ substitution ───→─┼─ verbal
    │                    └─ clausal
    │
    │                 ┌         ┌─ nominal
    │                 │  ─────→─┼─ verbal
    │                 │         └─ clausal
    ├─ ellipsis ──────┤
    │                 │         ┌─ partial
    │                 │  ─────→─┤
    │                 └         └─ total
────→─┤
    │                                      ┌─ repetition
    │                    ┌─ reiteration ─→─┼─ synonym
    │                    │                 ├─ superordinate
    ├─ lexical cohesion ─┤                 └─ general word
    │  →                 │
    │                    └─ collocation
    │
    │                    ┌─ structural
    ├─ conjunction ────→─┤
    │                    └─ non-structural
    │
    │                                            ┌─ zhèngdùi (exact couplet)
    │                    ┌─ dùiǒu (antithesis) ─→─┼─ fǎndùi (reverse couplet)
    └─ parallelism ────→─┤                        └─ chuándùi (link couplet)
                         │
                         └─ páibǐ (parallelism)
```

As mentioned in the introductory section, this study is not aiming for an 'all-purpose grammar' but a description of grammar which targets issues in translation and language

teaching. Since the typology of personal reference in written Chinese is far more delicate than in spoken Putonghua, they are compared in Figure 6.10[14].

Figure 6.10: A comparison of personal reference in spoken Putonghua and written Chinese

Spoken Putonghua	Written Chinese
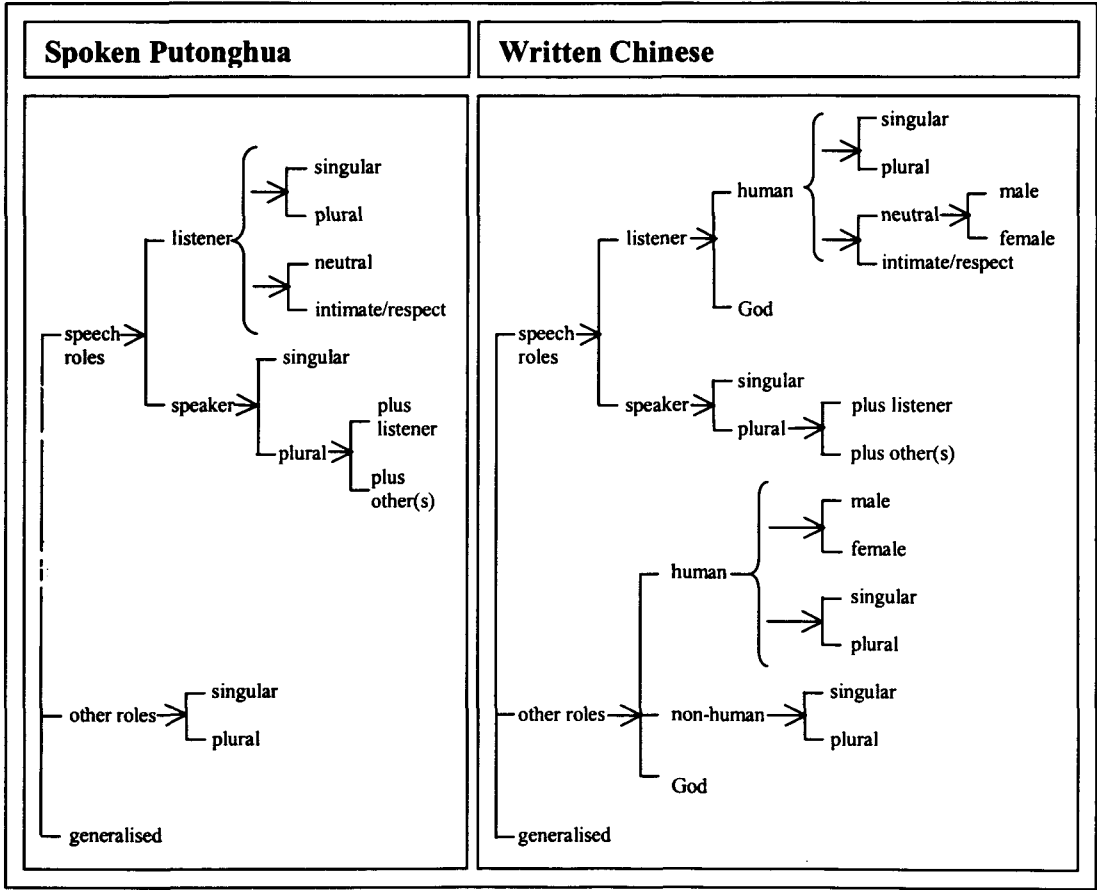
It is obvious that some contrasts can be distinguished in written Chinese but not in spoken Putonghua. In 'speech roles', these include the distinction between 'male' and 'female' for the option 'human', and also 'human' and 'God' for the option 'listener'. In 'other roles', these include the distinction between 'human', 'non-human' and 'God', 'male' and 'female' for the option 'human', and also 'singular' and 'plural' for the options 'human' and 'non-human'.

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[14] A more delicate comparison and explanation can be found in Li (1997).

6.4   Textual semantics (2): the semantic system of TEXTUAL RELATIONS

The central concerns in Sections 6.2-3 have been the ways that information is identified, tracked and developed in a Chinese text. They are formulated systemically as a semantic system of TEXTUAL CONTINUITY, which is realised grammatically by COHESIVE DEVICE. A cohesive tie involves at least two information items in the same clause or two separate clauses whereas a cohesive chain involves items in a sequence of clauses. In this way, while the information item involved may be at the rank of group or word, the cohesive tie or cohesive chain goes beyond the clause level. Connexity of information, which is closely related to cohesion, is one of the important criteria for distinguishing text from non-text.

In this section and the next, another criterion for distinguishing text from non-text, namely the connexity of a message, will be examined. This criterion is concerned mainly with the logico-semantic relationships between messages in a text. And while a message is realised by a clause, i.e. functions at the rank of clause, the semantic relationship between messages goes beyond the clause level. In Sections 6.6-7, the connexity of text, i.e. the ways that a speaker or writer organises messages to form a text, will be explored. The foci are on thematic progression and thematic selection. The connexity of message and the connexity of text are closely linked with each other. In fact, they have been treated as a single issue, especially in the study of the text structure, for instance, in Gleason's (1968) model of semologic structure, Martin's (1983, 1992) reticulum of logical structure, and Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson's (1992) rhetorical structure theory, but will be taken as two separate issues in this study. The rhetorical structure of a text is beyond the scope of this thesis; the aim of this study is to construct a system network at the semantic and lexicogrammatical strata.

A number of classifications have been proposed for logico-semantic relations. Martin (1992) has identified two main factors considered to underlie the divergent classifications. The first factor is concerned with the 'point of departure' for one's scheme of the classification while the second factor is concerned with the essential indeterminacy of some of the relations themselves.

Halliday & Hasan (1976) focus on cohesive relations between clauses, and identify four types of relation, namely 'additive', 'adversative', 'causal' and 'temporal'. Martin (1983) starts with hypotactic relations, and splits up the 'adversative' category into 'concession' and 'contrast'. 'Concession' is then grouped with 'cause' under a general category, namely 'consequential', and 'contrast' with 'similarity' under 'comparative'. Halliday (1985/1994) develops a different set of logico-semantic relations, i.e. 'elaboration', 'extension' and 'enhancement' as three types of expansion and 'locution' and 'idea' as two types of projection. His description of clause complex relations is formulated systemically as in Figure 6.11.

Figure 6.11: Halliday's (1985) description of clause complex relations
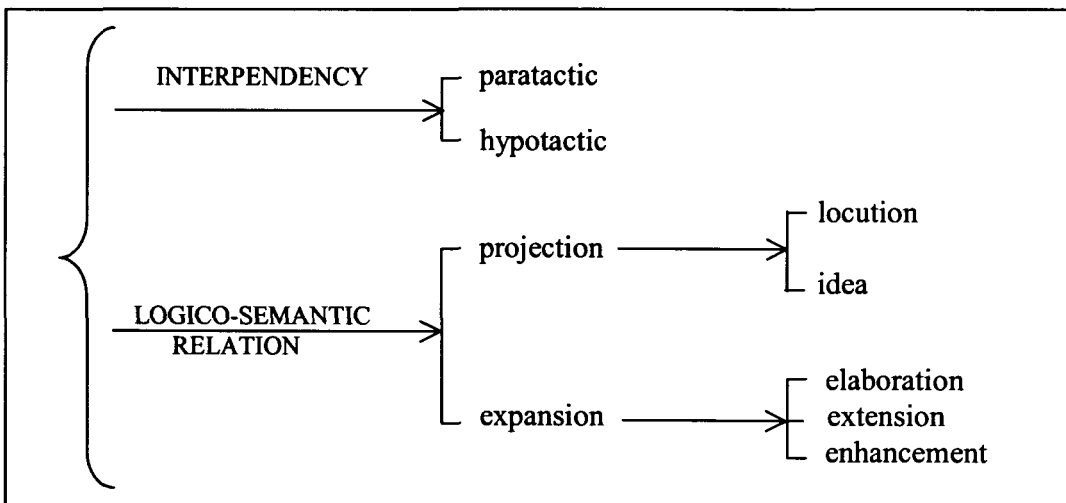
Though Halliday's (1985/1994) classification of logico-semantic relations focuses on the clause-complex, this classification may also account for the cohesive relations between clause simplexes as well[15]. I will adopt his classification as a point of departure and try to develop the semantic system of TEXTUAL RELATIONS in Chinese. These relations exist between the messages realised at the rank of clause and theoretically they may also exist above the rank of clause to organise and structure the paragraphs and stages of a text.

A description of different types of expansion has been constructed in Chapter 4. The discussion in that chapter focuses on textual Theme, i.e. the conjunction as textual Theme in a clause. However, clause-initial position is not necessarily the only position for the conjunction in a clause. Let us take the following short text as an example.

(6.1)

zhěngzhěng wholly	*yī gè lǐbài de guǐmì jǐnzhāng qingshì* one MEAS week ASSOC mysterious tense circumstance	*guò hòu,* pass after
VADV	Actor	Process: material
Adjunct	Subject	Predicator
(interpersonal)	(topical) Theme	Rheme
Theme of the following clause		

(After a whole week of mysterious tension had gone,)

(6.2)

shìtài situation	*yǒu le* have ASP	*zhuǎnbiàn.* change
Carrier/Possessor	Process: possessive	Attribute/Possession
Subject	Predicator	Complement
(topical) Theme	Rheme	

(the situation had changed.)

---

[15] Halliday's classification may also deal with the EMBEDDING of a clause as Modifier in the nominal group; CIRCUMSTANTIATION in the clause as process; PHASE, CONATION etc. in the verbal group complex; TENSE and VOICE in the verbal group; and ATTRIBUTION or IDENTIFICATION as relational process in the clause.

(6.3)

yī wèi zhuōyuè de jūnguān one MEAS distinguished NOM officer	zìshā shēnsǐ, suicide dead
Actor	Process: material
Subject	Predicator
(topical) Theme	Rheme

(A distinguished officer had committed suicide.)

(6.4)

lìng yī wèi another one MEAS	tūrán suddenly	cízhí, resign
Actor	VADV	Process: material
Subject	Adjunct	Predicator
(topical) Theme	Rheme	

(Another had resigned.)

(6.5)

Jiāolù de miànkǒng anxious NOM face	yě also	shūrán suddenly	qīngsōng xià-lái, relax come-down
Actor	VADV	VADV	Process: material
Subject	Adj.	Adjunct	Predicator
(topical) Theme	Rheme		

(Anxious faces had suddenly relaxed.)

(6.6)

yī xiē jūnshì jièbèi one MEAS military precaution	yě also	fàngkuān le. relax ASP
Medium	VADV	Process: material
Subject	Adjunct	Predicator
(topical) Theme	Rheme	

(Some military precautions had also been relaxed.)

(6.7)

zhè wěi jiāngjū, this MEAS General	yě also	dùnshi immediately	kàn-lái niánqīng le look like younger ASP	shílái suì. about ten year
Carrier	VADV	VADV	Process: ascriptive/Attribute	Extent
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Predicator	Adjunct
(topical) Theme	Rheme			

(The General had immediately looked ten years younger.)

