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INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN PARALLEL TEXTS: A CZECH-ENGLISH VIEW

Abstract

The article is a contrastive study of information structure in Czech originals and their English translations. It focuses on problems arising from a different hierarchy of the word order principles in the two languages, the primary word order principle being functional sentence perspective (FSP) in Czech, in contrast to the primary grammatical function of word order in English. Three aspects are considered: linear ordering, FSP structure, and within the latter the basic distribution of communicative dynamism (CD). The study pursues two aims: to find out which configurations of linear ordering and FSP structure present translation problems, and to compare the results with the findings obtained in the opposite English-Czech direction. The research material comprising 300 examples, drawn equally from three novels, was excerpted from parallel InterCorp texts manually as the contextual and the semantic FSP factors, together with the varying realization forms of the carriers of the FSP functions, flout corpus search through query forms. The results corroborate the general validity of the principle of end focus and present some novel findings from the contrastive viewpoint.

Keywords

Information structure; functional sentence perspective; linear ordering; basic distribution of communicative dynamism; Czech-English translation

1. Introduction

The topic of this paper, information structure in the original and in translation, has been discussed from different aspects in two previous studies, Dušková (2017, 2018). In the former it was presented from a historical perspective in connection

with the development of English-Czech contrastive studies based on original texts and their translations. The main concern of the study was to show some of the shortcomings involved in using translation counterparts as the basis of contrastive research. The problems that arise are inherent in the methodology itself; however, as it is the only method that provides rendition of identical content in different languages, it is irreplaceable. One of the deficiencies of this method has been pointed out by the authors of the first contrastive studies based on translated texts, Vachek (1955) and Hladký (1961). In their comparisons of the condensed sentence structure in English and the prevalent finite form of expression in Czech they noted the influence of the source language on the choice of the form of the counterpart in the target language. Other problems discussed in the 2017 article were shown to be the choice of relevant translation counterparts, semantic and informational adequacy / non-adequacy of the counterparts, and their non-uniqueness.

The choice of relevant translation counterparts was shown to depend on the language level to which the point under study appertains. In this article information structure is examined on the clausal level. At this level (in contrast to the discourse level, where equivalence concerns the discourse function, whatever the realization form) informational equivalence also involves semantic equivalence of all sentence elements; hence only such translation counterparts are included in the research material that contain all semantic elements of the clauses in the original. The second problem, semantic and informational adequacy / non-adequacy of the translation counterparts, which inherently involves their non-uniqueness, is here the principal point under discussion.

The article of 2018 provides the methodological background of the present study. Like that article, this study focuses on problems arising from a different hierarchy of the word order principles in the two languages: while in Czech the primary word order principle is the functional sentence perspective (FSP), in English it is the syntactic function of clause elements. Again correspondingly, three aspects are considered: linear ordering, FSP structure, and within the latter the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. A novel point is here the direction of the comparison, viz. the source language is Czech and the target language English; in the 2018 article the source and the target language were, respectively, English and Czech. This enables the results of the two studies to be compared with respect to whether the findings obtained from the two directions present a mirror image or whether they display any specific features, which provides a second research aim. To ensure valid comparison results, the research material corresponds to the material of the 2018 study both quantitatively and in regard to its composition.

2. Theoretical framework

The conception of information structure is based on the theory of functional sentence perspective developed by Firbas (1992). The theory goes back to Mathesius' (1975: 81–82) functional division of the sentence into the theme (the basis of the utterance: what is spoken about) and the rheme (the core of the message: what is said about it). On this basis Firbas developed a full-fledged, consistent theory, which has been further elaborated by his coworkers and pupils. Essential contributions to the elaboration of particular points have been made by Aleš Svoboda (1981 the diatheme; 1968, 1987 the noun phrase), Martin Adam (2013 presentation sentences) and Jana Chamonikolasová (2010 extended presentation scale).

In the FSP theory the theme and the rheme are defined as the elements carrying, respectively, the lowest and the highest degree of communicative dynamism (CD), which in turn is conceived as the relative amount of information whereby its carrier further develops the communication. The degrees of CD are determined by four factors, context dependence / independence, semantics, linearity and intonation (Firbas 1992: 10–11, 117, 147–148). Intonation is primarily a factor of spoken language insofar as in written language the rheme is indicated by the interplay of the other three factors. However, it becomes decisive in cases of potentiality, viz. where the written form fails to indicate the FSP structure univocally. Here prosody asserts itself by assigning to the rheme the intonation centre (sentence stress) (Firbas 1992: 12, 148).

The third basic FSP function is the transition, prototypically realized by the verb, forming the link between the theme and the rheme. If the three functions are arranged in the order theme – transition – rheme, the sentence displays basic distribution of communicative dynamism (Firbas 1992: 10, 113–114, 118, 124). As far as the rheme is concerned, basic distribution of CD coincides with the British concept of the principle of end focus (Quirk et al. 1985: 1356–57; Leech 1983: 22, 64–65). This principle, final placement of the focal element, is regarded as a universal principle of the organization of information structure, whose operation is limited only by the grammatical systems of individual languages. The theme, however, is conceived differently. While in the FSP theory it is defined as the element carrying the lowest degree of CD irrespective of its sentence position, in the British conception the theme is defined positionally: it is the element that occupies the initial position in the sentence (Quirk et al. 1985: 1361–1362, Halliday 2014: 83, 97–108). Hence in dependence on the theoretical framework the views on the results of the following analyses may differ.

The differences in the indication of the FSP structure between Czech and English, apparent in many instances when parallel texts are compared, are due to a partly different interplay of the FSP factors. While the contextual and the semantic factors are not language-specific and apply generally, the function of word order depends on the character of the grammatical system of the language in question. In inflectional Czech, word order primarily indicates the FSP structure: in neutral (non-emotive, non-emphatic) sentences the rheme as a rule stands at

the end and the theme in the preverbal part of the sentence, irrespective of their syntactic functions since the clause elements are distinguished by inflectional endings and agreement in gender and number. In other words, the linear arrangement in Czech displays the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. The grammatical function of Czech word order plays a minor role, e.g. in the fixed position of the preposition before the noun in the prepositional phrase. The only clause element that depends for its syntactic function on the sentence position is the object complement: if placed before the head of the noun phrase that implements the object, its syntactic function changes into that of the object pre-modifier, as in English, cf. *přinesla tác prázdný / she brought the tray empty vs. přinesla prázdný tác / she brought an empty tray*). In analytical English the FSP and the grammatical functions of word order are hierarchically reversed. The FSP function plays a minor role since sentence position primarily indicates syntactic function. As a word order factor, functional sentence perspective is restricted to instances where the grammatical function allows alternative ordering, as in the case of ditransitive verbs of the *give* and *provide* subclasses, and of adverbials in dependence on their semantic roles and non/obligatoriness. However, the general validity of the principle of end focus applies even to English. The rheme mostly stands at the end, although final position of thematic elements is also fairly common (62.2% and 13.8%, respectively, in Dušková 2015: 184, 186). Moreover, the initial position is also fairly often occupied by a rhematic subject in English (cf. the second type of the presentation scale in Adam 2013: 66–67).

