

Firbas, Jan

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JAN FIRBAS

A CASE STUDY IN LINEAR MODIFICATION (On translating Apoc. 21.6b)

It is well known that the Slavonic languages show a strong tendency to place the sentence constituent expressing the high point of the message (rheme proper) at the end of the sentence. According to the theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP; cf. Firbas 1992), this is due to the fact that, in the interplay of FSP factors as displayed by the Slavonic languages, the factor of linear modification asserts itself to a strikingly high degree. This occasionally leads linguists whose mother tongue is English to conclude that linear modification is a phenomenon that operates in Slavonic languages and need not be paid much attention to in the analysis of English, or in the analysis of any other language the word order of which behaves differently from that of the Slavonic languages. It is not fully appreciated that Bolinger has used English material in demonstrating the operation of linear modification, and pointed out the existence of factors that interfere with its operation.

Bolinger maintains that 'gradation of position creates gradation of meaning when there are no interfering factors' (1952.1125). What is modified is the meaning with which a linguistic element enters into the flow of communication. The modifying force is sentence linearity. I find Bolinger's observation felicitous and applicable to the theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP). In terms of this theory, I account for linear modification as follows.

Entering into the flow of communication, the meaning conveyed by a linguistic element acquires the character of information and participates in the development of the communication and in the fulfilment of the communicative purpose. If unhampered by other factors, linear modification produces the following effect. The closer to the end of the sentence an element comes to stand, the greater the extent to which it contributes towards the development and completion of the communication. Whereas the element occurring finally contributes most to this development, the element occurring initially contributes least to it. Elements occurring neither at the beginning nor at the end rank between the two. In this way, the element occurring finally proves to be the most

dynamic element within the sentence, for it completes the development of the communication; it is the element towards which the communication is perceived. The element occurring initially is the least dynamic. The other elements rank between them. In regard to the dynamics of the communication, all elements display different degrees of communicative dynamism (CD). Let me recall that by a degree of CD I mean the relative extent to which a linguistic element of any rank contributes towards the further development of the communication (cf. Firbas 1992.7).

Bolinger is aware that there are factors that prevent linear modification from asserting itself. I have found that in the written language this power is exercised by the contextual factor and the semantic factor, and in the spoken language also by intonation. Together with linear modification, these factors participate in modifying the communicative value of a linguistic element in regard to its place in the development of the communication, in other words, its degree of CD. The development of the communication is not reflected by language solely through linearity. It is reflected through a distribution of degrees of CD over the sentence constituents. This distribution is determined by the interaction, or rather, interplay, of factors enumerated. It induces the sentence to function in a communicative perspective, referred to as functional sentence perspective (FSP).

Bearing in mind that FSP is effected through an interplay, we cannot regard what has been termed 'working counter to linear modification' as a non-constructive feature. Linear modification has its place in the interplay and cannot operate independently of the other factors. The present case study¹ offers another illustration of its operation and attempts to throw some more light on the hierarchical relations obtaining between the factors participating in the interplay. This interplay has already been discussed and illustrated in my previous writings, for instance in Firbas 1992. The present case study concerns English, German and French versions (translations) of Apoc. 21.6b.

I

Unhampered by the contextual and the semantic factors, linear modification asserts itself in the following sentence, occurring in the original Greek version of the *Apocalypse* (Apoc. 21.6). The same applies to the Latin version found in the Vulgate and retained by the New Vulgate.

Egō tō dipsōnti dōsō ek tēs pēgēs tou hudatos tēs zōēs dōrean.

Ego sitiēti dabo de fonte aquae vitae gratis.

1 The present study is an expanded version of a section of a lecture entitled 'Functional sentence perspective in Bible translation' at the invitation of Professor Jan de Waard given in the Faculty of Arts of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam on 13 February 1994.

The original Greek sentence, as well as its Latin counterpart, consists of five syntactic constituents *Egō/Ego* [I], *tō dipsōnti/sitienti* [to him that thirsts], *dōsō/dabo* [will give], *ek tēs pēgēs tou hudatos tēs zōēs/de fonte aquae vitae* [of the fountain of the water of life] and *dōrean/gratis* [gratis], which respectively convey the notions, simple or complex, of 'I/the speaker', 'giving', 'the thirsty man', 'the fountain of the water of life', or '(everlasting) life' for short, and 'gratis'. Under the contextual conditions in which the sentence occurs, it is only 'I/the speaker' that conveys retrievable, and hence context-dependent, information (retrievable from, and hence dependent on, the immediately relevant preceding verbal context, that is).² The notion 'I/the speaker' is also conveyed by the verbal categorial exponent *ō/o* of *dōsō/dabo*. All the other notions convey irretrievable, and hence context-independent, information (irretrievable from, and hence independent of, the immediately relevant preceding verbal context, that is). Retrievable information naturally contributes less towards the development of the communication than irretrievable information. Under the circumstances, the constituents coming after *Egō/Ego* gradually develop the communication, advancing step by step towards the high point of the message, the notion of 'gratis', and so completing the development of the communication taking place within the sentence. Seen in this light, the constituents display a gradual rise in CD.

At this point, let me recall that in the act of communication, in other words at the level of FSP, the sentence serves as a distributional field of degrees of communicative dynamism (CD).³ With the exception of the predicative verb, each syntactic constituent serves as a communicative unit and carries a degree or degrees of CD. The verb serves as two communicative units, one being implemented by the notional component of the verb and the other by its categorial exponents (Firbas 1992.18).

Returning to the Greek sentence and its Latin counterpart, let me first comment on their grammatical subjects. Generally speaking, it has been established that a sentence can be perspectived either towards its subject or away from it (Firbas, e.g., 1992. 66). In the former case, the subject conveys the high point of the message and in consequence carries the highest degree of CD. The latter

2 For a discussion of the immediately relevant context and the retrievability and irretrievability of information from it, see Firbas 1992 and 1995.

3 My interpretation will remain at the level (rank) of the basic distributional field provided by the sentence. This means that it will not analyse distributional subfields of lower rank. These are provided by subordinate clauses, semi-clauses and noun phrases, their constituents serving as communicative units of lower rank. In this connection, I should like to emphasize that, as long as it conveys some meaning, a linguistic element of any rank participates in the development of the communication, and hence carries a degree of CD. Not every carrier of a degree of CD, however, can serve as a communicative unit. As a communicative unit can contain more carriers of CD, it can display a greater number of degrees of CD. (For a discussion of the hierarchy of distributional fields and carriers of CD, see Firbas 1984, 1992.14–20.)

case is illustrated by the Greek sentence and its Latin counterpart. Under the given contextual conditions, the subject of the Greek sentence, *Egō*, as well as that of the Latin sentence, *Ego*, does not convey the high point of the message. It does not do so, because it expresses retrievable information and is therefore context-dependent. In consequence, the context-independent notional component of the verb *dōsō/dabo* participates in perspectiving the sentence away from it. The notional verbal component, however, cannot convey the high point of the message, for it does not complete the development of the communication within the sentence either. This is done by the context-independent adverbial expressing origin or source, *ek tēs pēgēs tou hudatos tēs zōēs/de fonte aquae vitae*, and the context-independent adverbial of manner, *dōrean/gratis*. In the development of the communication towards its completion (culmination), the two adverbials act as what has been termed successful competitors of the verb (Firbas 1992. 41–65). Their linear arrangement reflects a gradual rise in CD.