The Adjuncts, *tūrán* (suddenly) in (6.4), *shūrán* (suddenly) in (6.5) and *dùnshi* (immediately) in (6.7), indicate a temporal enhancing relation and although none is assigned thematic prominence, each can be thematised. On the other hand, as Okurowski (1986) has observed, clause-final position is a common position for the conjunction especially in a clause complex, for instance, *hòu* (after) in (6.1). This means that the constituent that indicates a semantic relation between messages can be either thematic or rhematic.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 229) have mentioned that "we are often prepared to recognise the presence of a relation of this kind even when it is not expressed overtly at all." As in English, the logico-semantic relation can be a covert one in Chinese, i.e. no conjunction in the clause indicating the relationship. For instance, all the clauses are related to (6.2) in the above text: (6.1) provides the circumstance, specifying a temporal enhancement relation; and (6.3) to (6.7) specify what exactly has happened, clarifying an elaborating relation. However, no conjunction has been employed to indicate this elaborating relation. To capture this feature in the system, a subsystem of [overt/covert] may be added to Figure 6.11. When the conjunction is overtly stated, it can be either 'thematic' or 'rhematic'. This subsystem cross-classifies [paratactic/hypotactic] and [projection/expansion] as in Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12: The semantic system of TEXTUAL RELATIONS
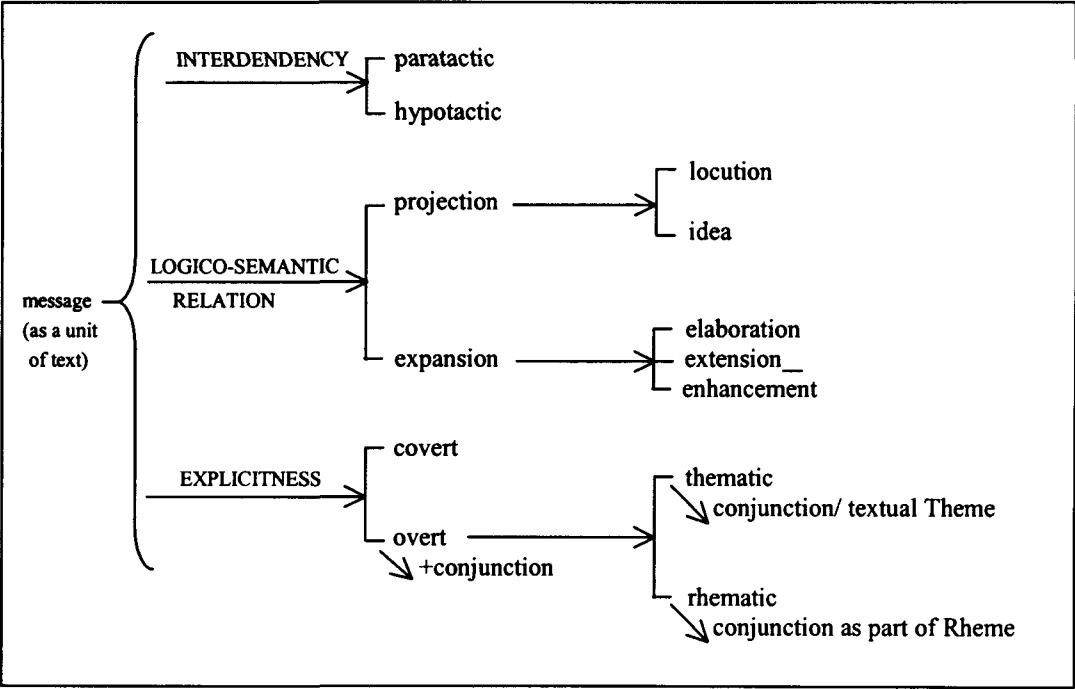
6.5 Grammatical realisation of textual relations: the system of CONJUNCTION

The semantic system of TEXTUAL RELATIONS is realised grammatically by the system of CONJUNCTION. There have been some alternative classifications of conjunction in Chinese, and these are set out in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16: Alternative classifications of conjunction

Wang (1955: 378-399)	Chao (1968: 791-795)	Okurowski (1986: 102-110)	Li & Thompson (1981: 631-656)
(1) markers which conjoin clauses e.g. érqiě (and)	(1) macrosyntactic conjunctions: conjunctions which are employed between clauses	(1) coordinating conjunctions: (a) additive (b) contrastive (c) alternative (d) elaborative	(1) forward linking elements: (a) forward linking elements in clause-final position
(2) markers which conjoin complex sentences e.g. huò (or), háishì (or)	(2) correlative conjunctions: conjunctions which bind clauses into clause complex	(2) subordinating conjunctions: (a) causal (b) conditional (c) concessive (d) temporal	(b) adverbial forward linking elements
(3) subordinate markers e.g. de, zhī (SUB)	(3) reduced main clauses: polysyllabic conjunctions derived from clauses e.g. zǒngéryánzhī (in a word)		(c) perfective aspect
(4) markers which coordinate forms of equal status e.g. yǔ, hé, bìng, jì(and), tóng (with)	(4) prepositional conjunctions: conjunctions which join nominal groups e.g. gēn, hé (and), tóng (with)		(2) backward linking elements: (a) adverbial linking elements in clause-initial position
(5) yǔ (in, on, at), yǐ (use)			(b) non-movable adverbs e.g. jiù (then), cái (only then), dào (nonetheless)

Among the four alternative classifications shown in Table 6.16, Li & Thompson's (1981) classification sets itself apart from the others as its central opposition, i.e. [forward linking elements/backward linking elements], is strongly associated with phoricity. The other three classifications share some common points, i.e. the first category of Wang's

(1955) and Chao's (1968) classifications are related to each other and they resemble Halliday & Hasan's (1967) non-structural conjunctive elements, while their second category resembles Halliday & Hasan's structural conjunctive elements. On the other hand, the first category of Okurowski's (1986) classification, i.e. coordinating conjunctions, includes non-structural conjunctive elements as well as structural paratactic conjunctive elements, while his second category, i.e. subordinating conjunctions, resembles only structural hypotactic conjunctive elements. The fourth category of Wang's and Chao's classifications has to do with conjunctive relations at group rank, which is beyond the scope of the present study. And finally, the third category of Chao's classification mainly concerns conjunctive elements with thematic prominence.

In the present study, there are three primary types of expansion, namely elaboration, extension and enhancement, following Halliday's (1985/1994) classification. Each type of expansion can be subcategorised. They are formulated systemically as a subsystem, resembling to CONJUNCTION in the system network of TEXTUAL THEME (see Chapter 4).

Moreover, conjunctive elements are treated as either structural or non-structural, adopting Halliday and Hasan's (1976) classification. Structural conjunctive elements are those conjunctives which realise the relations between main and dependent clauses in a clause complex, whether dependent and independent, whereas non-structural ones are those which realise relations between clause complexes and/or clause simplexes. This opposition of structure and non-structure forms the subsystem [structure/non-structure], which cross-classified EXPANSION TYPE.

Both structural and non-structural conjunctive elements can be thematised. When thematised, the non-structural conjunctive theoretically carries more thematic prominence (i.e. is more marked) than the structural one because as Halliday & Hasan (1976) have pointed out, the employment of the structural conjunctive element in English is less of a choice than the non-structural one. However, in Chinese even the structural conjunctive can be rhematic as in the following example, and so when a structural conjunctive

occupies clause-initial position, it is 'marked' with a thematic prominence stronger than in the case of English.

(6.8)

wǒ I	suīrán although	xiāngxìn believe	tā duì zìjǐ shēnfèn de zhīzhèng, he toward oneself identity POSS claim
Senser	HCON	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Subject	Adjunct	Predicator	Complement
(topical) Theme	Rheme		
Theme of the following clause			

(Although I believe his claim regarding his own identity,)

(6.9)

dànshì but	shuō-qǐ [[tā yòng-lái bǎohù luójiādè de]] shìjì fāngfǎ, say-raise he use-come protect Ratchett SUB actual method	
(textual)	(absolute) Theme	
PCON	kějiù xiāngdàngde then rather	huāngdànbùjīng le. absurd ASP
(Carrier)		Process: ascriptive/Attribute
(Subject)	Adjunct	Predicator
((topical) Theme)	Rheme	

(but concerning to the actual methods that he used to protect Ratchett, it then became rather absurd.)

Though the conjunctive element *suīrán* (although) in (6.8) is a structural one, it is not assigned the status of textual Theme in the clause. However, it can always be thematised as in (6.10):

(6.10)

suīrán although	*wǒ* I	*xiāngxìn* believe	*tā duì zìjǐ shēnfèn de zhǐzhèng,* he toward oneself identity POSS claim
HCON	Sensor	Process: mental	Phenomenon
	Subject	Predicator	Complement
textual Theme	topical Theme	Rheme	
Theme of the following clause			

(Although I believe his claim towards his own identity,)

At this point, we have three simultaneous subsystems of CONJUNCTION, namely EXPANSION TYPE, [structural/non-structural] and [thematised/non-thematised], which cross-classify each others. The system of CONJUNCTION is related to the system of THEME as shown in Figure 6.13.

Figure 6.13: The system of CONJUNCTION in relation to the system of THEME

CONJUNCTION

elaboration ———→ exposition
                  exemplification
                  clarification

extension ———→ addition
                variation
                alteration

enhancement ———→ spatial-temporal
                  manner
                  causal-conditional

conjunct ———
↘ + conjunctive

non-conjunct

structural

non-structural

clause

THEME

textual theme | Figure 4.13 |
↘ Theme/Conjunctive

no textual theme

interpersonal theme | Figure 4.16 |
↘ Theme/Attitude

no interpersonal theme

attitudinal
↘ +Attitude

non-attitudinal

bracketed
↘ Theme/nominalisation or elements with verbal group

absolute
↘ Theme/representational element with no
            transitivity role

simple ———→

clause-functional | Figure 4.19 |
↘ Theme/element with transitivity role

6.6   Textual semantic (3): the semantic system of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT

THEME is "the resource for manipulating the contextualisation of the clause ... for setting up a local context for each clause in a text" (Matthiessen 1995: 531). The local context of a clause is set up by its preceding discourse, which means that the process of con-textualisation is 'anaphoric'. On the other hand, as a text unfolds, the Theme of each clause serves as a 'point of departure' for the clause and, as a whole, a text's Themes bring out the method of development of a text or of a span of text (see Fries 1983). According to Halliday (1994: 336), "the choice of Theme, clause by clause, is what carries forward the development of the text as a whole ... The patterning of clause Themes throughout a text tends to differ from one register to another." In this section, the main focus is on the resources in Chinese that contribute to the development of text, particularly the Chinese translation of an English detective novel.

Here we are dealing with two separate but closely related issues, viz. thematic progression and thematic selection. Thematic progression, as Fries (1983: 320) has pointed out, concerns where Themes come from, i.e. how they are related to the previous Themes and Rhemes of the text. In this way, thematic progression reflects the organisation of a text by showing how the information flows in it. In contrast, thematic selection concerns the textual markedness of topical Theme and also the choice of non-topical Theme. These choices constitute the shape of the waves of information. The pattern of thematic progression and the choice of thematic selection answer the two questions that we asked at the outset of this chapter, viz. what is the function of assigning a particular constituent, instead of another, a particular kind of prominence? And why does a language need two systems, THEME and VOICE, instead of one? Obviously, the purpose of assigning thematic prominence to a particular constituent is to achieve a certain kind of thematic progression, whereas the reason for having two systems instead of one has to do with the possibility of manipulating the degree of textual markedness. To put it in another way, a language user can select any constituent and assign it thematic prominence in order to achieve a certain method of thematic progression. In addition, when the language user chooses a Complement as the 'point of departure', s/he can make it thematically 'marked' by employing the resources of THEME or 'unmarked' by

employing the resources of VOICE. In the present study, Figure 6.14 serves as a point of departure for exploring the semantic system of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT.