These differences give rise to four configurations of linear ordering of clause elements and functional sentence perspective: (a) both languages have the same linear ordering and the same FSP, viz. both display basic distribution of communicative dynamism, with the theme at the beginning and the rheme at the end; (b) Czech clauses and their English counterparts have different linear ordering and the same FSP; (c) in the third configuration both the linear ordering and the FSP differ; and in the last configuration (d) the linear ordering is the same, but the FSP differs.

3. Material and method

With a view to allowing a comparison of the Czech-English and English-Czech direction, the research material was collected in the same way as in the 2018 study. It was manually excerpted from three Czech novels and their English translations: Zdeněk Jirotka, *Saturnin* / Mark Corner, *Saturnin*; Ivan Klíma, *Láska a smetí* / Oswald Osers, *Love and Garbage*; Michal Viewegh, *Výchova dívek v Čechách* / A. G. Brain, *Bringing up Girls in Bohemia* (see Sources). Manual excerption was necessitated by the complexity of the factors and forms involved: both the contextual¹ and the semantic factor flout automatic detection, and the realization forms of the carriers of FSP functions is so varied and unpredictable as to defy corpus search by query forms.

From each novel 100 clauses were excerpted from narrative parts of continuous digitalized text drawn from the InterCorp. In accordance with the conception of the clause in Quirk et al. (1985: 992–997), also included were nonfinite clauses on the ground of differing from finite clauses only by the absence of a subject and operator, and verbless clauses, even though their number was minimal. Each Czech clause and its translation counterpart were examined with respect to the four configurations of linear ordering and FSP given above: (a) the same linear ordering and FSP; (b) different ordering and identical FSP; (c) different ordering and different FSP; and (d) the same ordering and different FSP.

4. Relations between linear ordering and FSP

The distribution of clauses with the same linear ordering and FSP, and of clauses in which either one or both of the investigated features differ is given in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Distribution of clauses with the same linear ordering and FSP, and of clauses with different configurations

Czech → English	Number of clauses	Same linear ordering and same FSP	Different linear ordering and same or different FSP Same linear ordering and different FSP
Jírotka	Finite 92	52	40
	Nonfinite 5	4	1
	Verbless 3	–	3
Total	100	56	44
Klíma	Finite 94	60	34
	Nonfinite 5	4	1
	Verbless 1	–	1
Total	100	64	36
Viewegh	Finite 91	54	37
	Nonfinite 7	6	1
	Verbless 2	–	2
Total	100	60	40
Total	300	180	120

Table 2. Distribution of configurations with different linear ordering and same or different FSP, and of configurations with same linear ordering and different FSP

Czech → English	Different linear ordering – same FSP		Different linear ordering – different FSP	Same linear ordering – different FSP	Total
Jirotká	Finite Clauses	27	10	1	38
	Nonfinite clauses	2	1	–	3
	Verbless clauses	3	–	–	3
Total		32	11	1	44
Klíma	Finite clauses	28	6	–	34
	Nonfinite clauses	–	1	–	1
	Verbless clauses	1	–	–	1
Total		29	7	–	36
Viewegh	Finite clauses	24	12	1	37
	Nonfinite clauses	1	–	–	1
	Verbless clauses	2	–	–	2
Total		27	12	1	40
Total		88	30	2	120

As shown by the data in Table 1, the same linear ordering with the same FSP prevails in 60% of the total number of clauses drawn from all three samples, with higher representation in Viewegh's text (66%) and lower in Jirotká's (56%). In comparison with the results obtained in the opposite direction (Dušková 2018), the representation of this configuration is somewhat lower, cf. 64.3% and 60%, respectively. Notably, this span fits the median figure 62.2% arrived at in Dušková (2015: 184).

4.1 Configuration with the same linear ordering and same FSP

This configuration represents the basic distribution of communicative dynamism, the operation of the principle of end focus, in both languages. Since in Czech this is the primary word order function, Czech clauses also display it in instances where their English counterparts have different linear ordering. This is mostly where the basic distribution of CD is counteracted by the grammatical function of word order in English.

The configuration of the same linear ordering and same FSP was registered in two groups of examples, in clauses which in both languages had the same syntactic structure and in clauses where the syntactic structure of the English counterparts differed while the ordering of the semantic elements and the FSP were the same.

4.1.1 Clauses with the same syntactic structure

The configuration of the same linear ordering and same FSP in syntactically corresponding clauses was mostly found in clauses containing three clause elements, i.e. in clauses with one postverbal element, illustrated by the examples in (1).

- (1) a. Ta paní Suchánková byla starší paní s černými vlasy, (Jirotká)
This Mrs. Sweeting was an elderly lady with black hair (Corner)
b. Kancelář byla šedivá a pochmurná, (Klíma)
The office was grey and dismal, (Osers)

In clauses with more postverbal elements this configuration was less frequent, which may be due to a lower representation of such clauses in the samples under study. Compare the examples given under (2):

- (2) a. studený víchř rve listí ze stromů, (Jirotká)
a whirlwind tears the leaves off the trees, (Corner)
b. ten druhý, podsaditý, spíše k zemi sražený chlapík neurčitelného věku, ve velmi sešlých a špinavých kalhotách, měl na hlavě modrou kapitánskou čapku se štítkem, (Klíma)
the other, a short, stocky man of uncertain age in very dishevelled and dirty trousers, wore on his head a sea-captain's cap (Osers)
c. moje levá ruka s široce roztaženými prsty vylétla vzhůru v naučeném děkovném gestu. (Viewegh)
and my left hand with fingers extended shot up in the air in a conventional gesture of thanks.² (Brain)

A noteworthy correspondence in the linear ordering is found in (2) b., where the English counterpart displays a deviation from the grammatical word order, the adverbial being placed before the object; the grammatical word order principle is here overridden by the principle of FSP. The reason for the deviation is to be sought in the context-dependence of the adverbial, indicated by the anaphoric possessive determiner (*on his head*), the context independence of the object (*a sea-captain's cap*) and the realization forms of the two elements, whose ordering also displays the operation of the principle of end weight, viz. earlier placement of the lighter and later placement of the weightier element: *on his head* – *a sea-captain's cap*.

Examples (3) a., b., c. illustrate corresponding linear ordering and FSP in non-finite clauses. In the case of infinitives whose subject is identical with that of the superordinate finite verb and hence deleted as in (3) a., the infinitival construction is obligatory even in Czech. On the other hand, postmodifying participles alternate with relative clauses.