In terms of dynamic semantic functions (ibid. 66–9), *ek tēs pēgēs tou hudatos tēs zōēs/de fonte aquae vitae* acts as a Specification (performing the Sp-function) and *dōrean/gratis* as a Further Specification (performing the FSp-function). It is the final *dōrean/gratis* that completes (culminates) the development of the communication and carries the highest degree of CD. As for the subject, it performs the dynamic semantic function of expressing the Bearer of quality (the B-function), whereas the notional component of the verb performs that of expressing the Quality ascribed to the bearer (the Q-function). It remains to determine the dynamic status of the context-independent indirect object expressing the beneficiary, *tō dipsōnti/sitienti*. Occurring close to the beginning of the sentence, it appears to be outweighed by the adverbial of source and the adverbial of manner, which stand at the end of the sentence. Under these circumstances even its occurrence before the verb lowers its degree of CD and prevents it from acting as a Specification. Linear modification appears not to have been prevented from asserting itself even here. This induces me to interpret *tō dipsōnti/sitienti* as performing the dynamic semantic function of expressing a Setting, (the Set-function). This interpretation will be borne out by the analyses offered later in this paper.

In terms of thematic and non-thematic functions (Firbas 1992.66–87), the following interpretation applies. Performing the B-function and being context-dependent, the subject is thematic. Performing the Set-function, the context-independent indirect object joins the subject in forming the theme. Respectively performing the Q, Sp and FSp functions, the notional component of the verb and the two constituents following it form the non-theme. Within the non-theme, because of the presence of successful competitors, the notional component of the verb serves as ordinary transition. Its two successful competitors form the rheme, the one completing (culminating) the development of the communication acting as rheme proper. Through the exponents of tense and mood, the catego-

rial exponents of the verb provide a link and simultaneously a boundary between the theme and the non-theme and perform the function of transition proper. Simultaneously, through the exponent of person and number they point to the thematic subject and in this respect display a thematic feature (For a discussion of theme and non-theme, see Chapter Five, 'The theme and the non-theme', in Firbas 1992.66–87.) Following Svoboda's interpretation of thematic functions, I regard the subject and the indirect object as performing the functions of theme proper and diatheme, respectively (Svoboda 1981, 1983). The functional perspectives of the Greek sentence and its Latin counterpart can therefore be presented as follows. (Set, B, Q, Sp and FSp stand for the semantic dynamic functions: Setting, Bearer of Quality, Quality, Specification and Further Specification. ThPr, DTh, Tr, Rh and RhPr stand for Theme Proper, Diatheme, Transition Proper, Ordinary Transition, Ordinary Rheme, Rheme Proper. The '+' sign stands for Transition Proper.)

Egō (B, ThPr) *tō dipsōnti* (Set, DTh) *dōsō* (+; Q, Tr) *ek tēs pēgēs tou hudatos tēs zōēs* (Sp, Rh) *dōrean* (FSp, RhPr).

Ego (B, ThPr) *sitienti* (Set, DTh) *dabo* (+; Q, Tr) *de fonte aquae vitae* (Sp, Rh) *gratis* (FSp, RhPr).

II

In Sections Two, Three and Four, I am going to analyse English, German and French versions (translations) of the original Greek version of Apoc. 21.6b. In the present section I shall submit to analysis 36 English versions.

(Gr.1) *I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.* – AV, RV, ARV⁴

4 **ARV** – *The Holy Bible, American Revised Version* (New York: Thomas Nelson; 1901). **AV** – *Authorized Version*. **Barc** – *The New Testament*, tr. by William Barclay (London: Arthur James; 1988). **BE** – *The Bible in Basic English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1961). **Beck** – *The New Testament*, tr. by W. F. Beck (Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia; 1966). **Cass** – *God's New Covenant, A New Testament Translation* by H. W. Cassirer (Grand Rapids, Michigan: 1989). **CEV** – *The Holy Bible, Contemporary English Version* (New York: American Bible Society; 1995). **ChRh** – *The New Testament, A Revision of the Challoner–Rheims Version*, in *The Holy Bible* (Staten Island, N.Y.; 1960). **ERV** – *The Holy Bible, Easy-to-Read-Version* (Fort Worth, Texas: World Bible Translation Center; 1989). **G** – *The New Testament*, tr. by E. G. Goodspeed, in *The Complete Bible* (Chicago; The University of Chicago Press; 1964). **Gaus** – *The Unvarnished New Testament*, tr. by Andy Gaus (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Panes Press; 1991). **GN** – *Good News Bible* (The Bible Societies/Harper Collins; 1994). **JB1** – *The Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd; 1968). **JB2** – *The New Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd; 1990). **K** – *The Holy Bible*, tr. by R. Knox (London: Burns & Oats, and Macmillan; 1966). **LB** – *The Living Bible, Paraphrased* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode; 1973). **M** – *The Bible*, tr.

I will give to the one who thirsts from the spring of the water of life without cost. – NASB

I will let the thirsty drink from the springs of the Water of Life for free. – Gaus

I will let the thirsty drink of the fountain of the water of Life without price. – M

I will allow the thirsty to drink from the spring of the water of life – and all as a free gift. – Barc

I will give to the thirsty the springs of the Water of Life – as a gift! – LB

(Gr.2) To the thirsty I will give from the fountain of the water of life without payment. – RSV2

To anyone thirsting I will give from the fountain of the water of life free. – NWT

To him who thirsts I will give of the spring of the Water of Life, freely. – TwC

To those who are thirsty I will give the privilege of drinking from the well of the water of Life without payment. – Wey1

To anyone who is thirsty I will give the right to drink from the spring of the water of life without paying for it. – GN

To him who thirsts I will give of the fountain of the water of life freely. – ChRh

by J. Moffatt (London: Hodder & Stoughton; 1935). **NAB1** – *The New American Bible*, tr. by Members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America (New York: Kennedy & Sons; 1970). **NAB2** – *The Revised New Testament*, in *The New American Bible* (Iowa Falls, Iowa: 1986). **NASB** – *New American Standard Bible* (Anaheim, California: McCabe Company; 1977). **NBV** – *The Modern Language Bible*, The New Berkeley Version (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan; 1969). **NEB** – *The New English Bible* (Oxford and Cambridge: Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press; 1970). **NIV** – *The Holy Bible, New International Version* (New York: American Bible Society; 1978). **NRSV** – *The Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1989). **NWT** – *The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* (Brooklyn, New York: Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society; 1961). **Ph** – *The New Testament in Modern English*, by J. B. Phillips (London: Geoffrey Bles; 1962). **RAV** – *The Holy Bible, The Revised Authorised Version* (London: Samuel Bagster; 1982). **REB** – *The Revised English Bible* (Oxford and Cambridge: Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press; 1989). **RSV1** – *The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version* (London, Edinburgh, etc.: Thomas Nelson; 1956). **RSV2** – *The New Testament, Revised Standard Version, Second (Revised Edition)*, in *The Bible* with illustrations by H. Knowles (The British and Foreign Bible Society; 1971). **RV** – *The Holy Bible, The Revised Version* (London: Henry Frowde and C. F. Clay; 1912). **TNT** – *The Translator's New Testament* (The British and Foreign Bible Society; 1973). **TwC** – *The Twentieth Century New Testament* (London: Horace Marshall & Son; 1904). **Wey1** – *The New Testament in Modern Speech*, by R. F. Weymouth (London: James Clark; 1907). **Wey2** – *The New Testament in Modern Speech*, by R. F. Weymouth, rev. version (London: James Clark; 1938). **Will** – *The New Testament*, tr. by Ch. K. Williams (London: SPCK and Longmans, Green & Co; 1952).