Figure 6.14 A point of departure from the semantic system of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT
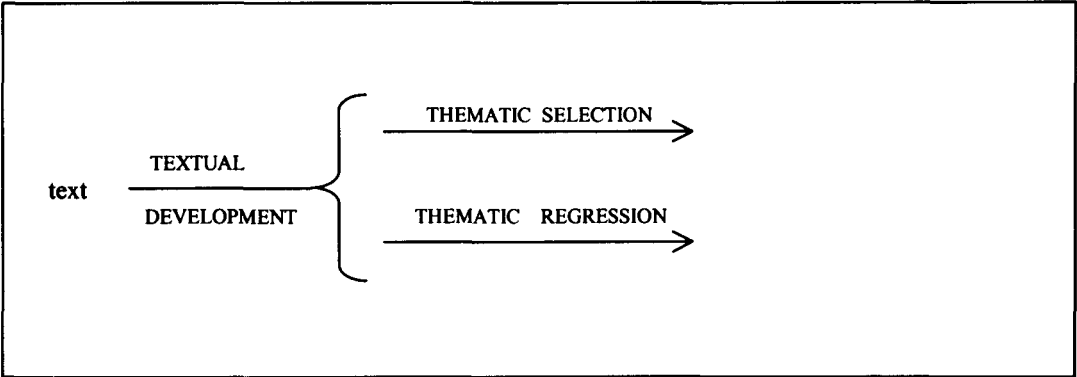
6.6.1 Thematic progression (at the ranks of clause and paragraph)

Fries (1983), based on Daneš (1974), distinguishes three major patterns of thematic progression, namely 'linear thematic progression', 'Theme iteration' and 'progression with derived Themes'. In the pattern 'linear thematic progression', the information presented in the Theme of a second clause comes from the Rheme of the previous clause, i.e. Rheme 1 ➔ Theme 2; in the pattern 'Theme iteration', the same Theme enters into a relation with the Rheme of the following clause, i.e. Theme 1 ➔ Theme 2; and in the pattern 'progression with derived Themes', the Themes of more than one clause are derived from a general notion though they are not identical with each other. Each of these patterns can extend over more than two clauses. The patterns are diagrammed in Figures 6.15-17.

Figure 6.15: Linear thematic progression
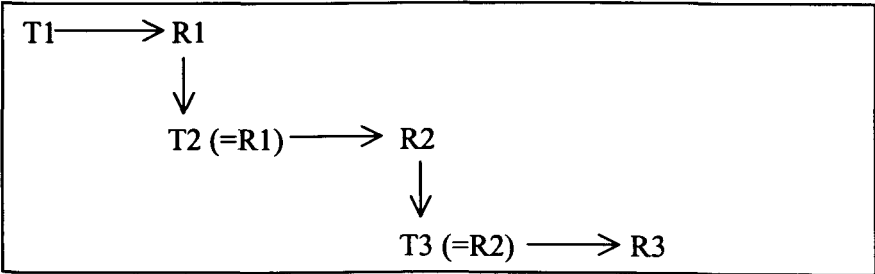
Figure 6.16: Theme iteration

```
T1 ──────→ R1
│
↓
T1 ──────→ R2
│
↓
T1 ──────→ R3
```
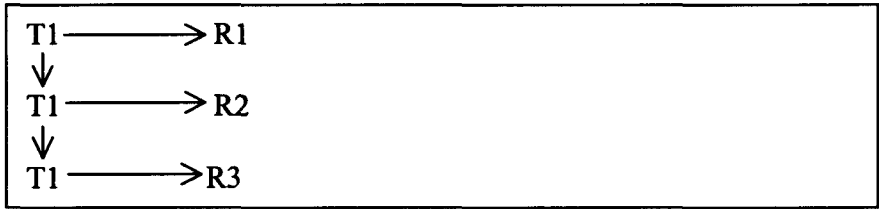
Figure 6.17: Progression with derived Themes

```
[T]
│
├─→ T1 ──────→ R1
│
├──────→ T2 ──────→ R2
│
└──────────→ T3 ──────→ R3
```
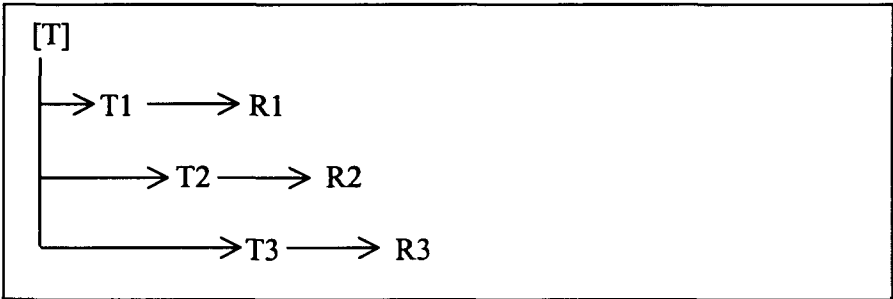
Scinto (1983) focuses not only on thematic progression but also on text constitution. Apart from Themes, he also examines where Rhemes come from in a text and suggests more complex patterns. In the present study, since the interest is in textual development, the main concern is the representational content of the Theme. Using Daneš (1974) as a point of departure, I will analyse the three Chinese texts (Appendix J) with respect to their types of Theme and patterns of thematic progression in order to further develop the semantic system of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT shown in Figure 6.14.

6.6.1.1 Analysis of Text 1 (narrative with casual conversation)

Text 1 consists of 100 clauses and can be divided into 11 paragraphs. Paragraph 1, the first paragraph in the novel, sets the introductory scene of the story as many novels do by introducing the country, season, time and scene for the first episode. The paragraph is solely developed by linear thematic progression. Paragraph 2 introduces two characters, namely M. Poirot and Lieutenant Dubosc. This paragraph continues the 'linear thematic progression' of Paragraph 1 until it begins to describe the physical appearance of M. Poirot, at which point it turns to another progression pattern, namely 'progression with

→

derived themes'. The first clauses of both paragraphs have circumstances as marked topical Themes.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraphs 1&2)
1	topical/Location: spatial+temporal (marked)	T1 ⟶ R1
2	topical/ Subject	T2 ⟶ R2

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern
3	topical/Location: spatial (marked)	T3 ⟶ R3
4	topical/ Subject	(T4) ⟶ R4
5	absolute + topical/ Subject	[T11] T5 ⟶ R5
6	interpersonal + topical/ Subject	T6 ⟶ R6
7	topical/Accompaniment (marked)	⟶ T7 ⟶ R7
		[T17]

Paragraph 3 starts with the weather, turns to what is happening in the scene and then switches back to what has happened in the recent past, which serves as an extension of the introduction of Poirot, not of his appearance this time but of his ability. In this paragraph, there are two dominant patterns of thematic progression, viz. 'Theme iteration' for the description of Dubosc's performance of his duty and 'progression with derived theme' for the narration of what has happened. As for the Theme type, there is a marked circumstantial topical Theme in the second clause of this paragraph. In addition, there are many textual and interpersonal themes compared with the first two paragraphs.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 3)
8	Topical/Subject (unmarked)	T8 → R8
9	Topical/Location: spatial (marked)	T9 → R9
10	Topical/Subject	(T10) → R10
11	Textual + Topical/ Subject	T11 → R11
12	Topical/Subject	T12 → R12
13	Textual + Topical/ Subject	T13 → R13
14	Topical/Subject	[T27] T14 → R14
15	Interpersonal + Topical/ Subject	(T15) → R15
16	Topical/Subject	[T5] T16 → R16
17	Textual + Interpersonal Topical/ Subject	T17 → R17
18	Topical/Process	T18 → R18 [T28]
19	Interpersonal + Topical/ Subject	T19 → R19 [T20] [T25]

		[T15]	[T16]
20	Topical/Subject	T20 ——>R20	
21	Topical/Subject	⌐> T21 ——>R21	
22	Topical/Subject	——> T22 ——> R22	
23	Topical/Subject	——> T23 ——>R23	
24	Topical/Subject	——> T24 ——>R24	
25<26>	Topical/Subject	——————————> T25 ——> R25	
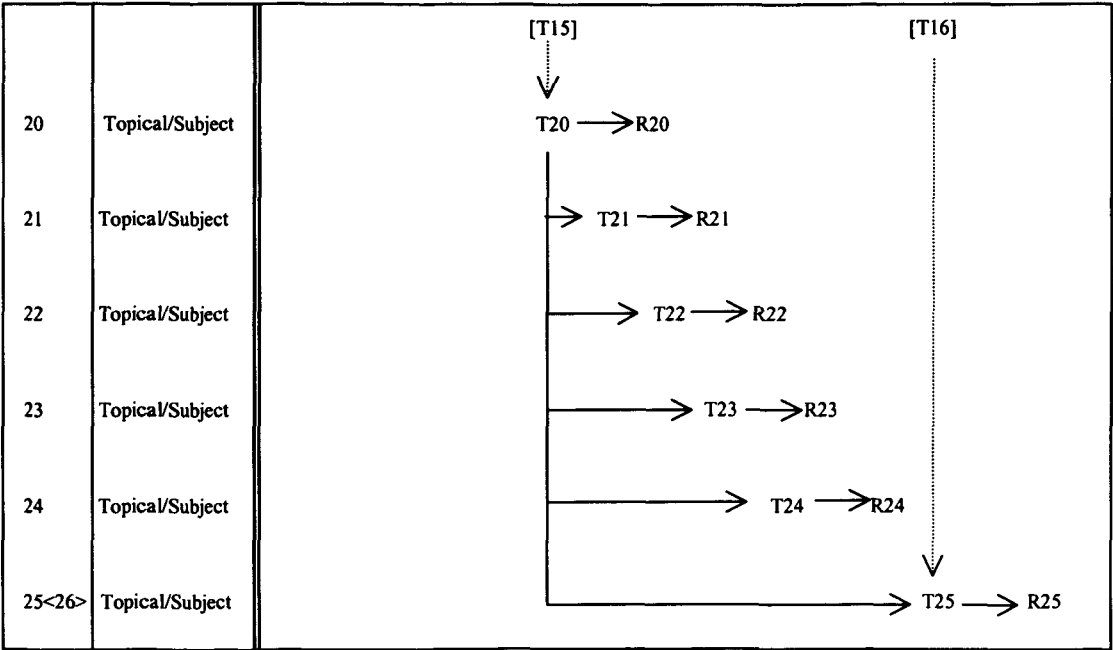
Paragraphs 4 and 5 depict a dialogue between Poirot and the General that Dubosc has overheard. The subject matter of the dialogue is a summary of the contribution made by Poirot to solving a crisis in the French army. Both paragraphs are developed mainly through 'theme iteration'. There are two major themes, viz. they are the two interlocutors in the dialogue, i.e. Poirot and the General. As a result, there are two separate theme iterations flowing parallel with each other.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 4)
		[T13]
27	Topical/Subject	T27 ⟶ R27
'28' A:	Topical/Subject	[T47] T28 ⟶ R28
29	Topical/Subject	T29 ⟶ R29
30	Topical/Subject	T30 ⟶ R30
'31' A:	Topical/Subject	T31 ⟶ R31
'32' A:	Topical/Subject	T32 ⟶ R32
'33' A:	Topical/Subject	T33 ⟶ R33
'34' A:	Topical/Subject	T34 ⟶ R34
'35' A:	Topical/Subject	(T35) ⟶ R35
		[T36] [T40]

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 5)
36<37>	Absolute + Topical/ Subject	
38	Topical/Subject	
'39' B:	Textual + Topical/ Subject	
'40' B:	Topical/Subject	
41	Topical/Subject	
42	Topical/Subject	
'43' A:	Absolute + Topical/ Subject	
'44' A:	Topical/Subject	
45	Topical/Subject	

[T35]   [T34]

T36 ——> R36

T38 ——> R38

T39 ——> R39

T40 ——> R40

T41 ——> R41

T42 ——> R42

T43 ——> R43

T44 ——> R44

T45 ——> R45

[T60]   [T46]

In addition, there are two patterns of thematic progression which do not belong to the three major patterns introduced above. The first one occurs from clauses (27) to (29), in which Rheme (27) acts as a hyper-rheme from which two successive T-R structures are derived. The Themes of the successive clauses are not identical but constitute a part of or are somewhat derived from the hyper-rheme, which we may call 'progression from a super-rheme', in contrast with the 'progression with derived Theme'. This may be represented as in Figure 6.18.