- (3) a. Ve skutečnosti jsem se chtěl vrátit domů, (Klíma) In reality I wanted to return home, (Osers)
 b. [všechny prostory domu jsou prý prosáklé slzami] prolitými v nešťastných nocích (Jirotko) [every corner of the house was soaked with tears] shed during unhappy nights, (Corner)
 c. oči skryté pod slunečními brýlemi (Viewegh) the eyes concealed behind sunglasses (Brain)

Compare the alternative structure with relative clauses in both languages: slzy, které byly prolity / tears that had been shed, oči, které byly skryté / the eyes that were concealed.

4.1.2 Clauses with the same linear ordering, same FSP and different syntactic structure

English translation counterparts that syntactically deviate from their Czech originals but display the same ordering of semantic elements and the same FSP are illustrated by examples (4) a., b., c. Literal translation of the Czech clauses showing their syntactic structure is given in square brackets.

- (4) a. jako střídal místa sluhů. [as he changed the positions of manservant] (Jirotko) as he moved position as a manservant. (Corner)
 b. že mu chybí pravá ruka, [that to him lacks the right hand] (Klíma) that he did not have a right hand (Osers)
 c. Přestože bylo velmi teplo [although was very warm (subjectless clause)] (Viewegh) although the day was very warm (Brain)

Of these, recurrent patterning due to differences in the language systems appear in b. and c.: in b. the semantic element realizing the Czech final rhematic subject acquires rhematic function in English by being construed as the object of a transitive verb, in contrast to the Czech intransitive; c. represents one of the systemic counterparts of Czech subjectless sentences.

The registered syntactic shifts differed according to whether they involved the predicative verb, or the nominal or adverbial clause elements.

As in the opposite direction from English to Czech (Dušková 2018), the English counterparts of Czech finite clauses were frequently nonfinite, cf. (5) a., b., c.

- (5) a. [nebudu jmenovat dámu,] o kterou šlo [who was concerned] (Jirotka)
[I will not give the name of the lady] concerned (Corner)
- b. a držel jsem [I was clutching] koženou taštičku (Klíma)
clutching a small leather case (Osers)
- c. ale když jsem se ohlédl [when I looked round] (Viewegh)
but on looking round (Brain)

Nonfinite rendition of Czech finite clauses was the most frequent syntactic shift, numbering 15 instances (Jirotka 3, Klíma 5, Viewegh 7).

Czech finite clauses were also frequently translated by phrases (10 instances: Jirotka 2, Klíma 7, Viewegh 1), i.e. as verbless clauses, some of them bordering on, or interpretable as, ellipses:

- (6) a. [Doktor Vlach potom řekl, že je lepší, když na něho padne smutek,]
než kdyby na něho spadlo visuté lešení [than if on him fell scaffolding]
(Jirotka)
[Dr. Witherspoon then said that he would prefer sadness to land on his
head] than scaffolding. (Corner)
- b. lidí, které neznám [whom I do not know] (Klíma) a crowd of strangers
(Osers)
Jak se ukázalo [as it turned out] (Klíma) In the event (Osers)
Její štíhlé boky obepínaly džínsy [Her slim hips_{acc.} encased jeans_{nom.}]
(Klíma)
With slim hips in tight-fitting jeans (Osers)
- c. [ale působil unaveně,] což byl dojem, [which was impression] (kterého
jsem se už nikdy nezbavil) (Viewegh)
[but gave an impression of weariness,] one (which I was never able to
dispel afterwards)] (Brain)
- d. Nakvašeně jsem mlčel [Seethingly I was silent]. (Viewegh)
I seethed in silence. (Brain)

Example (6) a. illustrates a borderline case between a verbless clause and ellipsis, in contrast to the examples listed under (6) b., which are clear instances of finite clauses rendered by verbless clauses realized by noun and prepositional phrases. The Czech structure of (6) c. shows the underlying construction of the English counterpart, viz., respectively, a relative clause and apposition. Example (6) d. is of special interest in displaying two opposite shifts: the two semantic features ‘seething’ and ‘silence’ are syntactically construed in the reverse way: in Czech the feature of seething is construed as the adverbial, *nakvašeně* [seethingly] and the feature of silence as the finite verb, *mlčel* [was-silent]; in English it is the other way round: the feature of seething is construed as the finite verb *seethed* and the feature of silence as its adverbial modifier *in silence*. The ordering of these elements is the same in both languages, and so is the FSP, with the theme at the beginning and the rheme at the end.

The shifts between Czech finite clauses and English nonfinite and verbless clauses demonstrate the condensed structure of the English sentence. This applies especially to the shifts between Czech finite and English nonfinite clauses, which have received a great deal of attention,³ while the shifts between finite clauses and verbless expression (noun phrases and prepositional phrases) remain for further research. The respective figures for the Czech-English and English-Czech direction are three and four instances, cf. (6) d., and for the opposite direction, *He ate* (Galbraith / *Při jídle* (Šenkyřík) (example (4) in Dušková 2018).

As regards shifts between other clause elements, altogether nine distinct types were noted, differing in recurrence from two to five instances; 16 diverse shifts were registered only once.

The most frequent type was the shift between a verbal predicate in Czech and a verbo-nominal English counterpart. An example has already occurred in the contextual part of (5) a. *nebudu jmenovat dámu*, [o kterou šlo] (Jirotko) *I will not give the name of the lady [concerned]* (Corner). The Czech transitive verb + object *nebudu jmenovat dámu* [I will not name the lady], [o kterou šlo] is translated by a light verb and an action noun, with the concomitant shift in the syntactic function of the Czech object → English object postmodifier *I will not give the name of the lady concerned*. Altogether, this shift was registered in 12 instances (Jirotko 2, Klíma 5, Viewegh 5), cf. (7) a. b.

- (7) a. že zůstanu jen jedním z přistěhovalců [that I shall remain only one of immigrants] (Klíma)
I would always be just one of those immigrants (Osers)
b. že žiju [that I live] (Viewegh)
that I was still alive (Brain)

English verbo-nominal vs. Czech verbal constructions were also the most frequent shift in the opposite direction, e.g. *They were of that generation* (Barnes) / *patřili ke generaci* [they belonged to the generation] (Fantys). *So Strike made a detour down a side alley* (Galbraith) / *a tak Strike odbočil do postranní uličky* [turned into a side alley] (Šenkyřík) (examples (7) a., b. in Dušková 2018). Czech verbo-nominal predications vs. English verbal are also found, cf. (8), but rarely in comparison with English verbo-nominal vs. Czech verbal expression (cf. Poláčková in Note 3 on this point).