To the thirsty I will give water from the spring of life as a gift. – REB

(L.1) I will give to the thirsty water without price from the fountain of life. – Ph

I shall give him who is thirsty the right to drink without price from the spring of the water of life. – TNT

I will give anyone who is thirsty water without cost from the spring of the water of life. – G

(L.2) To him that is thirsty I will give as a free gift drink from the spring of the water of life. – Will

To the thirsty I will give water without price from the fountain of the water of life. – RSV1

To the thirsty I will give water as a gift from the spring of the water of life. – NRSV

As for him who is thirsty, I shall let him have, as a free gift, a draught of the spring which gives forth the water of life. – Cass

To anyone who is thirsty I will give water, that costs nothing, from the spring of the water of life. – Beck

(L.3) To anyone who thirsts I will give to drink without cost from the spring of life-giving water. – NAB1

To him who is thirsty I will give to drink without cost from the spring of the water of life. – NIV

(L.4) To the thirsty I will give a gift from the spring of life-giving water. – NAB2

(L.5) those who are thirsty shall drink – it is my free gift – out of the spring whose water is life. – K

(L.6) To him who is thirsty, I will give him without charge from the fountain of the water of life. – NBV

(Th-y.1) I will give of the fountain of the water of life freely to him who thirsts. –RAV

(Th-y.2) I will give water from the well of life free to anybody who is thirsty. – JB1, JB2

(Th-y.3) I will freely give of the fountain of the water of life to him who is in need. – BE

(Th-y.4) *I will freely give water from the life-giving fountain to everyone who is thirsty.* – CEV

(Th-y.5) *I will give free water from the spring of the water of life to any person who is thirsty.* – ERV

(Th-y.6) *A draught from the water-springs of life will be my free gift to the thirsty.* – NEB

(I.1) *It is I who will give the thirsty men the right to drink of the fountain of the Water of Life without cost.* – Wey2

Let me first comment on how *Egō*, the Greek grammatical subject, is rendered by the English versions. Out of the 36 versions, 34 render Gr *Egō* as *E I*. (The two exceptional versions – the K version [adduced under L.5] and the NEB version [Th-y.6] – are taken up below.) Out of the remaining 34 versions, 33 employ *I* as the grammatical subject. (The exceptional version – the Wey2 version [I.1] – is also taken up below.) In all these cases, *I* conveys information fully retrievable from the immediately relevant preceding verbal context and performs the B-function; it is thematic. It is important to note that no matter whether it occurs in front position or not (as in the versions under [Gr.2], [L.2], [L.3], [L.4] and [L.6]), it carries a lower degree of CD than the other constituents of the sentence, which all convey irretrievable information. In other words, it carries the lower degree of CD irrespective of its position in the actual linear arrangement. This illustrates how by means of retrievability the contextual factor operates counter to linear modification.

As far as the English predicative verb is concerned, in all the 36 versions it constitutes the transition. It does so through its notional component, which serves as ordinary transition and through its TMEs (temporal and modal exponents), which serve as transition proper. Like the Greek verb *dōsō*, the English verb is transitional because of the presence of constituents exceeding it in CD.

This brings me to the English equivalents of the three constituents that in the original Greek sentence express the simple or complex notions of ‘the thirsty man/thirsting’ (‘Th-y’), ‘the fountain of the water of life/(eternal) life’ (‘L’) and ‘gratis’ (‘Gr’). Strictly speaking, the English constituents expressing the three (simple or complex) notions are not always exact syntactic equivalents of the Greek constituents. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, it is the order, as well as the actual sentence positions, in which the constituents expressing the three notions appear in the English versions, that is of particular interest. Nevertheless, I will pay attention to differences in syntactic structure linked with special effects. Both differences in word order and those in syntactic structure are reflected by the grouping of the versions in the list presented

above. (The same applies to the lists of German and French versions presented in Sections Three and Four, respectively.)

In the English versions, each of the three notions can be found to be expressed by a constituent occurring in end position. According to the notion which in the linear arrangement comes last, the versions are labelled with 'Th-y', 'L' or 'Gr'. The notions appear in four orders: Th-y - L - Gr (15 cases), Th-y - Gr - L (13 cases), L - Gr - Th-y (4 cases) and Gr - L - Th-y (3 cases). Evidently unhampered either by the contextual factor or the semantic factor, linear modification gradually increases the degrees of CD carried by the constituents expressing the three notions. The notion that occurs last completes the message. The constituent expressing it serves as rheme proper. It follows that not all the versions retain the functional perspective of the original. Not all of them are perspectived to the notion of 'gratis' ('Gr'). Some are perspectived to the notion of '(everlasting) life' ('L') or to that of 'the thirsty man/thirsting' ('Th-y'). As FSP serves to fulfil and signal the language user's communicative purpose, the three perspectives reflect three different communicative purposes. Each of the three perspectives highlights an important biblical theme: spiritual thirst for God⁵, everlasting life manifested in Christ⁶ or God's undeserved mercy to mankind.⁷

The effect achieved by linear modification can be further enhanced. This can be brought about by punctuation marks whose function is either purely emotive or both clarifying (clarifying grammatical structure, that is) and emotive (Firbas 1954). The following versions will illustrate. TwC (Gr.2) puts a comma before the final *freely*. LB (Gr.1) puts a dash before the final *as a gift* and adds an exclamation mark. Barc (Gr.1) puts a dash before the final *and all as a free gift*, and induces *and*, together with *all*, to participate in heightening the effect. In fact, the words *and all as a free gift* constitute a verbless sentence. In consequence, the notion of 'gratis' is expressed in a separate basic distributional field. The syntactic tie of *and all as a free gift* to the preceding constituents has been considerably loosened thereby. The dash and the full stop, however, still keep *and all as a free gift* in a special hierarchically superior distributional field. It is worth noticing that the loosening of the tie permits the preceding notion of '(everlasting) life' to gain in weight. In the versions Cass, Beck and K (all L.2), the notion of 'gratis' becomes more prominent in a similar way. In these versions, it precedes the notion of '(everlasting) life', which comes last. Note the commas separating off *as a free gift* in Cass, and the dashes separating off *that*

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- 5 E. g., Ps. 1-2: 'As a deer longs for flowing streams, so my soul longs for you, O God. My soul thirsts for God, for the living God' (NRSV).
- 6 E. g., J. 4.10: 'Jesus answered her, "If you knew the gift of God, and who it is who is saying to you, 'Give me a drink', you would have asked him, and he would have given you living water" (NRSV).
- 7 E. g., Rom. 3.24: '... they are now justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ' (NRSV).

costs nothing and *it is my free gift* in Beck and K, respectively. The dashes mark off sentence structures inserted as separate distributional fields in a special distributional field hierarchically superior. In all the cases discussed, the emotive punctuation marks effect a rise in CD.

Before discussing the dynamic semantic functions of the constituents expressing the notions of 'the thirsty man/thirsting' ('Th-y'), '(everlasting) life' ('L') and 'obtaining freely' ('Gr'), attention must be paid to linear modification. As in the original Greek version, and its Latin counterpart, the corresponding English constituents, though not syntactically equivalent in all cases, show a gradual rise in CD. Step by step, their linear arrangement raises their degrees of CD. Both in English and in the two ancient languages, the semantic character of the constituents expressing the three notions and the character of their mutual semantic relationship are such as to permit linear modification to assert itself. This interaction between the semantic factor and linear modification can take place because permitted (not interfered with) by the contextual factor. The three constituents are context-independent.