Figure 6.18: Progression from a super-Rheme

```
T1 ──────> R1
           │
           ▼              │
           T2 ──────> R2  │
                          │
                          ▼
                          T3 ──────> R3
```
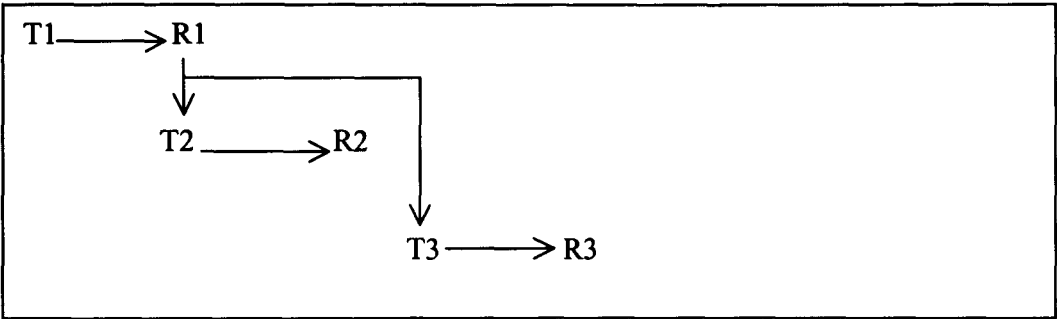
The second new pattern occurs in clauses (39), (44) and (45). Here Theme (45) is clearly derived from both Theme (39) and Theme (44), and we may call this new pattern 'progression from combined Themes' to distinguish it from 'progression of derived Theme'. This new pattern is shown in Figure 6.19.

Figure 6.19: Progression from combined Themes

```
T1 ──────> R1
 │
 │         T2 ──────> R2
 │              │
 └──────────────┘
      ▼
      T3 ──────> R3
```
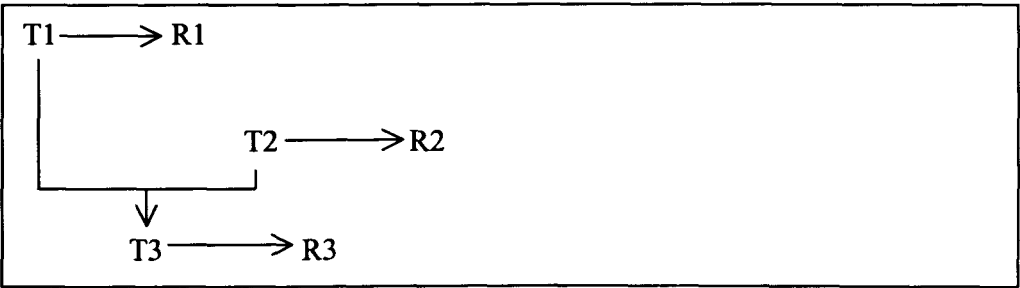
Furthermore, the above mentioned patterns of thematic progression need not be as stepwise as shown in the diagram as the flow can be interrupted by another strand(s) of progression as in the fourth paragraph shown above.

As for the thematic selection, there is no marked Theme in the fourth paragraph. The first Theme here is not directly related to the last clause in the previous paragraph as in Paragraph 3. The first Theme in the fifth paragraph, on the other hand, is an absolute theme, which is identical with the last Theme of the fourth paragraph.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraphs 6, 7 & 8)
46	Absolute + Topical/ Subject	[T45] ↓ T46 ⟶ R46
47	Absolute + Topical/ Subject	T47 ⟶ R47
48	Topical/Subject	T48 ⟶ R48
49	Topical/Subject	T49 ⟶ R49
50	Topical/Subject	T50 ⟶ R50
51	Topical/Subject	T51 ⟶ R51
52	Topical/Subject	T52 ⟶ R52

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern
'53' C:	Topical/Subject	T53 ⟶ R53
54	Topical/Subject	T54 ⟶ R54
'55' C:	Topic/Location: temporal	T55 ⟶ R55 [T61]

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern
56	Topical/Verbiage (marked)	T56 ⟶ R56
57	Topical/Subject	T57 ⟶ R57
58	Topic/Subject	T55 ⟶ R55

Similarly, the first Theme in Paragraph 6 is identical with the last Theme in Paragraph 5 and is assigned the status of absolute Theme. There is only one major method of development in this paragraph, namely 'Theme iteration'.

Starting from clause (53), it becomes difficult to identify the boundaries of paragraphs because the rest of the text comprises mainly a dialogue between Dubosc and Poirot. Due to the layout of the text, a new 'turn' in the dialogue usually, but not always, starts a new paragraph. The whole dialogue is interwoven with projecting clauses and/or short narration. There are two short narratives here, which clearly form two distinguishable paragraphs, so I consider them as a boundary and isolate the rest of the text into five paragraphs.

Paragraph 7 consists of only one single turn with a projecting clause in between. The Theme of the first clause here bears no relation to the previous clause and is given 'unmarked' thematic status. In this paragraph, there is a new pattern of thematic progression in clauses (55) and (56). Theme (56) obviously represents some information which is identical with the entire T55 + R55, so let us call it 'progression from an entire T-R structure'. Thiscan be represented as in Figure 6.20.

Figure 6.20: Progression from an entire T-R structure
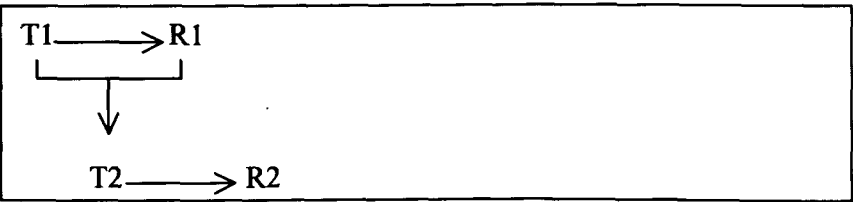
Paragraph 8, on the other hand, is a very short narration that interrupts the dialogue. The first Theme is derived from the last clause of the previous paragraph. It is assigned the status of marked Verbiage topical Theme. Both paragraphs 7 and 8 progress mainly by the method of 'progression from combined Themes'.

Paragraph 9 is mainly a dialogue with a few projecting clauses. It is expected that the Themes in both projecting and the projected clauses form two distinguishable thematic progressions. However, the subject matter of the projected clauses is concerned with one of the interactants and, as a result, the two 'distinguishable' thematic progressions are interwoven as shown below.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 9)		
		[T54]	[T39]	
'59' B:	minor clause			
60	topical/Subject		T60 ——> R60	
'61' C:	topical/Subject	T61 ——> R61		
'62' C:	topical/Subject		T62 ——> R62	
'63' B:	interpersonal + topical/ Range			T63 ——> R63
'64' B:	topical/Subject			T64 ——> R64
65	topical/Subject		T65 ——> R65	
'66' B:	topical/Subject		T66 ——> R66	
'67' B:	topical/Subject		T67 ——> R67	
'68' C:	topical/Subject			T68 ——> R68
69	topical/Subject	T69 ——> R69		
70	textual + topical/ Subject	T70 ——> R70		
		[T73]	[T77]	

An alternative way of avoiding the above confusion is to separate projected clauses from projecting ones and analyse their thematic progression separately. Thus the above diagram could be redrawn as below. In this alternative diagram, it is more obvious that the paragraph progresses through two separate 'derived themes' for the projected clauses

and two separate 'theme iterations' for the two interlocutors in the projecting clauses. Besides, it seems that there is a new pattern of progression here, viz. in clauses (63), (64) and (68) and again in clauses (62), (66) and (67). Theme (63) seems to represent a hyper-theme from which Theme (64) and Theme (68) derive. However, in the pattern 'progression with derived Theme' all the following Themes in the same strand are derived but not identical with the super-theme. By contrast, while Theme (64) is derived but different from Theme (63), Theme (68) is identical with Theme (63), which makes this a combination of 'Theme iteration' and 'progression with derived Themes'. In this study, this will not be regarded as a new pattern but a combination of the major patterns. As for Theme selection, disregarding clause (59), which is a minor clause with no Theme-Rheme structure, the first Theme in this paragraph bears no direct relation to the last clause in the previous paragraph and it thus assigned 'unmarked' thematic prominence.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 9)	
		dialogue	**projecting clause**
'59' B:	minor clause		
60	topical/Subject		T60 ——→ R60
'61' C:	topical/Subject (interpersonal metaphor)	T61 ——→ R61	
'62' C:	topical/Subject	T62 ———→ R62	
'63' B:	interpersonal + topical/ Range	T63 —→ R63	
'64' B:	topical/Subject	T64 ——→ R64	
65	topical/Subject		T65 ——→ R65
'66' B:	topical/Subject	T66 —→ R66	
'67' B:	topical/Subject	T67 ——→ T67	
'68' C:	topical/Subject	T68 ——→ R68	
69	topical/Subject		T69 ——→ R69
70	textual + topical/ Subject		T70 ——→ R70
		[T77]	[T73]

Paragraph 10 is another interjection into the dialogue. The whole paragraph shows two separate strands of 'theme iterations'. The major one involves four clauses and the minor one lasts only for two clauses. The first Theme in this paragraph has no direct relation with the last clause of the previous paragraph and is given an 'unmarked' thematic prominence. The most interesting thing is Theme (71), *yī zhèn cìmiàn hánfēng* (a piercing cold wind). Strictly speaking, it does not relate to the previous clause and it does not form any strand of development. It is in fact derived from Theme (1) of Paragraph 1 and Theme (8) of Paragraph 3 where both Theme (1) and Theme (8) are the first Theme of the paragraph; both have no direct relation with the previous clause and both are concerned with meteorological matters.

In Paragraph 11, the first Theme has no direct relation with the last clause of the previous paragraph. It is assigned a 'marked' topical Theme of Circumstance. The projected clauses are mainly developed by two separated 'combined theme progressions'. The projecting clauses, as in Paragraph 9, are developed by two separated 'theme iterations', representing the two interlocutors in the dialogue. There are two cases of combined pattern. Both are of the same nature, i.e. a combination of 'theme iteration' and 'progression from an entire T-R structure'.

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 10)
		[T70] [T67]
71	Topical/ Subject	T71 ⟶ R71
72	Topical/ Subject	T72 ⟶R72
73	Topical/ Subject	T73 ⟶ R73
74	Topical/ Subject	T74 ⟶ R74
75	Interpersonal + Topical/ Process (marked)	T75 ⟶R75
76	Topical/ Subject	T76 ⟶ R76
77	Topical/ Subject	T77 ⟶ R77
78	Topical/ Subject	T78 ⟶ R78
79	Topical/ Subject	T79 ⟶ R79
		[T81] [T84]

Clause	Theme Type	Thematic progression pattern (Text 1 paragraph 11)	
		dialogue	**projecting clause**
'80' C:	topical/ Location: temporal (marked)	T80 ⟶ R80	[T77] [T79]
81	topical/ Subject		T81 ⟶ R81
82	topical/ Subject		T82 ⟶ R82
'83' B:	topical/ Subject	T83 ⟶ R83	
84	topical/ Subject		T84 ⟶ R84
'85' C:	topical/ Subject	T85 ⟶ R85	
'86' C:	topical/ Subject	T86 ⟶ R86	
'87' B:	topical/ Subject	(T87) ⟶ R87	
'88' C:	topical/ Subject	(T88) ⟶ R88	
'89' C:	topical/ Subject	(T89) ⟶ R89	
'90' B:	topical/ Subject	(T90) ⟶ R90	
91	topical/ Subject		T91 ⟶ R 91
'92' B:	topical/ Subject	T92 ⟶ R92	
'93' C:	topical/ Subject	T93 ⟶ R93	
'94' C:	topical/ Location: spatial (marked)	T94 ⟶ R94	
'95' B:	topical/ Subject (interpersonal metaphor)	(T95) ⟶ R95	
'96' B:	topical/ Location: spatial (marked)	T96 ⟶ R96	
'97' C:	minor clause		
98	topical/ Subject		T98 ⟶ R98
99	topical/ Subject	(T99) ⟶ R99	
100	topical/ Subject		(T100) ⟶ R100

Based on the above analysis, some observations can be made regarding the thematic progression in Text 1. First, there are six major patterns of thematic progression, namely 'linear thematic progression', 'Theme iteration', 'progression with derived Themes', 'progression from a super-rheme', 'progression from combined Themes' and 'progression from an entire T-R structure'. Second, a text may be developed with some combination of these basic patterns. Third, each basic pattern or some combinations of these patterns form a strand, but there can be two or more strands in a text. Strands interweave so that the patterning need not be strictly stepwise. Fourth, each paragraph is basically developed by a certain major type of thematic progression method. Which type is deployed depends on what the paragraph sets out to do, e.g. to delineate a character's feature and appearance; to epitomise a character; to narrate an episode; to explicate one's moral value or reasoning. Patterns of thematic discussion will be discussed further after the analysis of Text 2 and 3.