- (8) předtím, než se stal Saturnin mým sluhou [before Saturnin became my servant] (Jirotko)
Before Saturnin came into my employment (Corner)

As regards other shifts that reveal systemic relations between Czech and English, a salient type is presented by different syntactic functions of clause elements in the initial and final sentence positions. While a Czech clause often starts with an adverbial or the object, cf. (9) a. *v níž jsem měl* [in which I had] *which contained,*

this clause element often appears as the subject in English. If in this case the Czech clause also contains a clause-final subject, it corresponds to a postverbal element in English. The shift here affects two clause elements, a Czech initial adverbial or object rendered as initial subject in English, and a Czech final subject reflected in an English postverbal element, cf. (9) b. c. d.

- (9) a. v níž jsem měl [in which I had] tři malé sladké bochánky (Klíma)
which contained three small sweet buns (Osers)
- b. V jeho hlase nebyl sebemenší náznak pokání [In his voice was not the slightest trace of regret] (Viewegh)
His voice betrayed not the slightest trace of regret. (Brain)
- c. že chybí vysvědčení z posledního místa [that is lacking a report from last employment] (Jirotka)
that he lacked a report from his last place of employment (Corner)
- d. Můj prvotní úlek vystřídal vztek. [My initial fright_{acc.} replaced outrage_{nom.}]. (Viewegh)
My initial fright gave way to outrage. (Brain)

Another English device enabling the final or penultimate position of the subject, the existential construction, was registered in several different forms, cf. (10) a., b., c.

- (10) a. není tedy žádného důvodu [isn't therefore no reason]⁴ (aby byl člověk smutný) (Jirotka)
there was no reason (for anyone to be unhappy) (Corner)
- b. z jedné z nich vyteklo množství tekutiny [From one of them ran out a quantity of liquid] (Klíma)
From one of them there ran out a quantity of liquid (Osers)
- c. a ozvaly se tlumené hlasy [were heard muffled voices] – jeho a dívčí (Viewegh)
and there was the sound of muffled voices – his and a girl's (Brain)

Example (10) a. illustrates a prototypical form of the existential construction, (10) b. a verb of existence or appearance other than existential *be*; in (10) c. the auditory perception of the appearance of a new phenomenon on the scene is expressed by the modified action noun realizing the notional postverbal subject. Added to these alternatives of the existential construction may be a rare case of anaphoric existential *there* that retains its original adverbial function, additionally registered in the opposite direction in direct speech.⁵

- (10) d. There was an idea (Adams). To je nápad. [That is an idea] (Hollanová)

As shown by the context,

‘Norway? What you want to go there for?’ And when she hadn't instantly

said, ‘The aurora borealis!’ or ‘Fjords!’ but had looked doubtful for a moment and bitten her lip, he had said, ‘I know, I bet it’s some bloke dragging you out there. Tell you what, tell him to stuff it. Go to Tenerife.’
There was an idea. Tenerife.

the initial *there* simultaneously refers anaphorically to *Go to Tenerife*, hence the Czech counterpart to [*that*], and introduces an idea on the scene.

The discussed shifts were also registered in the opposite English-Czech direction, cf. *But my grandmother’s life had contained another enormous change.* (Barnes) *V životě mé babičky se však udála ještě jedna obrovská změna* [In the life of my grandmother happened yet one enormous change]. (Faltys) (Dušková 2018, (8) a.) *All the way out of London to Heathrow she had suffered from doubt.* (Adams) *Celou cestu z Londýna na Heathrow ji sužovaly pochybnosti* [All way from London to Heathrow her_{acc.} worried doubts_{nom.}]. (Hollanová) (Dušková 2018, (8) b.) *Had there ever been a god of carcasses?* (Galbraith) *Existoval snad někdy nějaký bůh zvířecích mrtvol?* [Existed perhaps ever any god of animal carcasses? (Šenkyřík).⁶

The representation of the recurrent types of shifts was mostly similar in both directions, the only notable exception being the shift in voice. In the English-Czech direction English passive vs. Czech active ranked second in the frequency of occurrence, whereas in the present Czech-English treatment there were only three instances. Compare (11) a., b. (Dušková 2018, (6) a., b.) and (11) c.

- (11) a. most of her life had been spent at a constant distance from it. (Adams)
Většinu života strávila ve stálém odloučení od něj [Most of her life she spent in constant separation from him] (Hollanová)
b. her *Worker* was now supplemented by *China Reconstructs* (Barnes)
nebot’ *Workera* nyní doplňoval časopis *China Reconstructs* [Worker_{acc.} now complemented journal *China Reconstructs*_{nom.}] (Fantys)
c. [Hlas se zasmál] a k němu se přidal ještě druhý (Viewegh)
[The voice laughed] and was joined by another one [and to it added itself still another]. (Brain)

The difference in the representation of the passive between the two directions and the reflection of the Czech pattern O – V – S in two systemic English counterparts, S (=Czech O) – V_{pass.} – *by-agent* (=Czech S), S (=Czech O) – V – postverbal element (=Czech S), needs further research.

As regards the shifts that occurred only once, correspondence between the two directions was found only in the case of the cleft sentence, cf. (12) a., b.; other instances represented the translator’s individual solutions, as in (13).

- (12) a. a snad právě to mě mrzelo [and perhaps exactly that me annoyed] (Jirotko)
which perhaps was exactly what I was annoyed about. (Corner)

- b. as if that was where she happened to be going anyway (Adams)
jako by tam měla namířeno tak jako tak [as if there she was heading in any case.] (Hollanová)

- (13) The atmosphere was heavy and thundery. (Adams)
Vzduch byl těžký jako před bouřkou. [The air was heavy as before a storm.] (Hollanová)

In general, syntactic shifts in the configuration of the same linear ordering and same FSP that bring about final placement of the focal element, the rheme, demonstrate the validity of the principle of end focus as a universal principle of the organization of information structure.

Syntactic shifts were also found in other configurations of linear ordering and FSP. However, here they appeared to be merely one of the factors involved or were ascribable to the author's individual choice of a counterpart. In the subsequent sections they are thus included in the treatment of the particular subtypes.

4.2 Different linear ordering with identical FSP

As shown in Table 2, this configuration accounts for almost three quarters of all instances differing in one or both variables under discussion, viz. 88 (73.3%) instances out of 120. This percentage is in very good agreement with that obtained in the English-Czech direction, 72.9% (Dušková 2018, Table 2). However, absolute figures differ both as regards the number of instances in the configurations with one or both differing variables: 120 Czech-English instances of this configuration vs. 107 English-Czech instances, the figures for the configuration of different linear ordering with identical FSP being 88 Czech-English instances out of 120 vs. 78 English-Czech instances out of 107. There are also differences between the distribution of this configuration in the three samples: while in the Czech-English direction the representation of different ordering with identical FSP is similar (Jirotko 32 instances, Klíma 29, Viewegh 27), in the English-Czech direction one sample displays a considerably lower figure (Adams 25, Galbraith 24 Barnes 15 (Dušková 2018, Table 2).

