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**The transition between restrictive and nonrestrictive adnominal
relative clauses**

Anglický jazyk

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto práci vykonala samostatně a s využitím uvedených pramenů a literatury.

Pa. Ša!

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1. Introduction

“Restrictive and non-restrictive, as commonly used, are notional rather than formal categories; this means, not that they should be discarded as useless or even dangerous, but that they should be used with caution and hedged around with due reservations.”

(Jakobsson, 1963: 409)

It has been argued, at least by traditional grammarians (such as Quirk, Kruisinga and Jespersen), that **restrictive** and **non-restrictive** when applied to adnominal relative clauses are not two clear-cut categories with precise boundaries. Syntacticians have called such a distinction as artificial, “not hard and fast one”, or, alternatively, doubtful but valuable. It is therefore of some interest that, according to Lucas (1974: 83), transformational generative grammarians (notably Smith, Jacobs, Rosenbaum, Chomsky) have treated the traditional bipartition of adnominal relative clauses in “its crudest form”. Accordingly, it has been the concern of traditional grammarians to locate doubtful, if not marginal, cases of adnominal clauses and to make attempts at their classification.

The aim of our research is to examine adnominal relative clauses as to their capacity to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive, while subjecting them to the formal, syntactic and semantic criteria defined in linguistic literature. However, we shall leave the phonologic criterion aside, as our research is limited to the written domain of English. In other words, the main purpose of our study is to examine the two contradictory categories, to define the conditions of the unequivocal interpretation of adnominal relative clauses as either restrictive or non-restrictive, and, as the case may be, to identify and explore a transitory stage between the two types.

To account for possible register differences, our study is based on four registers – fiction, direct speech (extracted from fiction), academic writing and journalistic writing. The findings will be reflected qualitatively.

The first chapter is a survey of basic terms and concepts concerning the focus of our research. The next chapter makes a brief note of minor subtypes of adnominal relative

clauses, while chapter 4 is devoted to the typology of adnominal relative clauses. Chapter 5 offers a short excursion into the treatment of adnominal relative clauses in transformation generative grammar. The next chapter moves on to examine the criteria (phonologic, formal, semantic, and syntactic criteria) utilized in the distinction of adnominal relative clauses. Chapter 7 provides the description of the corpus of relative clauses analyzed for the purpose of our study, which are subjected to the aforementioned criteria (with the exception of the phonological criterion) in chapter 8.

2. Previous research – basic terms and concepts

The purpose of this chapter is to present definitions of linguistic notions which are tied closely to the focus of our study, such as the complex sentence, the clause, the noun phrase and its modification, the process of embedding and the relative clause.

2.1 The sentence versus the clause

Mathesius (1975: 79) approaches the sentence from the functional point of view and looks upon it as a tool of communication. His definition of the sentence reads, “the sentence is an elementary communicative utterance through which the speaker reacts to some reality or several items of the reality in a manner that appears to be formally customary and subjectively complete.”

We shall follow Huddleston (1971: 3) and maintain that the clause is defined as a simple sentence as opposed to a compound sentence: “A compound sentence is one consisting of two or more other sentences (typically joined by some kind of conjunction), whereas a clause consists of a subject and predicate.” Indeed, it is crucial for our purposes to define the clause as a structure consisting of 2 constituents: a noun phrase and a verb phrase. Jespersen (1924: 103) defines a clause as “a member of a sentence which has in itself the form of a sentence (as a rule it contains a finite verb). The same line of reasoning is followed by Dušková (1994: 309), whose argument is that the clause is defined by the presence of a final verb. Similarly, Mluvnice češtiny 3 (A Grammar of Czech, Syntax, MČS henceforth, 1987: 8) states that central sentence types comprise slots for both the subject and *verbum finitum*.

However, Kruisinga (1932: 263) argues that sentences with a finite verb are not more “normal” than sentences without a finite verb, “the formal type being more common in argument, the latter in familiar conversation”. A different distinction has been arrived at by A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (CGEL henceforth, pp. 992-997), which recognizes three main structural types of clauses: finite clauses (the verb element is finite), nonfinite clauses (the verb element is nonfinite) and verbless clauses. Nevertheless, in our study, we will not consider structures without a finite verb as clauses as such.

Furthermore, Strang (1968: 83) distinguishes independent and dependent clauses. A clause is independent if it can stand on its own, as an independent sentence: “in *It is fine today: we*

will go out, both clauses are independent; in *Because it is fine today we will go out*, the first is dependent”.

2.2 The complex sentence

As Dušková (1999: 219) argues, “the multiple sentence is usually classified into the compound and the complex sentence according to whether the constituent clauses are in the relationship of coordination and subordination”. It is important to note here that the notion of the complex sentence is approached at differently by Czech and British grammar theories. According to Dušková (ibid: 221), MČS defines the complex sentence “as a grammatical structure composed of more than one clause”, while CGEL explains the complex sentence as “a sentence containing one or more clauses as its immediate constituents.” Accordingly, *You can borrow my car if you need it* is a complex sentence, while *You can borrow the car that belongs to my sister* is a simple sentence, “since here the subordinate clause is not an immediate constituent of a sentence or clause, but operates at the level of a phrase”. We will adhere to the former conception of the complex sentence.