As for theme selection, each new paragraph is likely to start with a Theme which has no direct relation to the experiential meaning depicted in the last clause of the previous paragraph. Otherwise, it is more likely to resort to textual resources, such as absolute Theme or marked Theme. In short, a new paragraph is likely to start with one of the two types of Theme, namely unmarked Theme, when the Theme has no direct relation to the previous clause, and marked Theme (including absolute Theme), when the Theme depicts information relating to the previous clause. This observation holds for the whole text except Paragraphs 1 and 11, in which the first Theme bears no relation to the last clause but is a circumstance serving as a 'marked' Theme.

As in most discourse analyses, the above observations should be seen as statement of probability rather than rules. Furthermore, any generalisation on the basis of these observations are limited to a certain register or even to the particular translator of this novel, at least at the present stage. With these cautions in mind, we can move on to analyse Texts 2 and 3.

6.6.1.2 Comparison of the analysis of Texts 1-3

Unlike Text 1, which is mainly a narrative text, Text 2 comprises two lengthy, and one short, task-oriented dialogue whereas Text 3 is an expository monologue. They thus represent very different text types within the same book. This section will explore how the same translator employs different resources, in terms of thematic progression patterns and thematic selection, to develop the texts. The analysis of Texts 2 and 3 is presented in Appendix K and only the results are presented here. Table 6.17 summarises the number of occurrences of various thematic progression methods in the three texts.

Table 6.17: Thematic progression method in Texts 1-3

text	para-graph	no. of clause	thematic progression method						first of a strand
			linear	iteration	derived themes	super-rheme	combined themes	entire T-R structure	
1	1	2	1						1
	2	5	2		2				1
	3	18(19)	5	4	5				5
	4	9	2	5		1			1
	5	9(10)		6			1		2
	6	7		5					2
	7	3		1					2
	8	3					1	1	1
	9	11(12)		5	2				4
	10	9		4	2				3
	11	20(21)		10	1			3	6
subtotal	11	97(100) (100%)	10 (10.31%)	40 (41.24%)	12 (12.37%)	1 (1.03%)	2 (2.06%)	4 (4.12%)	28 (28.87%)
2A	1	6(7)		3				1	2
	2	2							2
	3	16(17)		9				1	6
2B	4	2							2
	5	3(4)		2					1
	6	5(6)		1					4
2C	7	7			4				3
	8	2		1					1
	9	9(10)		5					4
	10	3		1					2
	11	6(7)		2					4
subtotal	11	61(67) (100%)	0 (0.00%)	24 (39.34%)	4 (6.56%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (3.28%)	31 (50.82%)
3	1	2		1					1
	2	10(11)		6	2				2
	3	13	3	2	4				4
	4	8(9)	1	1				1	5
subtotal	4	33(35) (100%)	4 (12.12%)	10 (30.30%)	6 (18.18%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (3.03%)	12 (36.37%)
TOTAL	26	191(202) (100%)	14 (7.33%)	74 (38.74%)	22 (11.52%)	1 (0.52%)	2 (1.05%)	7 (3.67%)	71 (37.17%)

Table 6.17 is organised around two axes. The y-axis (vertical axis) tabulates text, paragraph and the number of clauses in each paragraph. The figures inside the parentheses in the third column include both embedding and minor clauses, whereas these clauses are not included in the calculation of percentage. The x-axis (horizontal axis) tabulates the six patterns of thematic progression. The figure in each column of the progression patterns indicates the number of Themes which are developed from a previous clause by that particular pattern in each paragraph. Themes which are not developed from a previous clause, including the first Theme of each strand of progression, are not counted here, and their number is shown in the last column (first of a strand).

I make the following observations about the results shown in Table 6.17. First, in terms of the relative frequency of the various thematic progression methods, the three basic patterns of thematic progression are 'theme iteration' (38.74%), 'progression with derived themes' (11.52%) and 'linear thematic progression' (7.33%), totalling 57.57%. Other patterns are relatively infrequent, viz. 'progression from an entire T-R structure' (3.67%), 'progression with combined themes' (1.05%) and 'progression from super-rheme' (0.52%), totalling to only 5.24%. 37.17% of Themes are the first Theme in a strand of progression and are excluded from my calculation. The proportion of the clauses with different thematic progression methods are shown in Figure 6.21.

Figure 6.21: Proportion of different thematic progression methods
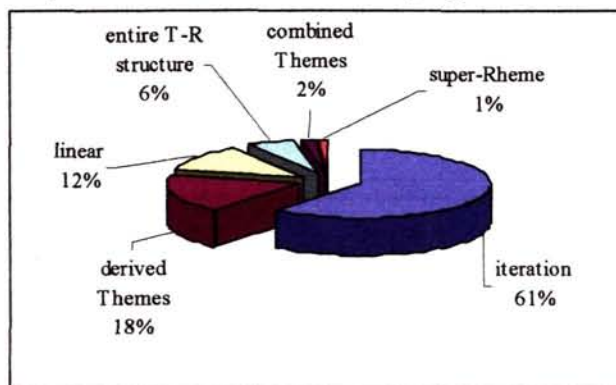
Second, in terms of the length of strands of progression in different text types, those in the narrative text are more likely to be longer than those in the expository monologic text,

which in turn are longer than those in the dialogic text. This finding is reflected in the percentage of Themes which are first Themes in a new strand in each text types, viz. in narrative text (28.8%), expository monolgic text (36.36%) and dialogic text (50.82%).

Third, in terms of the employment of different progression types, the narrative text employs comparatively more minor thematic progression methods than the other text types. It also employs the greatest diversity of different thematic progression methods whereas the dialogic text employs the smallest range, relying instead on 'Theme iteration' for its method of progression. The monologic text depends on the three basic progression methods but not the minor ones.

In addition to the above patterns, the analysis in Appendix K also reveals some notable phenomena regarding patterns of development. First, 9 out of 26 paragraphs are developed by means of a single thematic progression method. Even those which happen to involve more than one method of development method are largely dominated by one particular pattern. This finding is particularly strong in the dialogic text.

Second, in some paragraphs, there is only one single strand of development but the progression method changes from one pattern into another, as in Paragraph 2 of Text 1. In some, the one strand is developed with one particular pattern, but each major step of this dominant strand is further elaborated by another progression pattern, as in Paragraph 3 of Text 3.

Third, in some paragraphs, there are two strands of development flowing side by side simultaneously throughout the whole paragraph, or even beyond the paragraph, as in Paragraphs 4 and 5 of Text 1. In some, one of the two strands further develops into another two strands with similar progression pattern, as in Paragraph 9 of Text 1.

Now let us turn our focus from thematic progression to thematic selection. In the previous section, the analysis of Text 1 indicated that the thematic choice of each paragraph-initial

clause showed a particular trend. Here Table 6.18 summarises the results of the analysis of the three texts.

Table 6.18: Thematic selection of the first Theme in each paragraph

text	paragraph	first Theme in the paragraph					
		unrelated + unmarked	unrelated + marked	related + unmarked	related + marked (not including absolute Theme)	related + absolute theme	TOTAL
1	1		+				
	2				+		
	3	+					
	4	+					
	5					+	
	6					+	
	7	+					
	8				+		
	9	+					
	10	+					
	11		+				
subtotal	11	5 45.40%	2 18.20%	0 0.00%	2 18.20%	2 18.20%	11 100%
2A	1		+				
	2	+					
	3	+					
2B	4	+					
	5	+					
	6	+					
2C	7		+				
	8	+					
	9	+					
	10	+					
	11			+			
subtotal	11	8 72.70%	2 18.20%	1 9.10%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	11 100%
3	1	+					
	2	+					
	3	+					
	4		+				
subtotal	4	3 75.00%	1 25.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	4 100%
TOTAL	26	16 61.50%	5 19.20%	1 3.90%	2 7.70%	2 7.70%	26 100%

In this table, the y-axis tabulates text and paragraph while the x-axis tabulates the property of the first Theme in each paragraph, i.e. whether the Theme is 'related' or 'unrelated' to the experiential meaning in the last clause of the previous paragraph and whether the Theme is assigned a 'marked' or 'unmarked' status.

There are three observations to be made on the basis of the analysis. First, I showed in Chapter 4 that the relative frequency of absolute Theme for the whole novel is 2%, marked Theme (not including absolute Theme) 7% and unmarked Theme 90%. Table 6.18 indicates that the relative frequency of unmarked Theme in the first clause of each paragraph (both unrelated and related to the previous clause) is only 65.4% (24.6% below average); of marked Theme, the relative frequency is 26.9% (19.9% above average); and of absolute Theme, the relative frequency is 7.7% (5.7% above average). So we can conclude that the first Theme of the first clause in a paragraph is more likely to be given prominence as 'marked' or 'absolute' Theme. This tendency is stronger in the narrative text (54.6%) than in the expository monologic text (25.0%), and is weakest in the dialogic text (18.2%).

Second, the analysis of Text 1 (narrative text) shows that the first Theme of a new paragraph is more likely to have no direct relation to the experiential meaning in the last clause of the previous paragraph. Otherwise, it is more likely to be a marked Theme. The analysis of Text 2 (dialogic text) and Text 3 (monologic text) also shows that the first Theme of a new paragraph is very likely to have no direct relation to the experiential meaning in the last clause of the previous paragraph; however, as there is only one occurrence in which the first Theme is classified as 'related', no conclusion can be drawn as to whether or not a 'related' Theme is more likely to be 'marked' or 'unmarked'.

Third, it seems that the first Theme of the first paragraph of each text is more likely to be assigned a 'marked' status. However, this observation is not too reliable because I have only analysed three texts. This issue will be further explored in the next section.

Table 6.19 tabulates the choice of Theme type for all the clauses in the three texts.

Table 6.19: Thematic selection in Texts 1-3

text	paragraph	no. of clause	thematic selection				
			marked	unmarked	absolute	textual	interpersonal
1	1	2	1	1			
	2	5	2	2	1		1
	3	18(19)	1	17		3	2
	4	9		9			
	5	9(10)		7	2	1	
	6	7		5	2		
	7	3		3			
	8	3	1	2			
	9	11(12)		11		1	1
	10	9	1	8			1
	11	20(21)	3	17			
subtotal	11	97(100) (100%)	9 (9.28%)	83 (85.56%)	5 (5.16%)	5 (5.16%)	5 (5.16%)
2A	1	6(7)	1	4	1	1	
	2	2		2		1	
	3	16(17)	1	15		1	1
2B	4	2		2			
	5	3(4)		3			
	6	5(6)		5			
2C	7	7	2	5			
	8	2		2			
	9	9(10)	1	8			
	10	3		3		1	
	11	6(7)		6		1	1
subtotal	11	61(67) (100%)	5 (8.20%)	55 (90.16%)	1 (1.64%)	5 (8.20%)	2 (3.28%)
3	1	2		2			
	2	10(11)	1	9		2	1
	3	13	5	8		1	
	4	8(9)	2	6		1	
subtotal	4	33(35) (100%)	8 (24.24%)	25 (75.76%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (12.12%)	1 (3.05%)
TOTAL	26	191(202) (100%)	22 (11.52%)	163 (85.34%)	6 (3.14%)	14 (7.22%)	8 (4.19%)

First of all, it is more likely for the first clause of a paragraph to have a 'marked' theme selection than any of the subsequent clauses. This observation is extremely significant for the narrative text where 36.4% of the first clauses but only 9% of all the clauses in the same text have a 'marked' Theme, and for the dialogic text, the relevant figures being 18.2% and 8.2% respectively. However, in the expository monologue, the difference is very small, the relevant figures being 25% and 24.4% respectively.