4.2.1 Postverbal placement of context-dependent objects and adverbials

The most frequent difference in linear ordering that preserves the FSP of the original is the postverbal, largely final placement of context-dependent objects and adverbials, evidently ascribable to the grammatical function of English word order. This pattern was found in nearly a half of all English counterparts whose linear ordering differed from the basic distribution of communicative dynamism: in finite clauses in 39 instances out of the overall number of 79 finite clauses with a different linear ordering and identical FSP: Jirotko 7 objects, 9 adverbials

(16 instances, 59.3%), Klíma 7 objects, 7 adverbials (14 instances, 50%), Viewegh 6 objects, 3 adverbials (9 instances, 37.5%), in total 39 (49.4%) out of the total number of 79 instances of this configuration.

The context dependence of these postverbal elements is univocally indicated by their anaphoric, mostly pronominal realization form, and the 1st person singular pronoun *I*, all Czech samples being written in the *ich*-form. Although this pronoun is primarily deictic, when recurrent it is also anaphoric. Moreover, in *ich*-form fiction it pervades the entire novel as its textual theme, which largely coincides with the FSP theme (for this point, cf. Dušková 2015: 309-310). Where anaphoric indicators of context dependence are lacking as in (14) d., other FSP factors assert themselves, initial position in connection with semantics. Example (14) b. illustrates the different position of both postverbal elements, object and adverbial. The corresponding elements occupying different sentence positions are indicated, respectively, by italics and underlining.

- (14) a. Cítil jsem se *tam* velice spokojen. (Jirotka)
I felt most content *there*. (Corner)
- b. ale v *té tmě* jsem ho neviděl. (Viewegh)
but *I couldn't see* him in that darkness. (Brain)
- c. co *mě* to napadlo (Klíma)
what on earth possessed me (Osers)
- d. Tlak *na ledviny* zmizel (Viewegh(19))
The pressure vanished from my kidneys (Brain)

In the English-Czech direction this configuration presents a mirror image of the Czech-English findings. Compare (15) a., b. (examples (10) b. and (11) in Dušková 2018).

- (15) a. the pizza problem, which drove her crazy. (Adams)
až na známý problém s pizzou, který *ji* doháněl k šílenství. (Hollanová)
- b. My brother did not compete for *such offerings*, (Barnes)
Bratr se mnou o *tyto lákavé nabídky* nesoupeřil. (Fantys)

4.2.2 Initial placement of rhematic subjects

The second most frequent type of different linear ordering with the same FSP as the original which displays systemic relations between Czech and English was found to be the presentation sentence with rhematic subjects in initial position, corresponding to Czech rhematic subjects placed finally (11 instances: Jirotká 3, Klíma 5, Viewegh 3), cf. (16) a., b., c.

- (16) a. že se *tam* musely stát hrozné věci_{nom.} (Jirotká)

- that terrible things must have happened *here* (Corner)
 b. *z rukávu mu čouhal jen černý hák_{nom}*. (Klíma)
 a black hook protruded *from his sleeve*. (Osers)
 c. *Vzápětí bouchly dveře* (Viewegh)
 Suddenly a door *banged* (Brain)

Similarly in the opposite English-Czech direction, cf. (17) (example (12) b. in Dušková 2018).

- (17) a stern stone face, ancient and bearded, stared back at him *from over the doorway*. (Galbraith)
z prostoru nad vstupem opětovala jeho pohled strohá kamenná tvář, starověká a vousatá. (Šenkyřík)

This English form of the presentation sentence may lead to erroneous interpretation of FSP if the translator misses the nonlinear FSP indicators and preserves the linear ordering of the original. The English word order is here the exact opposite of the basic distribution of communicative dynamism displayed in the corresponding Czech clauses: rheme – transition – theme vs. Czech theme – transition – rheme. The FSP is determined by the contextual and the semantic factors which here act counter to the linear ordering: the initial element is context-independent, which is indicated by the determiner (non-generic zero or indefinite article signalling a first mention). A final adverbial, if present, is largely context-dependent; where context-independent it has scene-setting semantics, which assigns it to the thematic section as the diatheme. The most important factor of this type of presentation sentence is the semantics of the verb which expresses, explicitly or implicitly, existence or appearance on the scene (cf. Adam 2013: 51–54, 66–67).

4.2.3. Initial and medial placement of adverbials

A third type of different linear ordering and the same FSP as in the original was registered in clauses with different positions of adverbials, both integrated and nonintegrated in the syntactic structure of the clause (adjuncts and of the nonintegrated, conjuncts, according to Quirk et al. 1985: 504-512, 631-646). This type has comparable frequency of occurrence as initial rhematic subjects (11 instances: Jirotko 1, Klíma 4, Viewegh 6). However, equal frequency of occurrence of these two types is probably a specific feature of the samples under study insofar as non-presentative sentences with adverbials are in general considerably more frequent than presentation sentences with initial rhematic subjects.

- (18) a. *Vydal jsem se tedy po dvoře ke dveřím*, (Klíma)
 So I set out across the court to a door (Osers)
 b. *Cítím jaksí*, I *somehow* feel (Jirotko)

The English counterparts illustrate the usual positions of the respective types of adverbials, initial in the case of conjuncts, as in (18) a., and between the subject and the verb in the case of manner adjuncts, as in (18) b. Example (18) b. moreover illustrates a deviation from the basic distribution of communicative dynamism in Czech. Although Czech word order allows initial placement of the adverbial in this clause *Jaksi cítím*, Czech prefers a stressed word at the beginning, which disfavours *jaksi* for this position. Owing to its semantics, like other indefinite pronouns and adverbials, *jaksi* is basically assigned to the thematic section, which excludes it from carrying the sentence stress. As stressed elements, unmodified indefinite pronouns and adverbials are conceivable only in the case of second instance (Firbas 1992: 45; 110-112, 164). Example (18) b. thus illustrates basic distribution in English and a deviation from it in Czech.

4.2.4 Noninitial placement of the theme in Czech

More frequently, Czech word order deviates from the basic distribution of communicative dynamism in instances of noninitial placement of a thematic element, as in (19) a., b., c., d. The theme is mostly the subject and appears in the second position after a more dynamic element, mostly transition or its nonlexical component (transition proper), cf. (19) a., b., c.; in (19) d. the theme proper, 1st person singular pronoun in the dative case, is preceded by the diatheme. Where the subject carries the word stress, as in the substantival realization form, it can also stand initially, cf. *střecha nebyla stažena dolů, děkan uspořádal večeři na moji počest* as alternatives of (19) b. c. In (19) a. and d. the themes are unstressed enclitics; if placed initially, they would be stressed – the personal pronoun would moreover have the emphatic form *mně* – and would indicate contrast: *to* ‘that’ in contrast to something else, *mně* ‘to me’ in contrast to someone else. In the case of Czech enclitics, the rhythmical word order principle asserts itself.