Provided they occur after the verb, all the three English constituents perform specifying functions. They serve as Specifications, performing the Sp, FSp1 (Further Specification One) and FSp2 (Further Specification Two) functions, in this order.

(Gr.1) *I (B, ThPr) will (+) give (+; Q, Tr) to the one who thirsts (Sp, Rh) from the spring of the water of life (Fsp1, Rh) without cost (FSp2, RhPr). – NASB*

(L.1) *I (B, ThPr) will (+) give (+; Q, Tr) to the thirsty (Sp, Rh) water (FSp1, Rh) without price (FSp2, Rh) from the fountain of life (FSp3, RhPr). – Ph*

(Th-y.1) *I (B, ThPr) will (+) give (+; Q, Tr) of the fountain of the water of life (Sp, Rh) freely (FSp1, Rh) to him who thirsts (FSp2, RhPr). – RAV*

The syntactic structure of the Ph version presents *water* as an additional communicative unit. This unit acts as a Specification and is affected by the gradual rise in CD. The Ph version contains three units performing the FSp-functions.

Like the Greek original, however, 17 English versions put the 'Th-y' constituent in front position, placing it before the predicative verb. Under the circumstances, the 'Th-y' constituent so placed assumes the character of an element offering introductory information – a piece of information laying the foundation upon which the core of the message is to be built up. In consequence, this placement lowers the degree of CD carried by the constituent. As in

the Greek original, the Th-y constituent no longer acts as a Specification, but as a Setting. It is rendered thematic and has its degree of CD reduced.

(L.2) *To the thirsty* (Set, DTh) *I* (B, ThPr) *will* (+) *give* (+; Q, Tr) *water* (Sp, Rh) *without price* (FSp1, Rh) *from the fountain of the water of life* (FSp2, RhPr). – RSV1

(Gr.2) *To the thirsty* (Set, DTh) *I* (B, ThPr) *will* (+) *give* (+; Q, Tr) *from the fountain of the water of life* (Sp, Rh) *without payment* (FSp, RhPr) – RSV2

The wording ‘under the circumstances’ is dictated by the fact that the initial position by itself does not lower the degree of CD. For instance, *Blamelessly* in *Blamelessly I wash my hands* (Ps. 26.6. – M) does not offer mere introductory information in spite of its occurrence in front position. On the contrary, it conveys a piece of information towards which the sentence is perspectived. It acts as a Specification, essentially amplifying the information conveyed by the phrase *wash my hands*; it emphasizes the notion of ‘innocence’ suggested by it. In terms of dynamic semantic functions, *I* performs the B-function, the notional component of *wash* the Q-function, *my hands* the Sp-function, and eventually *blamelessly* the FSp-function. *Blamelessly* performs this function, for none of the constituents coming later in the sentence proves to be its successful competitor. Linear modification is overridden by the semantic factor and cannot assert itself.⁸

The following notes comment on the three exceptional versions mentioned on p. 30 – K (adduced under L.5), NEB (Th-y.6) and Wey2 (I.1). The versions K and NEB are the two cases in which the notion of ‘I/the speaker’ has not been rendered by the pronominal subject *I*. It is expressed by the possessive pronoun *my*. The subjects of K and NEB express the notions of ‘the thirsty man/thirsting’ and ‘(everlasting) life’, respectively. These are the interpretations of the functional perspectives of the two versions:

(L.5) ...; *those who are thirsty* (B, DTh) *shall* (+) *drink* (+; Q, Tr) – *it* (B, DTh) *is* (+; AofQ, Tr) *my free gift* (Q, RhPr) – *out of the spring whose water is life* (Sp, RhPr). – K

8 This is a wider context of the verse cited: ‘I hate the wicked party, I never would join the ungodly; but *blamelessly* I wash my hands and move around thine altar, O Eternal.’ Note that *blamelessly* stands in contrast to *the wicked party*. This strengthens its role of the carrier of the highest degree of CD within the first principal clause of the compound sentence introduced by *but*. In the version of NRSV, the interplay of FSP factors puts the clause concerned in the same perspective in spite of different word order: ‘I hate the company of evil-doers, and will not sit with the wicked. I wash my hands in innocence, and go around your altar, O Lord.’

(Th-y.6) *A draught from the water-springs of life (B, DTh) will (+) be (+; AofQ, Tr) my free gift (Q, Rh) to the thirsty (Sp, RhPr).- NEB*

The subjects of both versions perform the B-function and are therefore thematic. The abbreviation 'AofQ' indicates the dynamic semantic function of expressing an 'Ascription of Quality' (Firbas 1992.68). In K the inserted short sentence provides a basic distributional field, in which the 'Gr' notion is expressed as rheme proper. As an insertion, the short sentence becomes part of the longer sentence in which it has been placed. In this way, the latter acquires the character of a special basic distributional field. The two versions show two different arrangements of the three notions under discussion. K and NEB display the L - Gr - Th-y and Th-y - Gr - L orders, respectively.

In Wey2 (I.1), the theme is constituted by *It* and the *who*-clause. Wey2 (I.1) is a cleft sentence (cf. Firbas 1967, Dušková 1993). Through the *It is ... that ...* structure, the semantic factor is capable of operating counter to linear modification. It induces the pronoun *I* to carry the highest degree of CD and does so irrespective of the position occupied by *I* in the linear arrangement. True enough, the pronoun *I* conveys retrievable information. The *It is ... that ...* structure, however, makes it express important additional irretrievable information (Firbas 1995.21-3): the result of a selection the speaker wishes to emphasize. In terms of dynamic semantic functions the *who*-clause performs the B-function, the pronoun *It* serving as its anticipator (AofB, i.e. Anticipator of Bearer).

(I.1) *It (AofB, ThPr) is (+; Aof Q, Tr) I (Q, RhPr) who will give the thirsty men the right to drink of the fountain of the Water of Life without cost (B, DTh).- Wey2*

The *who*-clause provides a distributional subfield of CD. It displays the Th-y - L - Gr order of the notions, perspectivizing it towards 'Gr'.

who (B, DTh) will (+) give (+; Q, Tr) the thirsty men (Sp, Rh) the right to drink of the fountain of the Water of Life without cost (FSp, RhPr).

Tables One, Two and Three, which follow, offer some frequency data concerning all the English versions to the exclusion of Wey2 (I.1), implemented as a cleft sentence.

Table One offers a survey of the frequencies of the types of linear arrangement shown by the three notions.

Table One

Th-y	-	L	-	Gr	15
Th-y	-	Gr	-	L	13

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L	–	Th–y	–	Gr	–
Gr	–	Th–y	–	L	–
L	–	Gr	–	Th–y	4
Gr	–	L	–	Th–y	3

Table Two gives the frequencies of the positions occupied by the three notions in the linear arrangement. By position is meant the place in the sequence of the three notions.

Table Two

Position	1	2	3	
Th–y	28	–	7	(35)
L	4	18	13	(35)
Gr	3	17	15	(35)

Table Three gives the FSP functions of the three notions.