Second, among the three texts, the expository text has a substantially higher average relative frequency of marked Theme (24.24%) than the narrative text (9.28%) or the dialogues (8.20%). This is closely related to the first observation. In summary, the data suggest that a greater number of marked Themes are used in the expository text than in the other two text types. These marked Themes are distributed more evenly across the text. Fewer marked Themes are used in the narrative text and the dialogue. However, when they are used, they are more likely to occupy the first clause of the paragraph.

Third, the relative frequency of absolute Theme tends to be higher in the narrative text (5.16%) than in the dialogic text (1.64%) and the expository text (0%).

A particular text type may lend itself to some particular types, or some particular combination of types, of thematic development method. For instance, in the lengthy dialogues in Text 2, there are usually three strands of development, viz. two strands for the projecting clauses and one for the content of the dialogue. The two strands for the projecting clauses usually, but not always, construe the two interlocutors and are developed through theme iteration. Sometimes, the strand for the content of the dialogue may be developed into more than one strand of progression, as in Paragraph 3 of Text 2. This is an interesting avenue for exploration since the result, on the one hand, reveals the nature of text type and, on the other hand, the idiosyncratic style of the writer or speaker. However, such an exploration is beyond the scope of the present study. As I have mentioned, the purpose of this section is to develop the system network of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT. Based on the above discussion, we can conclude that thematic selection and thematic progression are two significant resources in the development of text because neither is employed indiscriminately across paragraphs or among the different text types. Up to this point, two simultaneous systems, namely THEMATIC PROGRESSION and THENATIC SELECTION, have been proposed; these are represented as a tentative network of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT as shown in Figure 6.22.

Figure 6.22: The semantic system of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT
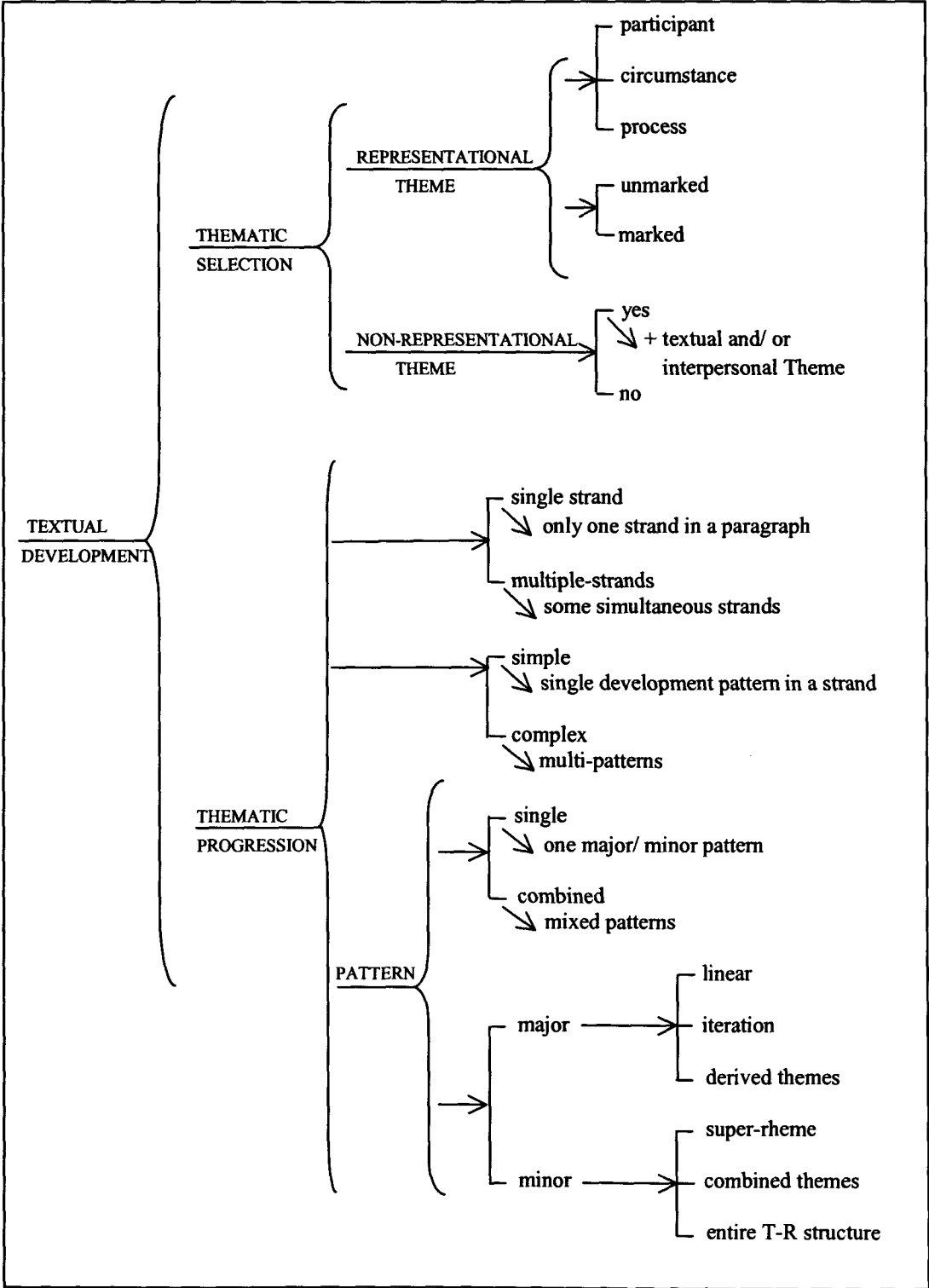
6.6.2   Thematic selection (at the ranks of chapter and part)

In the previous section I have proposed a tentative semantic system of TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT, which comprises two simultaneous systems, namely THEMATIC PROGRESSION and THEMATIC SELECTION. The units of analysis are clause and paragraph while the text sample of data is the three Chinese texts as shown in Appendix D. In this section, I will take chapter and part of the Chinese translation as shown in Appendix C as the units of analysis. There is no intention to suggest that chapter and part of a book are considered units of the semantic system. But as in the case of paragraph, chapter and part of a book usually, if not always, form a unity of their own in any coherent text and can be considered an expanded text. Moreover, the sample of data expands from the three texts to the whole book (Appendices E and F). Due to the limitation of space, the study focuses on the pattern of thematic selection only and leaves the pattern of thematic progression for future research.

The aim of this section is to explore how the translator employs the resource of THEME to develop the Chinese translation. Does he adopt the thematic resources in an arbitrary manner? Or does he apply any particular method/strategy to develop the book? To put it in another way, does the book reveal any specific trends in the selection of Theme as the text unfolds? These questions are related and I will try to answer them together.

The logic is that if the writer selects the Themes in the book in a motivated manner, the following two patterns can be expected:
(1) neither an evenly distributed pattern in the selection of Theme across the book;
(2) nor an irregular pattern for which no trend can be deduced or no explanation given.

The hypotheses are that the selection of Theme in general and the selection of a certain type(s) of Theme in particular are not evenly distributed across the book but there is a certain trend which is related to the structure of the book or can be explained by its function in the context of situation. In Section 6.6.3.1, I will examine whether Themes are distributed evenly across the book. Then the pattern of distribution will first be investigated in terms of the total number of Themes in Section 6.6.3.2, and then in terms

of each particular type of Theme, viz. textual Theme in Section 6.6.3.3, interpersonal Theme in Section 6.6.3.4 and topical Theme in Section 6.6.3.5.

6.6.2.1 The selection of Theme

There are a total of 10,075 clauses in the book, including minor clauses and interrupted ones, with a total of 12,765 textual, interpersonal and topical Themes (including ellipsed topical Themes). The mean number of Themes per clause is thus 1.3 across the whole book. Figure 6.23 displays the mean number of Themes per clause in each chapter throughout the book.

Figure 6.23: The mean number of Themes per clause in each chapter
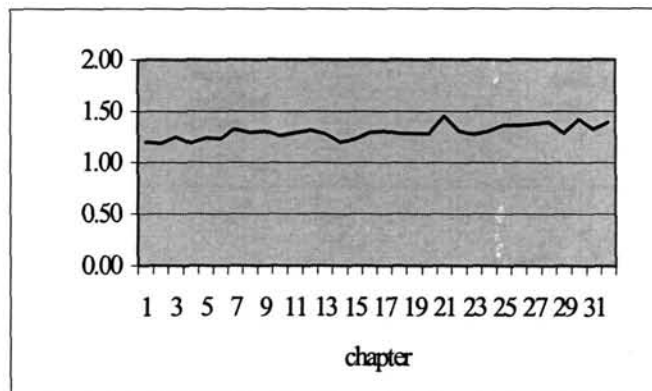
We can see that

(1) the graph approximates a direct linear relationship between the number of Themes per clause and chapter. There is a slight increase in the number of Themes per clause towards the end of the novel, climbing from around 1.20 Themes per clause in Chapter 1 to roughly 1.40 Themes per clause in Chapter 32;

(2) there are two major peaks, one in Chapter 22 and one in Chapter 30, with a mean of 1.45 and 1.42 Themes per clause respectively. There is another minor peak in Chapter 7, with a mean of 1.32 Themes per clause. It can hardly be interpreted as a peak in terms of the number of Themes. However, with a start of 1.20 Themes per clause in Chapter 1 and a trough of 1.26 in Chapter 10, Chapter 7 can still be taken as a minor peak in its local environment.

Thus it is not difficult to conclude that Themes are not distributed evenly throughout the book. These Themes comprise textual Theme, interpersonal Theme, topical Theme, predicated Theme and identified Theme. The proportion that each subtype of Theme represents out of the total number of Themes in the whole book is shown in Figure 6.24.

Figure 6.24: Theme types and their selection
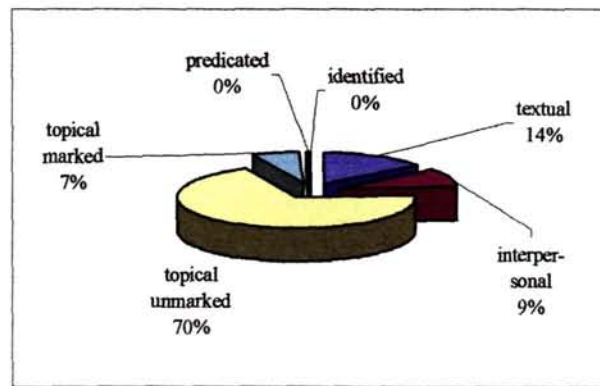
The data show that the writer selected different types of Theme in a principled way. Textual Theme (14%) is employed more often than interpersonal Theme (9%), and unmarked topical Theme (70%) more often than marked topical Theme (7%). Though predicated and identified Themes amount to 0%, this does not mean that there are none in the corpus. However, the 61 predicated Themes and 3 identified Themes do not add up to one per cent. Based on the observations that the number of Themes per clause is distributed unevenly across the novel and that each type of Theme is selected in a principled way, we can conclude that the translator does not deploy the resource of thematic selection in an arbitrary manner.

6.6.2.2 Pattern of the selection of Theme

After reaching the above conclusion, we can now move on to explore the pattern of thematic selection. Figure 6.25 displays the number of Themes per clause in each chapter that deviate from the mean (1.3) for the whole book. Instead of the actual mean figure, the figure of deviation is employed here in order to foreground the differences between the chapters.