- (19) a. Byl *to* pohledný muž, (Viewegh)
He was a good-looking man (Brain)
 b. nebyla *střecha* stažená dolů, (Viewegh)
the roof wasn't down, (Brain)
 c. uspořádal *děkan* večeři na moji počest. (Klíma)
and the dean there gave a dinner in my honour. (Osers)
 d. Nic *mi* nechybělo, (Jirotko)
I lacked nothing (Corner)

4.3 Different linear ordering indicating different FSP

As shown in Table 2, the configuration of different ordering expressing an FSP deviating from the source language was registered in 30 instances, i.e. 25% of the overall number of 120 instances differing in one or both variables. The re-

presentation of this configuration in the English-Czech direction was similar: 25 instances out of 107, i.e. 25.2% (Dušková 2018, Table 2).

4.3.1 Different linear orderings presenting different rhemes

The most consequential deviation from the FSP of the Czech original concerns a different rheme, which was registered in 12 instances. Compare (20) a., b.

- (20) a. *sevrě se mu srdce [constricts itself to him heart] (Jirotka)
his heart missed a beat (Corner)*
 b. *dvůr vyhlížel stejně, [the yard looked the same] (Klíma)
 and so was the courtyard, (Osers)*

Example (20) a. demonstrates the grammatical function of English word order: the Czech subject is moved from the final position, which indicates its rhematic function, to the beginning; in combination with the shift of the Czech possessive dative to the English possessive determiner and the choice of the predicate the movement of the subject gives rise to opposite FSP, corresponding in Czech to *His heart constricted itself*. In (20) b. the FSP of the English translation counterpart is also reversed, but here it is due to the fixed (idiomatic) form of the chosen equivalent, which is more common than a closer counterpart following the original, even though possible.

All other shifts in the rhematic section involved the mutual position of the verb and adverbials of manner, place and time. While in the Czech clauses the rheme proper is the verb, in English it is the adverbial. A relatively high number (10) of these instances suggests that English lexical verbs are semantically less weighty than the corresponding Czech verbs. Compare (21) a., b., c., d., e., f.

- (21) a. *ačkoli ji velmi dobře znám, (Jirotka)
 even though I know her *very well* (Corner)*
 b. *Podrážděně jsem se oprašoval. (Viewegh)
I dusted myself off *with annoyance*. (Brain)
*Se zájmem si mne prohlížel: (Viewegh)
 He looked me over *with interest*. (Brain)*
 c. *že jakmile tam vstoupí, (Jirotka)
 that as soon as he stepped *over the threshold* (Corner)*
 d. *a opodál na okamžik zastavil. (Viewegh)
 and then halted for a moment *a short distance away*. (Brain)*
 e. *co se bude dít, [what will happen / take place] (Klíma)
 what would happen *next* (Osers)*
 f. *A koho jsem mohl znát [And whom could I have known] (Klíma)
 How could I have known anyone properly (Osers)**

Examples (21) a. and b. illustrate different positions of adverbials of manner. In Czech they are placed, respectively, preverbally and initially. The final position is occupied by the verb which carries the FSP function of the rheme. In English the word order follows the grammatical principle S – V – O – Adv; hence the manner adjunct stands in the final position, and being moreover context-independent, it is this element that qualifies as the focal point of the content being expressed. It is to be noted that the Czech word order with its FSP could be replicated, cf. *even though I very well know her*. However, unlike the Czech unmarked ordering displaying a final rhematic verb preceded by a qualifier, the verb in the English counterpart would be emphasized and the function of the intensifier of the adverbial weakened. The example tallies with Firbas's account of the verb and its successful competitors (1992: 49-54). The examples listed under (21) b. appear to show a systemic difference between English and Czech, ultimately due to the different hierarchy of the respective word order principles, in that English displays unmarked orderings with initial adverbials where they are thematic or constitute a component of the thematic section, viz. in the case of inherently thematic scene-setting adverbials, or where they have connective function as a link with the preceding context. Instances of initial context-independent adverbials other than those of the scene-setting kind mostly represent emphatic fronting, which, however, would not be the case in (21) b. If at all acceptable, initial placement of the adverbials would here suggest some connection with the preceding context, cf. *With annoyance, I dusted myself off. ?With interest he looked me over*.

Examples (21) c., d. illustrate adverbials of place. The shift in the information structure appears to be connected with a more explicit realization form of the adverbial, respectively, *tam* / *over the threshold* and *opodál* / *a short distance away*. In (21) c. the proform is conceivable in English as well, cf. *as he stepped there*, but as shown by the data in the British National Corpus, this collocation is disfavoured. The prevalent amplifiers of the local meaning of *step* are adverbs / particles / prepositional phrases specifying a change between two positions, such as *back, forward, in, out, down, inside, into*, with the goal of the movement often following, and without a single occurrence of *there* among the 2 750 hits. In (21) d. the Czech local expression *opodál* has no exact English counterpart and needs to be expressed periphrastically. Both examples show that the realization forms of the carriers of FSP functions play a role in their placement, and concomitantly in their FSP functions even where they are context dependent or independent: since *opodál* links the sentence to the previous context, a univocal English equivalent could also occur in the initial position and so preserve the same FSP of the sentence as in the original. The prepositional phrase *over the threshold* replacing *tam*, even though context-dependent through the situational context and anaphorically by the preceding context, contains a novel feature (*threshold*) and hence together with its placement acquires a different FSP function.

Examples (21) e. and f. illustrate added adverbials in the English counterparts where the Czech clauses dispense with them. It is especially instances of this kind that show the lesser semantic weight of the respective English verbs. In (21) e.

the temporal adverbial specifies the posterior temporal reference of the verb by adding the feature of immediate temporal posteriority and in (21) f. the adverbial of manner helps to assign to *know* the meaning ‘have knowledge of’, ‘be familiar with’ / ‘znát’, already indicated by the personal reference of the object, in contrast to the meaning ‘have (information) in the mind’ / ‘vědět’.

4.3.2 Shifts in the ordering of the components in the rhematic section

A second type of recurrent deviations in both variables (8 instances in total) concerns the rhematic section. The clauses in this group have a different rheme proper because the components of this section are ordered in a different way. While the rhemes proper in the Czech clauses are the objects, in the English counterparts the rhemes proper are the adverbials, cf. (22) a. b. c.