Table Three

Th	Tr	Rh	Rh	RhPr	
Th–y	17	–	11	–	7 (35)
L	1	–	3	18	13 (35)
Gr	–	–	3	17	15 (35)

Let me recall that the constituents expressing the three notions are all context-independent, that is conveying irretrievable information. This means that the contextual factor permits their degrees of CD to be determined through the interaction of linear modification and the semantic factor. Under the circumstances, the semantic characters involved are such as to enable linear modification to assert itself. In regard to the CD relationship between the constituents, their degrees of CD are determined by their positions in the linear arrangement. The constituents show a gradual rise in CD. The three tables, however, suggest a further observation concerning the semantic characters of the constituents under examination. They influence the mobility of the constituents in a particular way. Although not excluded from end position and so from carrying the highest degree of CD, the 'Th–y' constituent tends to occupy the first position in the sequence of the three constituents (see Table Two). On the other hand, though not excluded from the first position in the sequence, the 'L' and the 'Gr' constitu-

ents tend to occupy the second and the third positions in it (see Table Two). In terms of the theme and non-theme sections, the Th-y element can serve as rheme proper, but most frequently operates in the theme; within the non-theme it does not appear in the second position of the sequence, but occurs in the first (see Table Three). The 'L' and 'Gr' constituents, on the other hand, do not – with one exception (NEB [Th-y.6], see p. 33) – appear in the theme. They show a very strong tendency to occupy the second and the third positions of the string (see Table Three).

III

Section Three bases its comments on 30 German versions of Apoc. 21.6b.

(Gr.1) *Ich werde den Dürstenden aus der Quelle des Lebenswassers umsonst zu trinken geben.* – Bruns⁹

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- 9 **Alb** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by L. Albrecht (Marburg: Spener-Verlag; 1938). **All** – *Die Heilige Schrift*, tr. by J. F. von Allioli (Munich: Oldenburg; 1906). **Arndt** – *Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments*, tr. by A. Arndt (Regensburg: Pustet; 1909). **Brun**s – *Die Bibel*, tr. by H. Bruns (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag; 1966). **Einh** – *Das Neue Testament, Eiheitsübersetzung* (Leipzig: St Beno Verlag; 1974). **Elb1** – *Die Heilige Schrift* (Elberfeld: Brockhaus; 1907). **Elb2** – *Die Heilige Bibel (Elberfelder Bibel revidierte Fassung)*, (Wuppertal u. Zürich; 1992). **EB** – *Die Heiligen Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, tr. by L. van EB (Vienna: Verlag der britischen und ausländischen Bibelgesellschaft; 1881). **GN83** – *Die Bibel in heutigem Deutsch (Die Gute Nachricht)* (Berlin u. Altenburg: Deutsche Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft; 1983). **Grundl** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by B. Grundl (Augsburg: M. Seitz; 1911). **Hoff** – *Hoffnung für alle, Das Neue Testament* (Basel: Brunnen; 1983). **Ket** – *Das Neue Testament (Stuttgarter Kepplerbibel)*, (Stuttgart: Kepplerhausverlag; 1937). **Kürz** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by J. Kürzinger, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Aschaffenburg: Pattloch). **L1** – *Das Neue Testament Deutsch (Wittenberger Septemberbibel, 1522)*, (Berlin: Furche-Verlag; 1918). **L2** – *Die Heilige Schrift in der deutschen Übersetzung D. Martin Luthers*, rev. 1914 (London: United Bible Societies; 1949). **L3** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by M. Luther, rev. 1956 (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft; 1964). **L4** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by M. Luther, rev. 1975 (Altenburg: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft). **L5** – *Die Bibel nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers*, rev. 1984 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; 1985). **Menge** – *Die Heilige Schrift*, tr. by H. Menge (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibel-Gesellschaft; 1960). **Mich** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by W. Michaelis (Leipzig: Kröner; 1935). **Rösch** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by K. Rösch (Paderborn: Mainz; 1927). **Schäff** – *Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Bundes*, tr. by J. Schäfer (Klosterneuburg: Volksliturgisches Apostolat, Pius Parsch; 1934). **Schl** – *Die Heilige Schrift*, tr. by F. E. Schlachter (Geneva: Genfer Bibelgesellschaft; 1990). **Storr** – *Neues Testament*, tr. by R. Storr (Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag; 1940). **Str** – *Neues Testament*, tr. by F. Streicher (Freiburg: Herder; 1964). **Till** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by F. Tillmann (Leipzig: St. Beno Verlag; 1962). **Wette** – *Die Heilige Schrift*, M. W. L. de Wette (Heidelberg: Mohr; 1858). **Wiese** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by H. Wiese (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt; 1921). **Wilck** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by U. Wilckens (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft; 1979). **Zink** – *Das Neue Testament*, tr. by J. Zink (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag; 1969). **Zw** – *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und des Neuen Testaments* (Zürich: Verlag der Zwingli-Bibel; 1952).

... ich will dem Dürstenden aus der Quelle des Lebenswassers umsonst (zu trinken) geben. – Menge

Ich werde jedem der Dürstet, Quellwasser des Lebens als Geschenk geben. – Einh [The words underlined are italicized by the translator.]

Wen dürstet, dem will ich aus dem Quell des Lebenswassers umsonst zu trinken geben. – Eß

(Gr.2) Ich will dem Durstigen aus der Quelle des Lebens Wasser umsonst geben. – Grundl

Ich werde dem Dürstenden aus der Quelle des Lebens Wasser umsonst geben. – Arndt

(Gr.3) Dem Dürstenden werde ich aus der Quelle lebendigen Wassers umsonst spenden. – Till

(Gr.4) Ich will dem Dürstenden aus der Quelle des Wassers des Lebens geben umsonst. – Elb1, Elb2

Ich will dem Dürstenden aus dem Quell des Wassers des Lebens geben umsonst. – Zw

(Gr.5) Dem Dürstenden werde ich aus der Quelle des Lebenswassers zu trinken geben unentgeltlich. – Wilck

Dem Dürstenden will ich Wasser aus dem Lebensquell zu trinken geben umsonst. – Rösch

(Gr.6) Ich will dem durstigen geben von dem brun des lebendigen wassers umbsonst. – L1

Ich will dem Durstigen geben von dem Brunnen des lebendigen Wassers umsonst. – L2, L3

Ich will dem Durstigen geben von der Quelle des lebendigen Wassers umsonst. – L5

Ich will dem Dürstigen geben aus dem Quell des Wassers des Lebens umsonst! – Schl

Ich werde dem Dürstenden geben von der Quelle des Wassers des Lebens umsonst. – Wette

Ich werde dem Dürstenden geben aus dem Quell des Lebenswassers umsonst. – Wiese

Ich will dem Dürstenden (zu trinken) geben aus der Quelle des Wassers des Lebens umsonst. – Schäf

Ich will dem Durstigen zu trinken geben aus der Quelle des Lebenswassers, umsonst. – L4

(Gr.7) *Dem Durstenden will ich geben von der Quelle lebendigen Wassers umsonst.* – All

(Gr.8) *Ich will aus dem Born des Lebenswassers dem Dürstenden umsonst zu trinken geben.* – Storr

(Gr.9) *Ich will dem Durstigen zu trinken geben, Wasser aus der Quelle des Lebens will ich ihm reichen als ewiges Geschenk.* – Zink

(Gr.&L.1) *Wer durstig ist, dem gebe ich umsonst zu trinken. Ich gebe ihm Wasser aus der Quelle des Lebens.* – GN83

(L.1) *Ich will dem Dürstenden umsonst vom Quell des Lebenswassers geben.* – Ket

(L.2) *Ich will dem Dürstenden umsonst zu trinken geben aus des Lebens Wasserquelle.* – Str

(L.3) *Ich will dem, der Durst hat, umsonst (zu trinken) geben von der Quelle des Wassers des Lebens.* – Mich

(L.4) *Umsonst werde ich dem Dürstenden geben von der Quelle lebendigen Wassers.* – Kürz

Umsonst will ich dem Durstigen zu trinken geben von dem Quell des Lebenswassers. – Alb

(L.5) *Allen Durstigen werde ich Wasser aus der Quelle des Lebens schenken.* – Hoff

All the German versions have the same subject – the pronoun *ich*. In all the versions it conveys fully retrievable information and hence is context-dependent, and performs the B-function. For these reasons it is thematic. It carries the lowest degree of CD. On account of context dependence, it carries this degree irrespective of its position in the linear arrangement. It occurs in the first, second or third position. In the second and the third positions it operates counter to linear modification.