Figure 6.25: Number of Themes per clause in each chapter deviating from the mean
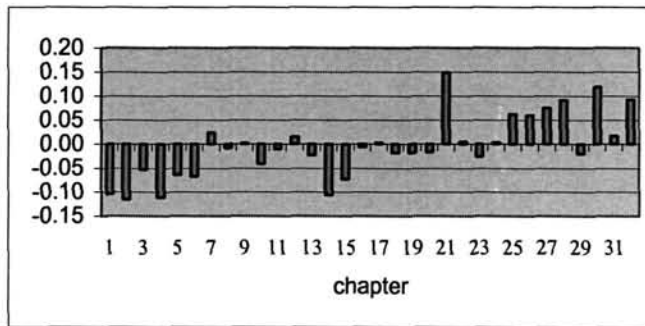
The number of Themes per clause

(1) is below the mean from Chapters 1 to 6,

(2) fluctuates from Chapters 7 to 23, and

(3) is above the mean from Chapters 24 to 32.

This pattern matches the three parts of the book (see Appendix C), that is, with the exception of Chapters 7 and 29, the number of Themes per clause in Part 1 (Chapters 1 to 8) is below the mean. It fluctuates in Part 2 (Chapters 9 to 23) and is well above the mean in Part 3 (Chapters 24 to 32).

In addition, it can also be observed that there is a local peak in each section, viz. Chapter 7 in Part 1, Chapter 21 in Part 2 and Chapter 30 in Part 3. There are also three troughs, viz. in Chapter 2, Chapter 14 and Chapter 23. The troughs and local peaks thus form a major 'wave'. Furthermore, there are also some smaller waves, flowing along with the major one as an undercurrent.

Figure 6.26 displays the number of Themes per clause in each part that deviates from the mean of the whole book.

Figure 6.26: Number of Themes per clause in each part deviating from the mean
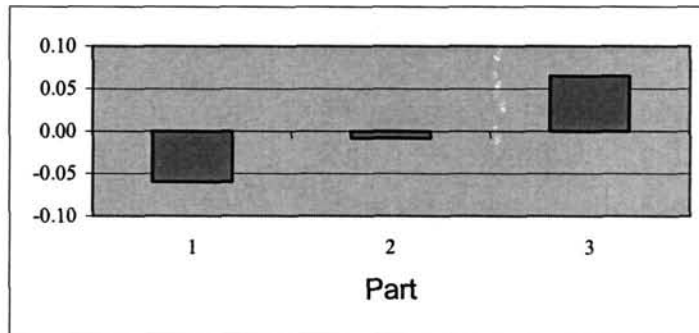
An observable trend is shown in the corpus, viz. a steady increase in the number of Themes per clause across the book. There are different kinds of Theme, however, and the question is whether they follow the same pattern as shown above. In the following sections, each type of Theme will be examined separately.

6.6.2.3 The selection of textual Theme

There are a total of 1,874 textual Themes in the book, with a mean of 0.18 textual Themes per clause. Figures 6.27 and 6.28 show the number of textual Themes per clause that deviate from the mean in each chapter and in each part respectively.

Figure 6.27: Number of textual Themes per clause in each part deviating from the mean
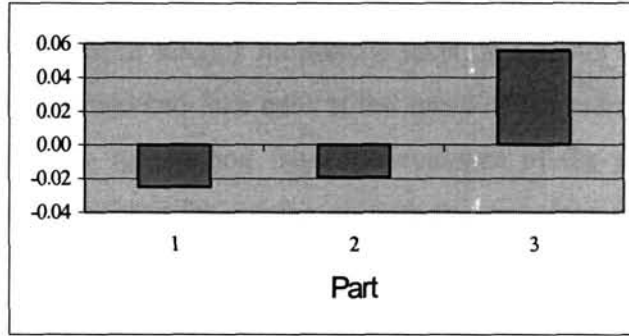
Figure 6.28: Number of textual Themes per clause in each chapter deviating from the mean
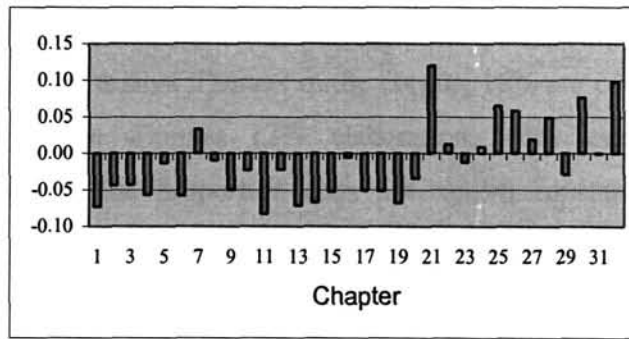
Generally speaking, Figures 6.27 and 6.28 display similar patterns to those shown in Figures 6.25 and 6.26 in the previous section. This means that there is a slight increase in the use of textual Themes per clause throughout the book, though the slope is not as steep as those in Figures 6.25 and 6.26. In addition, the general pattern also follows the structure of the book, neatly divided into the three parts of the novel. Since Part 1 has comparatively more narrative texts, Part 2 more dialogic texts and Part 3 more lengthy monologic texts, this observation seems to suggest that the writer employs the greatest number of textual Themes in lengthy monologic text, a smaller number in dialogic text, and the smallest number in narrative text.

Each part has its own characteristics in the use of textual Themes. There are three obvious peaks, in Chapter 7 of Part 1, Chapter 21 of Part 2 and Chapter 32 of Part 3. The first two peaks coincide with those in Figure 6.25.

These three chapters, Chapter 7 (The Body), Chapter 21 (Summary of the Passengers' Evidence) and Chapter 32 (Poirot Propounds Two Solutions), have at least one thing in common, i.e. they all consist of lengthy monologic texts. In Chapter 7, there is Poirot's lengthy monologue on genuine and fake cues at the scene of the murder; in Chapter 21, there is his explanation on the finding from the evidence of the passengers; and in Chapter 32, there is his reasoning for coming up with two solutions to the murder. This observation further strengthens the suggestion that the writer employs more textual Theme in lengthy monologic text.

There are two major types of textual Theme, viz. continuative Theme and conjunctive Theme, with conjunctive Theme further subcategorised into 'elaborating', 'extending' and 'enhancing'. Of all the textual Themes in the corpus, 16% are continuative Themes and 84% are conjunctive Themes (2% elaboration, 40% extension and 42% enhancement).   However, this proportion does not remain constant in each chapter throughout the book. Figure 6.29 shows the proportion that each type of textual Theme represents, adding up to 100% of the total number of textual Themes in each chapter.

Figure 6.29: Proportion of different textual Themes in each chapter
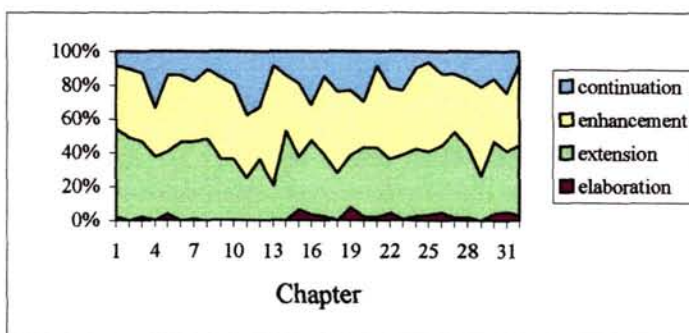
The proportion varies in each chapter throughout the book. This suggests that each subtype of textual Theme may have its own trend in the book, and thus each subtype has to be analysed separately in order to give a comprehensive picture. Figures 6.30-33 show

the number of continuative Themes and conjunctive Themes per clause in each chapter and in each part that deviates from the mean respectively.

Figures 6.30: Number of continuative Themes per clause
in each chapter deviating from the mean
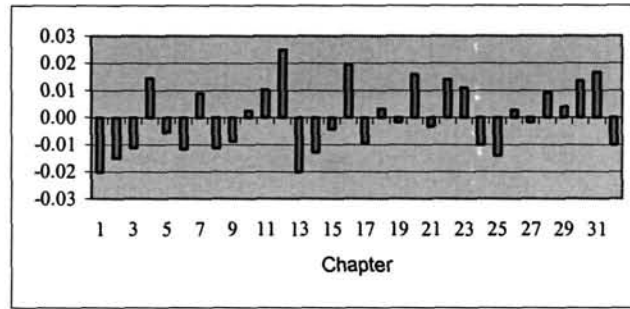
Figures 6.31: Number of continuative Themes per clause
in each part deviating from the mean
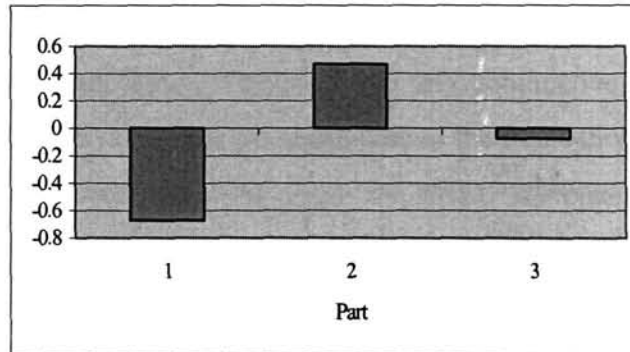
Figures 6.32: Number of conjunctive Themes per clause
in each chapter deviating from the mean
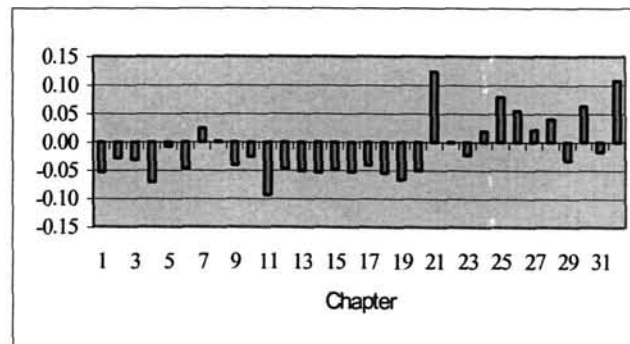
Figures 6.33: Number of conjunctive Themes per clause
in each part deviating from the mean
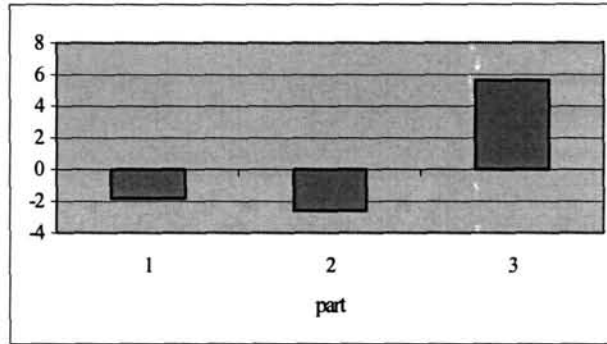
The selection of continuative Theme in each chapter fluctuates throughout the book, showing a pattern that is quite different from the selection of textual Theme in general. In contrast, the selection of conjunctive Theme shows a pattern similar to the selection of textual Theme in general. In addition, the three local peaks in Figure 6.32 are the same as those in Figure 6.27. This can be explained by reference to the number of textual Themes in the corpus that are continuative Theme (16%) and conjunctive Theme (84%). In addition, though the former fluctuates, the magnitude of the fluctuation is small, between +0.025 and −0.02 per clause deviating from the mean, whereas the magnitude of fluctuation of the latter is comparatively large, between +0.12 and −0.90. As a result, it is not surprising to see that the overall pattern of the selection of textual Theme is dominated by the selection of conjunctive Theme rather than by the selection of continuative Theme.

In Figure 6.34, the number of instances of the three subcategories of conjunctive Theme in each chapter is plotted together for ease of comparison.

Figure 6.34: Number of different conjunctive Themes in each chapter
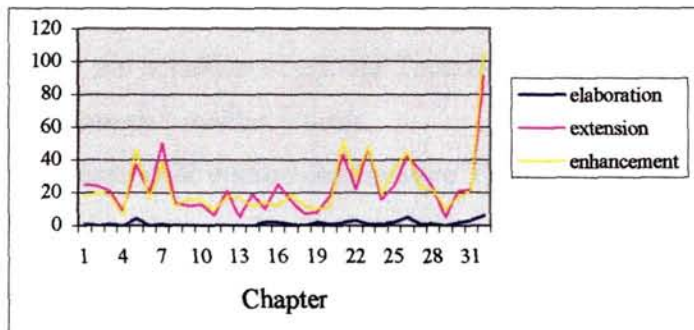
In conjunctive Themes, both the number and the distribution of enhancing and extending conjunctions are similar. There are two peaks in each part of the novel: Chapters 5 and 7 in Part 1, Chapters 21 and 23 in Part 2 and Chapters 26 and 32 in Part 3. Of these six peaks, Chapters 7, 21 and 32 are the three peaks of textual Themes in general (see Figure 6.27) and the overall Themes in general (see Figure 6.25). The number of elaborating conjunctions that are Theme in each chapter is very small. As a result, the overall pattern of conjunctive Theme is created mainly by enhancement and extension.