- (22) a. každý třetí člověk ... vede *na samonavíjecím vodítku* psa ušlechtilé rasy. (Viewegh)
 every third person ... is walking a thoroughbred dog on a self-retracting leash. (Brain)
- b. Za tmavých podzimních nocí, kdy nebesa dští *na zem* proudy deště, (Jirotko)
 On dark autumn nights, when the heavens open up and pour *streams of rain onto the earth below* (Corner)
- c. abych položil *na stůl* svoji občanku. (Klíma)
 to put my identity card on the table. (Osers)

In (22) a. and b. both components of the rhematic section are context-independent. While in Czech they are ordered according to their increasing degrees of communicative dynamism, the English counterparts display grammatical ordering with the object preceding the adverbial. In (22) a. the exchange of the positions in English moreover induces an alternative syntactic interpretation of the prepositional phrase, viz. unlike in Czech, besides the adverbial function also the function of postmodification of the object’s head. In this interpretation the rheme in English contains only one element, a modified object, and differs in this respect from the Czech rheme which is composed of Rh₁ (the adverbial) and Rh₂ (the object, rheme proper). In (22) b. the English realization form of the adverbial is more explicit, cf. *onto the earth below* / *na zem* [on the earth] so that the principle of end focus is reinforced by the principle of end weight.

In these configurations of two context-independent postverbal elements with grammatical ordering, English has no systemic means for imitating the Czech word order and its FSP. Reordering of these examples according to Czech: (22) a. *every third person is walking on a self-retracting leash a thoroughbred dog*, (22) b. *the heavens ... pour onto the earth below streams of rain*, (22) c. (*advised me*) *to put on the table my identity card* appears to be marginal in (22) b. and c., and inconceivable in (22) a. Where this ordering is met with in text,

the preposed element that regularly stands after the object is context-dependent, which is reflected in its lighter realization form; the principle of end focus is reinforced by the principle of end weight, the lighter element being placed before the weightier, as in (2) b. in 4.1.1, *wore on his head a sea-captain's cap*. Compare also (23)

- (23) while the mourners pressed *on him* the traditional cooked ham and rich fruit cake. (James, 343).⁷

4.3.3 Shifts in the ordering of the counterparts of Czech clauses with possessive dative

The last recurrent shift in FSP that reflects systemic differences between Czech and English in clauses differing in both variables was registered in the English counterpart of the Czech possessive dative, rendered in English as the possessive determiner (6 instances in total). This shift mostly occurs in the thematic section without affecting the rhematic part; however, where it occurs in the latter, the FSP of the clause is slightly changed, but without effect on the rheme proper, cf. (24) a., b., c.

- (24) a. *a duše se mu* [soul fills itself to him] *naplní skličujícími představami lidských tragédií*. (Jirotka)
and *his soul* filled with depressing thoughts of human tragedies. (Corner)
- b. *a ruce mi* *zkroutil za zády* (Viewegh)
and twisted *my arms* up my back. (Brain)
- c. *který mi před mnoha lety vyřízl *krční mandle**, (Klíma)
who many years before had removed *my tonsils*; (Osers)

In (24) a. and b. the shift in FSP takes place in the thematic section. While the Czech clauses display two thematic elements, the theme proper expressed by the possessive dative (*mu / to him, mi / to me*) and the diatheme, the most dynamic element in the thematic section, the nouns *duše / soul, ruce / arms* (cf. Svoboda 1981), the English counterparts have only one element in this section, the diatheme, which includes the theme proper in the form of the possessive determiner. Example (24) c. displays the same shift in the rhematic section. Although here the shift brings about heterogeneous composition of the rhematic section, its only element containing a context-dependent component, the possessive determiner, and the new component, the noun, the rheme proper, is not affected: both in the Czech clauses and their English counterparts, the rhemes proper are the nouns: *krční mandle / tonsils*.

The remaining examples of this configuration are the translator's individual solutions, such as (25), where the deviation in the FSP in English is connected with the biclausal rendition of a Czech simple sentence.

- (25) On vám *od každé vážnější debaty* takhle uteče.⁸ [He to you from every serious debate so runs away] (Jirotka)
Such is the manner in which he runs away from *every serious discussion*. (Corner)

In comparison with the opposite English-Czech direction (Dušková 2018: 4.3.2), the subtypes of the configuration different ordering – different FSP are more diverse. The registered syntactic structures display several types of non-correspondences based systemically which indicate one of the causes of the shift, viz. the absence of a systemic counterpart, such as the ordering of context-independent postverbal elements. The shifts registered in the English-Czech direction captured only the reversal of the theme and rheme, and the different rheme in the case of context-independent adverbials (other than scene-setting) where the rheme in English is the adverbial, whereas in Czech the verb, cf. (26) a., b. (Dušková 2018, (15) a., d.).

- (26) a. when the top was down (Barnes)
když se *sundala* střecha (Fantys)
b. I *welcomed* this mysterious decision with blunt self-interest, (Barnes)
S neomaleným sobectvím jsem toto záhadné rozhodnutí *uvítal*, (Fantys)

4.4 Identical linear ordering with a different FSP

The configuration of identical linear ordering indicating a different FSP was found to have marginal representation. There were only two examples (out of 300 instances), adduced in (27) a., b.

- (27) a. Agata se *culila* za jeho *zády*. (Viewegh)
Agata *simpered* behind him. (Brain)
b. a *teprve* pak se *uklidnil* (Jirotka)
Only then did he calm down. (Corner)

In (27) a. the English counterpart differs from the Czech original in having a different rheme. In Czech the carrier of the rhematic function is the final locative adverbial *za jeho zády* / *behind his back*, which is in agreement not only with the adverbial's final position, but also with its realization form: the prepositional phrase realizing the adverbial contains a new element in its substantival component *za jeho zády* / *behind his back*. In English the carrier of the rheme is the verb *simpered*. The shift is here connected with a different realization form of the adverbial, from which the substantival component specifying the location is excluded and replaced by anaphoric reference to the person, a context-dependent element corresponding to the Czech possessive pronoun *jeho* / *his*. Accordingly, the only context-independent, new element is the verb. The use of a less specific English counterpart is presumably due to the frequent connotation of the phrase

behind his back ‘without knowledge of the respective person’. It is to be noted that in Czech even the less specific realization form *za ním* / *behind him*, if placed finally, would qualify as the rheme; thematic function of *za ním* here requires initial position.