In none of the German versions does the notional component of the predicative verb complete the communication and carry the highest degree of CD. It cannot do so because of the presence of successful competitors. Its categorial exponents are implemented by the auxiliary *will* or *werden* and the infinitival suffix *-en*. Through the TMEs, the categorial exponents act as transition proper. As they begin to build up the communication upon the foundation, i.e. the theme, they carry a higher degree of CD than a thematic element. Both the cate-

gorial exponents and the notional verbal component carry higher degrees of CD than the thematic *ich* and a thematic Setting on the one hand, and lower degrees of CD than their successful competitors, on the other. They do so irrespective of their positions in the linear arrangement. In all the versions the auxiliary precedes the notional component. As for the latter, it either precedes its successful competitors or follows them or even occurs between them; irrespective of its position in the actual linear arrangement it performs the Q-function and acts as ordinary transition.

With three exceptions to be discussed below, the German constituents expressing the notions of 'the thirsty man/thirsting' ('Th-y'), '(everlasting) life' ('L') and 'gratis' ('Gr') show a gradual rise in CD, the constituent coming last carrying the highest degree of CD. If they occur after the auxiliary verb (or after *gebe* in GN83 [Gr.&L.1]), they perform the Sp-functions (Sp, FSp1, FSp2) and are rhematic, the one coming last serving as rheme proper. A rhematic constituent has its degree of CD further affected if it is placed outside the frame opened by the auxiliary verb and closed by the notional verbal component. In the versions adduced under (Gr.1, 2, 3, 8), (L.1 and 5), as well as in the first sentence of the Zink version (Gr.9), the frame encloses all the rhematic constituents. In the versions adduced under (Gr.4 and 5), (L.2, 3 and 4), as well as in the second sentence of the Zink version (Gr.9), one constituent is placed outside the frame. In the versions adduced under (Gr. 6 and 7), two constituents are placed outside the frame. Placed after the notional verbal component, and so outside the frame, the rhematic constituent gains a greater degree of prominence, which adds to its CD. This is because its position outside the frame is regarded as marked.

As for the initial pre-verbal position, it is occupied in 6 cases by a 'Th-y' constituent, in 2 by a 'Gr'-constituent and in 1 by an 'L'-constituent. The 'Th-y' constituents perform the Set-function and join *ich* in forming the theme. The 'Gr' and the 'L'-constituents deserve special attention.

The Gr-constituent is the adverb *Umsonst* opening two German versions, Kürz and Alb listed under (L.4). Is this 'Gr'-constituent, *Umsonst*, like the English initial 'Th-y' constituent, thematic? Is it thematic on account of its front position and/or its semantic character and/or its being exceeded in CD by a successful competitor in the rest of the sentence? As to its semantic character, the context-independent 'Gr'-constituent does not appear to yield to thematicity easily. It is an adverb of manner, and as it is context-independent it contributes towards the further development of the communication in that it substantially amplifies the semantic content of the notional verbal component; it does so through particularizing the way in which the action referred to takes place. It performs a Sp-function, exceeds the notional verbal component in CD, and does so irrespective of sentence position. It is worth noticing that the 'Gr' notion, *Umsonst*, can hardly be expressed by a thematizing *As for*-type construction as the 'Th-y' notion in the English Cass version (L.2), opening with *As for him who is thirsty*. From the point of view of the English and German word order

systems, the initial position of the adverbial of manner is far less common than its occurrence later in the sentence (Chládková 1983). The marked initial occurrence adds emphasis to the information conveyed and raises its degree of CD. It even induces it to exceed in CD the information conveyed by the 'Th-y' constituent, *dem Dürstenden/dem Durstigen*, which occurs later in the sentence. What under these circumstances eventually matters is the relation between the 'Gr'-constituent, *Umsonst*, and the 'L'-constituent, *von der Quelle lebendigen Wassers/von dem Quell des Lebenswassers*, which closes the sentence. If the two occurred together after the predicative verb in the rheme, the one coming later would carry a higher, in fact the highest, degree of CD. But does not the marked front position cause the 'Gr'-constituent to exceed in CD the 'L'-constituent and to carry the highest degree of CD? I do not think that this is the case, because linear modification can assert itself owing to the marked position of the 'L'-constituent outside the verbal frame. The scales are tipped in favour of the 'L'-constituent. The sentence is not perspectived towards the 'Gr'-constituent, *Umsonst*, but towards the 'L'-constituent, *von der Quelle lebendigen Wassers/von dem Quell des Lebenswassers*. It follows that in the Kürz and Alb versions (L.4), the 'Gr', 'Th-y' and 'L' constituents perform the FSp1, Sp and FSp2 functions, respectively. They do not show a gradual rise in CD.

The initial direct object, *Wasser aus der Quelle des Lebens*, implementing the 'L'-constituent in Zink (Gr.1), cannot be regarded as thematic either. Conveying a context-independent absolutely essential amplification of the information conveyed by the verb, it does not act as a Setting, but as a Specification. It is therefore rhematic. Rheme proper, however, is expressed by the final 'Gr'-constituent, *als ewiges Geschenk*.

The Zink version (Gr.9), together with the GN83 version (Gr.&L.1), represents a special case. Unlike the Greek original, each of the two versions employs two sentences, that is two basic distributional fields, instead of one. In this way, the three notions under discussion are spread over two fields, GN and Zink arranging them in the 'Th-y' - 'Gr' - 'L', and the 'Th-y' - 'L' - 'Gr' orders, respectively. Viewed within the span of the two fields, the orders can be assumed to reflect a gradual rise in CD. The use of two distributional fields instead of one slows down the progress of the communication. It gives the reader more time to take in the message.

In one case – in the Hoff version (L.5) – the 'Gr' notion is reflected by the notional component of *shenken*. As a verb form, *shenken* closes the frame. Its semantic content does imply the notion of 'gratis', but not with such explicitness as the simple adverb or adverbial phrase does. In the presence of a successful competitor, *Wasser aus der Quelle des Lebens*, the notional component of *shenken* functions as ordinary transition.

Let me now tabulate the results of the analysis of the German variants. One of these variants is not included in the Tables. It is the Hoff variant (L.5) – the only

variant in which one of the three notions, the 'Gr' notion, is expressed by the notional component of the main verb (*schenken*).

Table Four offers a survey of the frequencies of the types of linear arrangement shown by the three notions.

Table Four

Th-y	-	L	-	Gr	23
Th-y	-	Gr	-	L	4
L	-	Th-y	-	Gr	1
Gr	-	Th-y	-	L	2
L	-	Gr	-	Th-y	-
Gr	-	L	-	Th-y	-

The first three arrangements show a gradual rise in CD, linear modification fully asserting itself. The fourth arrangement is implemented by the Kürz and the Alb variants (L.4). In these variants, the interaction of the semantic factor and linear modification results in inducing the Gr and the 'L'-constituents to exceed in CD the 'Th-y' constituent. They do so in spite of the 'Th-y' constituent occurring later in the sentence. As for the Hoff version (L.5), which shows the Th-y - L - Gr arrangement, the semantic factor prevents the final 'Gr'-constituent to carry the highest degree of CD. This is because the 'Gr' notion is expressed by a verb, which is exceeded in CD by a successful competitor. This happens in spite of the successful competitor preceding the verb. It follows that in an overwhelming majority of cases, the arrangement of the three notions tallies with the operation of linear modification.