Table 6.20: General trends in the selection of textual Themes

	Part 1 (comparatively more narrative texts)	Part 2 (comparatively more dialogic texts)	Part 3 (comparatively more lengthy expository monologic texts)
textual Themes in general	trough (-0.03)	median (-0.02)	peak (0.06)
textual continuative Theme	trough (-0.67)	peak (0.47)	median (-0.08)
textual conjunctive Theme	median (-1.83)	trough (-2.61)	peak (5.63)
extending conjunction as Theme	median (-0.29)	trough (-1.36)	peak (2.46)
enhancing conjunction as Theme	median (-1.37)	trough (-1.15)	peak (2.84)
elaborating conjunction as Theme	trough (-0.17)	median (-0.10)	peak (0.33)

Table 6.20 summarises the general trends in the selection of textual Themes in each part of the book, allowing us to make the following observations:

(1) The general trend in the selection of textual Themes in general is similar to that for Themes in general: trough ^ median ^ peak.

(2) The trends in the selection of textual continuative Theme and of textual conjunctive Theme are quite distinct from each other; the former resembles the general trend in the selection of interpersonal Themes (see Section 6.6.3.4), whereas the latter resembles the general trend of textual Themes in general.

(3) The three subcategories of textual conjunctive Theme have two things in common: first, the peak, which is in Part 3, is significant in terms of magnitude; second, the difference between the trough and the median in terms of magnitude is quite small. In general, the trend in the selection of extending conjunction is similar to that for enhancing conjunction.

In summary, these observations strongly suggest that, firstly, the employment of textual conjunctive Themes in general is significantly more frequent in lengthy expository mono-logic texts. Secondly, the employment of extending and enhancing conjunctions as Theme is slightly more frequent in narrative text than in dialogic text while the employment of elaborating conjunction as Theme shows an opposite trend. Thirdly, the employment of textual continuative Theme generally shows a trend similar to that of interpersonal Themes.
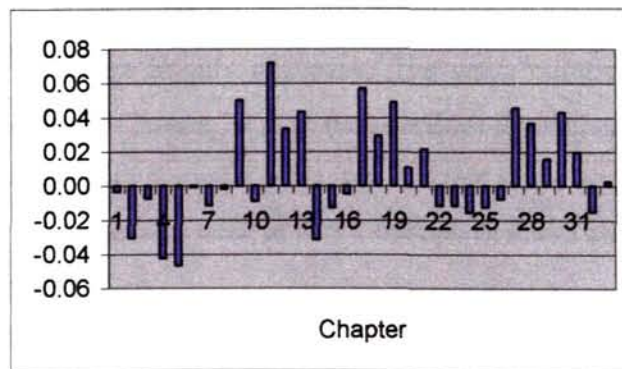
6.6.2.4 The selection of interpersonal Theme

In this section, the pattern of the selection of interpersonal Theme will be examined. In the following chart, the number of textual Themes and interpersonal Themes per clause in each chapter are plotted together for ease of comparison. They form two different trends which hardly resemble each other.

Figure 6.35: Number of textual and interpersonal Themes per clause
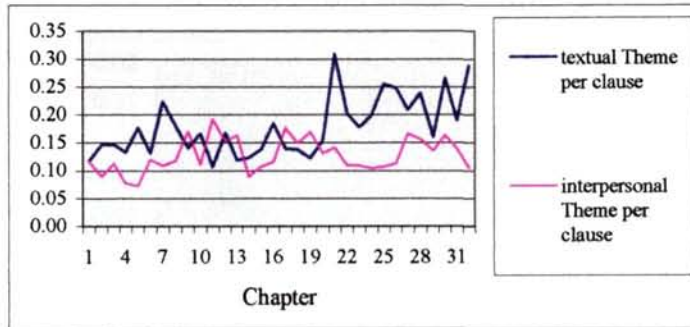
There are a total of 1,236 interpersonal Themes in the book, which is a mean of 0.12 Themes per clause. Figures 6.36 and 6.37 show how the average number of interpersonal Themes per clause in each chapter and in each part deviate from the mean.

Figures 6.36: Number of interpersonal Themes per clause
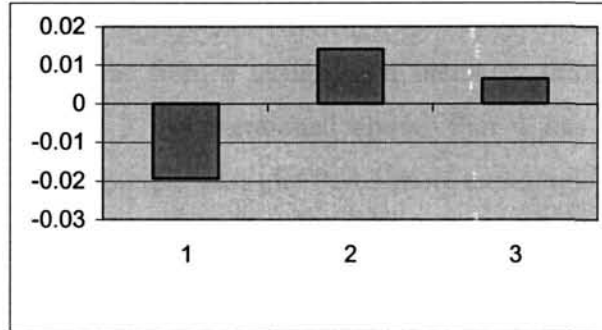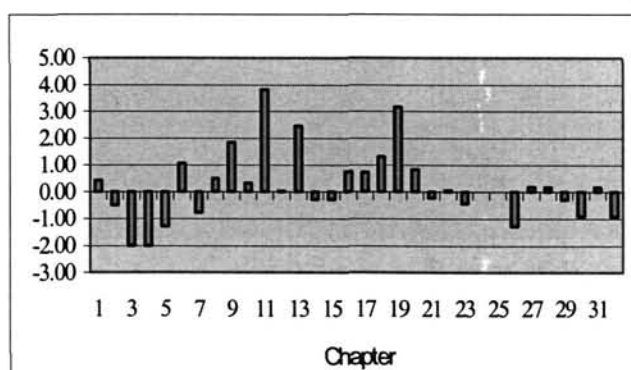in each chapter deviating from the mean

Figures 6.37: Number of interpersonal Themes per clause
in each part deviating from the mean

Figure 6.36 shows that there are three major peaks and four troughs in the selection of interpersonal Theme. In Chapters 1-8 (Part 1), the number of interpersonal Themes per clause declines from Chapter 1 and reaches a trough in Chapter 5, after which it starts to climb back to almost the mean of the whole book in Chapter 8. The number of interpersonal Themes per clause is below the mean in every chapter in Part 1. In Chapters 9-23 (Part 2), there are two peaks and two troughs, forming two waves. The two peaks occur in Chapters 11 and 17 while the two troughs occur in Chapters 14 and 23. In Chapters 24-32 (Part 3), there is only one peak. The wave climbs from a trough in Chapter 24, reaches a peak in Chapter 27, and then declines to another trough in Chapter 31. Comparing this pattern with textual Theme, we find that it has one peak in each part, whereas interpersonal Theme has no peak in Part 1 but two in Part 2 and one in Part 3.

The fact that there are two peaks, instead of one, in Part 2 is the result of mainly three chapters, Chapters 14-16, in which the number of interpersonal Themes per clause is below the mean. These three chapters have in common thast they contain Poirot's interview with the passengers of the highest social status on the train, i.e. the Russian Princess in Chapter 14, Count and Countess Andrenyi in Chapter 15 and Colonel Arbuthnot in Chapter 16. In addition to these three chapters, Chapter 10 also has a below average number of interpersonal Themes, which can be explained by it containing the interview between Poirot and the Secretary of the deceased.

Figure 6.37 shows that the number of interpersonal Themes per clause starts from a trough in Part 1, reaches its summit in Part 2 and then falls slightly in Part 3. This trend is slightly different from the trend for textual Theme, in which the number of textual Themes per clause also starts from a trough, and increases throughout the book till reaching its summit in Part 3. As mentioned above, Part 1 has comparatively more narrative texts, Part 2 more dialogic texts and Part 3 more monologic texts. The data seem to suggest that the writer employs more interpersonal Themes in the dialogic texts than in the expository monologic texts, and least in the narrative texts.

Interpersonal Themes are subcategorised according to function into vocative, modal adjunct, interrogative, exclamatory and polarity. Of these, the number of occurrences of the exclamatory type is too small (15 out of 10075 clauses) for us to draw any conclusions. The trends for the other types are shown in Figures 6.38-44. However, the number per clause in each chapter is still quite small and the trend will be too flat for a comparison. So, instead of calculating the number per clause deviating from the average, the figure will be given in percentage, i.e. multiplying by 100.

Figures 6.38: Number of interpersonal Themes of the polarity type per clause
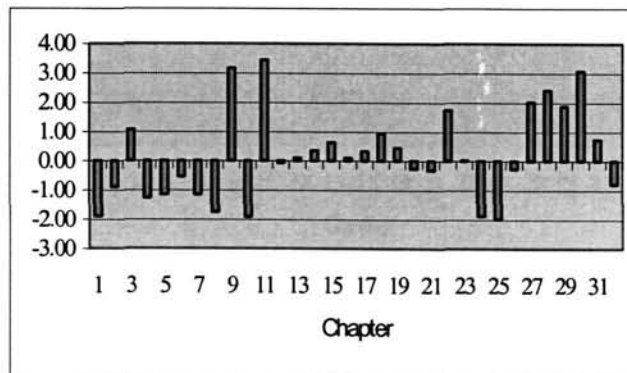in each chapter deviating from the mean (in percentage)

Figures 6.39: Number of interpersonal Themes of the polarity type per clause
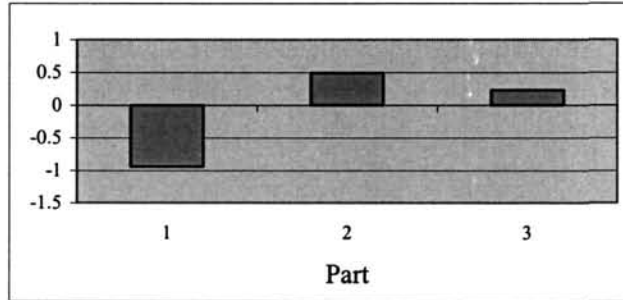in each part deviating from the mean (in percentage)
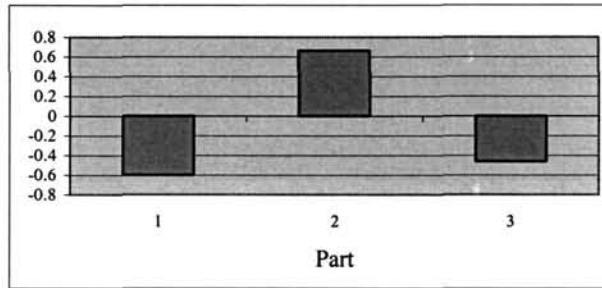
Interpersonal Themes of polarity occur with a mean of 0.1% per clause in the corpus. At
the rank of part, the trend resembles the general trend for interpersonal Theme, i.e.
starting from a trough in Part 1 (Chapters 1-8), reaching its summit in Part 2 (Chapters 9-
23) and then falling slightly in Part 3 (Chapters 24-32). At the rank of chapter, there is
one local peak in Part 1 (Chapter 6), two peaks in Part 2 (Chapters 11 and 19), but no
obvious peak in Part 3 (Chapters 24-32).

Figures 6.40: Number of interpersonal Themes of the vocative type
per clause in each chapter deviating from the mean (in percentage)

Figures 6.41: Number of interpersonal Themes of the vocative type
per clause in each part deviating from the mean (in percentage)

Interpersonal Themes of the vocative type occur with a mean of 2.3% in the corpus. At the rank of part, the trend starts from the trough in Part 1, increases slightly in Part 2 and reaches its summit in Part 3. At the rank of chapter, there is one peak (Chapter 3) in Part 1, three peaks (Chapters 9, 11 and 23) in Part 2, and one peak (Chapter 30) in Part 3.

Figures 6.42: Number of interpersonal Themes of the interrogative type
per clause in each chapter deviating from the mean (in percentage)