In (27) b. the different FSP of the English counterpart is due to a different degree of markedness. In Czech the rheme is the verb, which is indicated by its final position, i. e. the rheme’s regular position in Czech. Although the initial temporal adverbial contains a focalizer, it still remains in the thematic section (cf. contrastive topic in Hajičová, Partee and Sgall 1998: 151): the focus is at the end. The initial *Teprve pak* could here be the sole focal element only in the case of the second instance level (as the only context-independent element of the sentence, cf. Firbas 1992: 111). On the other hand, the English counterpart with the same ordering of identical semantic and syntactic elements displays a fronted adverbial whose grammatical position is postverbal. Sentences with fronted elements are marked structures, due to textual or emotive factors. In this sentence the focalizer changes the contextual fronting of anaphoric *then* into emphatic fronting, in which the fronted element carries emphatic stress and an information focus, the second information focus being on the final particle *down*. In other words, the Czech sentence is grammatically unmarked and informationally subsumable under the principle of end focus, whereas its English counterpart is marked both grammatically by the fronting of a postverbal element, and informationally by having two foci (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1377–78).

In the opposite English-Czech direction this configuration was represented by four examples two of which show an additional factor in the reversed order of adjacent clauses; the other two are comparable with (27) a. and b. They are adduced here as (28) a. and b. (examples (19) a. and d., respectively, in Dušková 2018).

- (28) a. (I have no idea) how strong her religious faith had been. (Barnes)
 (Nemám vůbec představu o tom,) jak silná její víra bývala. (Fantys)
 b. as eventually they had crawled past it. (Adams)
 a když konečně projeli kolem místa neštěstí (Hollanová)

Example (28) a. copies the linear ordering of the original, which produces a different rheme. Unlike the fronted element in (27) b., the fronted subject complement here represents obligatory grammatical fronting of the *wh*-element in a *wh*-clause and being its only context-independent element it constitutes the rheme. Instead, the translation counterpart, by imitating the word order of the original, assigns the function of rheme to the final verb. Example (28) b. is comparable to (27) a. in illustrating the role played by a different realization form in the assignment of the FSP function. Altogether, the factors contributing or causing the shifts in the information structure combine rather than operate singly, even though here the primary factor appears to be the influence of the ordering in the original. Examples (27) b. and (28) a. may be regarded as instances of potentiality (cf. Firbas 1992: 108–110), in speech resolved by the prosodic factor.

5. Conclusion

The subject of the foregoing discussion – equivalence and shifts in information structure between Czech and English – required the use of parallel Czech-English texts. This entailed methodology based on translation, since no other method provides expression of the same content in different languages. Keeping the fallacies of this method in mind – one of them, the influence of the original on the choice of the translation counterpart, was found to be one of the factors giving rise to shifts – the units under study were Czech clauses and their English translation counterparts. Their informational equivalence, involving semantic equivalence, was examined within the theoretical framework of functional sentence perspective, which goes back to Vilém Mathesius and has been fully developed by Jan Firbas and his coworkers and followers. In this theory information structure / functional sentence perspective is determined by four factors: context, semantics, linear ordering and intonation. Of these four factors Czech and English differ only in one, linear ordering. Semantics and context are not language specific and neither is intonation as regards its function in FSP: in both languages the focal element is indicated prosodically by carrying the intonation centre / sentence stress / nuclear tone. On the basis of the different primary word order function in Czech and in English, to indicate functional sentence perspective in the former and grammatical function in the latter, four configurations of these variables were examined: a. identical linear ordering with the same FSP; b. different linear ordering indicating the same FSP; c. different linear ordering indicating a different FSP; and d. identical ordering differing in FSP.

The first of these configurations, the same linear ordering with the same FSP, realizes the basic distribution of communicative dynamism with the theme at the beginning, the rheme at the end, and the transition placed medially. It was found to be the most frequent of all 300 instances under study, accounting for over 60%. This result confirms the findings of previous studies and the validity of the principle of end focus as the general principle of the organization of information structure. The validity of this principle has been demonstrated especially by the fairly numerous examples in which final placement of rhemes realized by subjects in the Czech clauses was achieved by a different syntactic structure that allowed construing the rheme as a postverbal element.

The configuration ranking second in the frequency of occurrence involved different linear ordering displaying the same FSP (73.3 %, 88 out of 120 instances). Notably, the FSP of instances displaying this configuration is clearly indicated by the anaphoric realization form of context-dependent postverbal elements. On the other hand, context-independent postverbal elements were found in numerous instances of the third configuration, different linear ordering indicating a different FSP. While context-dependent postverbal elements generally do not induce FSP shifts, grammatical ordering of context-independent objects and adverbials other than those that set the scene, especially where both these elements are present, often produces a different FSP. In contrast to the English-Czech direction, the

Czech clauses display a larger variety of syntactic structures which appear to have systemic correspondences in English. In this respect they suggest further lines of research: agreement / disagreement in the information structure of sentences containing postverbal elements with different degrees of context-dependence / independence, the disposition / lack of disposition of the English verb to implement the rheme when the sentence contains a context-independent adverbial with a particular semantic role, shifts between the thematic and rhematic section resulting from different means of expressing the possessive relationship. Moreover, further research is needed to throw more light on the relationship between the realization form of the FSP carrier and the assignment of the FSP function. In this connection a promising line of research appears in contrastive studies of the FSP of finite clauses and their verbless counterparts. Last but not least, more insight into the discussed points may be gained from comparisons of the results obtained from the Czech-English and English-Czech directions.

Notes

- ¹ Cf. Firbas's immediately relevant context (1992: 23–26).
- ² The basic distribution of communicative dynamism is discussed only at the level of clause elements, irrespective of the ordering at the level of phrases. Hence in (2) c. the different Czech and English ordering in the modified NP realizing the final adverbial *v naučeném děkovném gestu*, literally *in a learned thanking gesture*, rendered *in a conventional gesture of thanks* is left aside. The English ordering is here more in agreement with the FSP of the noun phrase in that the rheme proper *děkovném / of thanks* is construed as postmodifier, whereas in Czech as premodifier (cf. Svoboda 1968, Dušková 2011).
- ³ See Section 1 for Vachek and Hladký. Poláčková (1988) examined not only the shifts between Czech finite clauses and their English nonfinite counterparts, but also those between Czech nonfinite clauses and English finite counterparts; she found the former to account for 75% and the latter for 25% of all instances in the respective samples. See also Malá and Šaldová (2012), and Dušková (2012).
- ⁴ The literal translation exemplifies the rule of negative concord in Czech in contrast to the rule of a single negator in English.
- ⁵ In both directions, direct speech was excluded from the research material, the clauses under study were excerpted only from narrative passages.
- ⁶ Examples of free indirect speech were treated as direct speech, see Note 5.
- ⁷ P. D. James, *Original Sin*, London 1994 (Dušková 2015: 185)
- ⁸ This example moreover illustrates a specific Czech category, the ethic dative, for which an English counterpart is mostly lacking. Its expression in the form of a prepositional phrase with *on*, or more seldom *for*, where found, cf. *She walked out on him*, is restricted by the meaning of the verb, its valency involving the sentence structure, and phraseologically.

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