Table Five gives the frequencies of the positions occupied by the three notions in the linear arrangement. By position is meant the place in the sequence of the three notions.

Table Five

Position	1	2	3		
Th-y		27	3	-	(30)
L		1	23	6	(30)
Gr		2	4	23	(30)

The Hoff variant (L.5) places the 'Th'-y constituent in position 1, the 'L'-constituent in position 2 and the 'Gr'-constituent in position 3.

Table Six gives the FSP functions of the three notions.

Table Six

Th		Tr	Rh	Rh	RhPr	
Th-y	6	–	23	1	–	(30)
L	–	–	1	23	6	(30)
Gr	–	–	–	6	24	(30)

In the Hoff variant (L.5), the 'Th-y' constituent is thematic, the 'Gr'-constituent is transitional, and the 'L'-constituent serves as rheme proper. The 'Gr'-constituent of the Hoff variant is the only case of transition. This is because the 'Gr' notion is expressed by a notional verbal component exceeded in CD by a successful competitor.

Table Six shows that in the German versions all the three constituents predominantly function in the rheme. Nevertheless, dynamically weakest of them is the 'Th-y' constituent, appearing six times in the theme and never acting as rheme proper. Dynamically strongest is the 'Gr'-constituent, never appearing in the theme and in a majority of cases acting as rheme proper. Like the 'Gr'-constituent, the 'L'-constituent never appears in the theme, operating only in the rheme. In a majority of cases, however, it is exceeded in CD by the 'Gr'-constituent.

In contrast with the English versions, their German counterparts never induce the 'Th-y' constituent to serve as rheme proper. They also show a lower frequency of cases in which the 'Th-y' constituent is thematic. In a majority of cases they induce it to act as the dynamically weakest constituent of the rheme. Whereas in the English versions the 'L' and the 'Gr'-constituents show almost equal frequencies as conveyers of rheme proper, the German versions present a different picture. In conveying rheme proper, the German 'Gr'-constituents heavily outnumber the 'L'-constituents.

IV

It may not be without interest to look at French translations. I will do, although I can only present 13 versions.

A celui qui a soif, je donnerai de la source de l'eau de la vie, gratuitement. – Seg1, Seg2¹⁰

10 **Jér1** – *La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de l'École biblique de Jérusalem* (Paris:Éditions du Cerf; 1955). **Jér2** – *La Bible de Jérusalem*, Nouvelle édition entièrement revue (Paris: Éditions du Cerf; 1984). **LdeS** – *La Sainte Bible*, tr. by Lemaistre de Sacy (1759) (Paris, 1896). **Mar** – *La Sainte Bible*, revue sur les originaux par D. Martin (Brussels: Société Biblique Britannique et Étrangère). **BN** – *Bonnes Nouvelles Aujourd'hui* (Sociétés Bibliques; 1971). **Mared** – *La Sainte Bible*. Version établie par les moines de

(Gr.2) *A celui qui aura soif, je lui donnerai de la fontaine d'eau vive, sans qu'elle lui coûte rien.* – Mar

(Gr.3) *A qui a soif je donnerai, moi, de la source de l'eau de la vie gratuitement.* – Osty

...; *celui qui a soif, moi, je lui donnerai de la source de vie, gratuitement.* – Jér1, Jér2

(L.1) *Celui qui a soif, je lui donnerai à boire gratuitement à la source de l'eau de la vie.* – BN

A celui qui a soif, je donnerai gratuitement de la source de l'eau vive. – VS

(Th-y.1) *Je donnerai gratuitement à boire de la source d'eau vive à celui qui aura soif.* – LdeS

Je donnerai gratuitement à boire de la source d'eau vive à celui qui a soif. – Ost1, Ost2

(I.1) *C'est moi qui donnerai à l'assoiffé de la source d'eau vive, gratuitement.* – Mared.

With one exception, all the versions are covered by the Tables below. The exceptional case is the Mared version (I.1). It is the only version that is perspected to the 'I/the speaker' notion. This perspective is achieved by the *C'est ... qui* structure through which the semantic factor operates counter to linear modification. The Mared version corresponds to the English Wey2 version (I.1), in which the *It is ... that* structure produces the same effect. With due alterations, the comments on Wey2 (see p. 34) apply to the Mared version as well.

Table Seven offers a survey of the frequencies of the types of linear arrangement shown by the three notions.

Table Seven

Th-y	–	L	–	Gr	7
Th-y	–	Gr	–	L	2

Maredsous, Nouvelle édition revue (Paris: Brepols; 1992). OEc – *Nouveau Testament, Traduction oecuménique* (Éditions du Cerf). Ost1 – *La Sainte Bible*, Version de J. F. Ostervald (Paris, 1903). Ost2 – *La Sainte Bible*, Version de J. F. Ostervald, Nouvelle édition revue (Paris, 1927). Osty – *La Bible*, tr. by Ém. Osty in collab. with J. Trinquet (Éditions du Seuil; 1973). Seg1 – *La Sainte Bible*, Édition revue (1910), tr. by L. Segond (Société Biblique, 1974). Seg2 – *Le Nouveau Testament*, Nouvelle version (1962), in *La Bible*, tr. by L. Segond (Sociétés Bibliques). VS – *Sainte Bible, Version Synodale* (New York and London: Société Biblique). – – If not given, the publisher, place or date of publication is not stated in the publication itself.

L	–	Th–y	–	Gr	–
Gr	–	Th–y	–	L	–
L	–	Gr	–	Th–y	–
Gr	–	L	–	Th–y	3

Table Eight gives the frequencies of the positions occupied by the three notions in the linear arrangement. By position is meant the place in the sequence of the three notions.

Table Eight -

Position	1	2	3	
Th–y	9	–	3	(12)
L	–	10	2	(12)
Gr	3	2	7	(12)

Table Nine gives the FSP functions of the three notions.

Table Nine

	Th	Tr	Rh	Rh	RhPr	
Th–y	9	–	–	–	3	(12)
L	–	–	–	10	2	(12)
Gr	–	–	3	2	7	(12)

In all their arrangements, the constituents expressing the three notions show a gradual rise in CD. This is due to the operation of linear modification, which is unhampered by the other factors. From an overall point of view, the 'Th–y' constituent again proves to be the weakest of the three in regard to the dynamics of the communication. Whereas the 'L' and the 'Gr'–constituents operate only in the rheme, the 'Th–y' constituent appears predominantly in the theme. As it ends the most frequent of the possible arrangements, the 'Gr'–constituent appears to be the dynamically strongest of the three constituents. It is worth noticing that the Th–y – L – Gr arrangement is also found in the subfield provided by the *qui*–clause of the *Mared* version (I.1). (The arrangement shows a gradual rise in CD; all the three constituents occur in the rheme.)

Two more features are worth mentioning. The first is the comma before *gratuitement* in *OEc*, *Seg1*, *Seg2* (Gr.1), *Jér1*, *Jér2* (Gr.3) and *Mared* (I.1). It is not obligatory; it is absent from *Osty* (Gr.3). If used, it adds to the effect produced by the rhematicity of the notion of 'gratis'. The second feature is the extraposition of the Th–y component, *A celui qui aura soif/Celui qui a soif*, found in *Mar*

(Gr.2), Jér1, Jér2 (Gr.3) and BN (L.1), and that of *moi* in Osty, Jér1, Jér2 (Gr.3). The extraposition is not present in all the versions; it is not obligatory. It expands the theme. In this way, the notion conveyed by the constituent extraposed is thrown into relief within the theme and becomes diathematic (in Svoboda's terms; Svoboda 1981, 1983). The relationship *sui generis* obtaining between the carrier of the highest degree of CD within the theme (the diatheme) and the carrier of the highest degree within the non-theme (the rheme proper) is thereby emphasized.

V

As not all the versions keep the functional perspective of the original, the question may be asked whether it is desirable that a translation should preserve the original perspective. Before answering this question, let me draw attention to Apoc. 22.17 and sum up the results of the present case-study. The verse 22.17 is part of the closing section of the *Apocalypse* (22.6–21). Some commentators provide this section with the heading 'Epilogue'. The verse repeats the thought expressed by Apoc. 21.6b, the various translations of which have been examined in the present study. It can be expected that occurring in the closing section the verse will reflect and underline what the author regards as the high point of the message.

Kai to pneuma kai hē numphē legousin: Erkhou, kai ho akouōn eipatō. Erkhou. Kai ho dipsōn erkhesthō, ho thelōn labetō hudōr zōēs dōrean.

Et spiritus et sponsa dicunt: „Veni!“ Et, qui audit, dicat: „Veni!“ Et, qui sitit, veniat; qui vult, accipiat aquam vitae gratis.

The notions of 'thirsting/the thirsty man', '(everlasting) life' and 'gratis' are spread over the two last basic distributional fields. The 'Th-y' notion is expressed by the theme of the first field. The 'L' and the 'Gr' notions occur in the second and are rhematic, 'Gr' being conveyed by rheme proper. The placement of the three notions in two separate fields enhances the prominence of the 'Gr' notion. NRSV gives Apoc. 22.17 a special layout. The perspective of the entire verse to the 'Gr' notion is thereby effectively underlined.

*The Spirit and the bride say,
"Come."
And let everyone who hears say,
"Come."
And let everyone who is thirsty
come.*

*Let anyone who wishes take the
water of life as a gift. – NRSV*

The Beck version places the three notions in three separate fields, replacing the full stop before the third field by a dash. The use of a separate field and the intensification of the full stop into a dash throws the final ‘Gr’-constituent into relief. (The words underlined are italicized by the translator.)

“Come!” says the Spirit to the bride. If you hear this, say, “Come!” If you are thirsty, come. If you want it, take the water of life – it costs nothing. – Beck

It is the ‘Gr’ notion to which the original perspectives the message. In this respect, the original Apoc. 22.17 tallies with the original Apoc. 21.6b. Not all the versions – English, German or French – covered by the present study follow suit. Tables Ten and Eleven, presented below, show to what extent they do so. Table Ten gives the number of versions that perspective the message to the ‘Gr’ notion in both cases (that is both when rendering 21.6b and when rendering 22.17), that of versions that do so only in one case, and that of versions doing so in neither. (The references in Table Ten are only to Chapters, that is either to 21 or to 22.)

Table Ten

	Gr-perspective		Other perspectives	
	both in 21 and in 22	only in 21	only in 22	both in 21 and 22
English	15	–	14	7
German	24	1	4	2
French	7	–	6	–

Table Eleven states the ratios between the ‘Gr’ perspective and the other perspectives.

Table Eleven

	Gr-perspective vs Other perspectives	
	Apoc. 21.6	Apoc.22.17
English	15:21	29:7
German	25:6	28:3
French	7:6	7:6

In the translations of Apoc. 22.17, the ‘Gr’-perspective predominates. As for Apoc. 21.6, it is only the German and the French versions that show the pre-

dominance of the 'Gr'-perspective. The ratios show that it is the German versions that in regard to rheme proper come closest to the original.

I can now sum up. The analysis of English, German and French versions (79 in all) of Apoc. 21.6b has shown that different distributions of degrees of CD can lead to different perspectives. No difference in distribution of Cd degrees, however, is effected as long as the subject only conveys the retrievable, that is context-dependent, notion of 'I/the speaker'. Irrespective of the position in the actual linear arrangement, it carries a lower degree of CD than any constituent conveying irretrievable, that is context-independent, information. In this manner, the operations of linear modification and the semantic factor are overridden through retrievability by the contextual factor. A different perspective is effected if, in addition to the retrievable information, the subject is induced to convey predominating additional irretrievable information. This is brought about by the *It is ... that/C'est ... que* construction, which makes the subject convey the result of a selection. Adding predominating irretrievable meaning to the sentence, the construction serves as a signal of the semantic factor. Through this signal, the semantic factor operates counter to linear modification. Apart from the subject, the rest of the sentence conveys irretrievable, that is context-independent, information. Through irretrievability, the contextual factor – the dominating force in the interplay of FSP factors – permits the interaction between the semantic factor and linear modification to assert itself. Under the circumstances, this interaction manifests itself in the following way.

In the versions examined, no difference in FSP is brought about by the different positions of the verb, or rather its notional component, in regard to such constituents as come to act as successful competitors of the verb. In each version three or two of the constituents expressing the notions of 'the thirsty man/thirsting' ('Th-y'), '(everlasting) life' ('L') and 'gratis' ('Gr') prove to act as such successful constituents. As this is all due to the semantic characters of the verb and its successful competitor(s), it reflects the operation of the semantic factor counter to linear modification. As has been shown, special conditions must be fulfilled if, on account of their appearance in front position, they are to carry a higher degree of CD than the notional component of the verb. Linear modification cannot operate irrespective of the other factors. Nevertheless, in the corpus examined, it can assert itself to a comparatively high degree. The reason for it is specified in the following observation.

Under the circumstances, different perspectives are effected by changes in the positions, in other words in the arrangements, of the successful competitors of the verb. The semantic relations obtaining between them prove to be such as to permit linear modification to assert itself.

The interpretations demonstrate that in the written language linear modification can assert itself unless operated counter to by the contextual and the semantic factors. In this connection, an important observation must be made that concerns Indo-European languages and certainly a number of non-Indo-

European languages as well. It must be stressed that, generally speaking, the extent towards which the contextual and the semantic factors operate counter to linear modification is not such as to produce extensive deviations from the theme–rheme order, which reflects the movement from constituents carrying low degrees of CD to those carrying the higher and the highest degrees of CD. This observation is not invalidated by the fact that the languages concerned may still vary in extent and type of the deviations. In terms of the interplay of FSP factors it can be said that to a great extent the contextual and the semantic factors operate in the same direction as linear modification. Let me add that, in the spoken language in which the interplay of the FSP factors is joined by intonation, the situation is the same, for intonation does not operate independently of the other factors of FSP (Firbas 1992:143–224).

In the versions under examination the mobility of the successful competitors of the verb facilitates changes in FSP. In consequence, not all versions keep the original Greek perspective. The comparatively great number of versions following the original, however, prove that it is possible to follow the original. One of the reasons for the variations may be the translators' preferences concerning the distribution of emphasis. Nevertheless, the distribution of degrees of CD creating the functional perspective of the sentence reflects the communicative purpose of the language user. In principle it is therefore desirable that the translator should preserve the perspective of the original. In some cases, perhaps little or no harm is done by not preserving the original perspective. In other cases, however, failing to render the original perspective accurately entails a misrepresentation of the author's thoughts. I trust that seen in this light the theory of FSP has its place in the theory of translation.

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