According to Dušková (1988: 588), if clauses constituting the complex sentence are mutually independent, the syntactic relationship between them is called parataxis (the case of coordination), whereas, if one clause is superordinate to the other, the relationship between them is termed hypotaxis (the case of subordination). However, as CGEL (919) notes, the opposition between coordination and subordination on the one hand, and that between parataxis and hypotaxis on the other, is not equal: “parataxis applies not only to coordinate constructions, but to other cases where two units of equivalent status are juxtaposed (.....), there are other hypotactic relations (.....), quite apart from the relation between a subordinate clause and the clause of which it is a part”.

“The syntactic inequality of subordination tends to bring with it a semantic inequality which is realized by syntactic hierarchization”. (ibid: 1040), as illustrated by the following examples:

subordination: (1) *I lent my bicycle to Robert, who lent it to David.*

superordination: (2) *I lent my bicycle to Robert, and he (then) lent it to David.*

According to Dušková (1999: 219), this classification of the multiple sentence is not adhered to in MČS: “(MČS) regards the syntactic relations between the clauses of a multiple sentence as an expression of the respective interpropositional relations”, adnominal relative

clauses bearing the relation of a proposition which is in relationship with the content of a nominal expression.

On the basis of their potential function, CGEL (1047) classifies subordinate clauses into four categories: **nominal** (which have functions equal to those of noun phrases), **adverbial** (which function as adjuncts or disjuncts), **relative** (which function as restrictive or non-restrictive modifiers of the noun phrase, their function is thus equal to that of the attribute; while excluding adnominal relative clauses from the list of subordinate clauses – since they operate at the noun phrase level, serving as a means of noun-phrase postmodification - only nominal relative clauses and sentential relative clauses, are treated as subordinate, the former because of its resemblance to nominal clauses, the latter for its resemblance to adverbial clauses), and comparative clauses (which are equivalent to degree adverbs). With the exception of the last two categories of subordinate clauses as suggested by CGEL, a similar division of subordinate clauses is to be found in MČS, which distinguishes **adverbial**, **nominal** and **adnominal relative** clauses. Dušková (1988: 594) treats subordinate clauses in concert with the classification which we find in MČS: with regard to their function in the sentence structure, subordinate clauses are nominal content, relative and adverbial.

There have been quite a few attempts to classify subordinate clauses, e.g. Jespersen (1924: 103) divides clauses into primaries (clauses functioning as subjects and objects), adjuncts (which postmodify the antecedent), and tertiaries or subjuncts (as they are loosely connected to the main clause, they represent a wide range of relations). Alternatively, Zandvoort (1969: 212) – whose term for the hypotactic arrangement is the compound sentence - arranges *sub-clauses* into attributive clauses (adnominal relative clauses), predicative clauses (which qualify the direct object of the main clause) and adverbial clauses (which qualify the main clause as a whole). In any case, he states that this classification is not exhaustive and adds object, subject and predicate clauses to the list.

Young (1980: 238) maintains there are three types of binding relationship between clauses: contingency (contingent clauses limit the proposition of the main clause: This will disturb you *if you are disturbed by politics itself*), adding (adding clauses supply extra information, with “a WH-item functioning as binder” [ibid: 245]; they in fact represent the structure which is traditionally termed non-restrictive: Aristotle, *who took a different view*, was more

influential.), and report (the binder is *that*: He claimed *that science is inevitably technological*).

2.3 The Noun Phrase and its Modification

In our study, we shall work under the assumption that noun phrases are such structures which “consist of a head, which is typically a noun, and of elements which (either obligatorily or optionally) determine the head and (optionally) modify the head, or complement another element in the phrase” (CGEL: 62).

CGEL (1238) recognizes the following constituents of the noun phrase:

- (A) The HEAD, around which the other constituents cluster
- (B) The DETERMINATIVE, which is further classified into predeterminers (items which precede central determiners, e.g. *all, both*), central determiners (articles, *this, some*), and postdeterminers (which precede premodifiers, i.e. adjectives, e.g. numerals, *many, few, several*)
- (C) The PREMODIFICATION, which represent all the other items placed before the head, notably adjectives and nouns
- (D) The POSTMODIFICATION, which comprises all the items placed after the head, e.g. prepositional phrase, nonfinite clauses, **relative clauses** and complementation

In *a bigger car than that* (ibid: 1239), *a* is a central determiner, *bigger* premodifies the head, which is *car*, which is in turn postmodified by *than that* (itself a complementation).

Strang (1962: 100) further specifies the words which act as the head in noun phrases: “by applying a finer and more delicate discrimination we can isolate several types amongst them, the chief being noun, proper name and pronoun, though there are various intermediate kinds for which no handy name is available”. According to her, central nouns are nouns which comply with these criteria: they constitute an open class, they function as the subject or the complement in a sentence, they follow determiners, and finally, with regard to morphology, they are variables in respect of a two-term systems of number and case.

However, as Jacobs (1995: 99) maintains, there is a difference between modifiers and complements: the latter complement the predicate (he is fond *of marshmallows* – the prepositional phrase complements the predicate), or also nouns, usually abstract, such as *fact, belief, rumour, story, news*. “A noun complement is also known as a contentive, so called

because the complement clause (or phrase) normally specifies the content of its head noun” (ibid: 100).

Compare the following two structures:

(3) the story *that Eleanor had met with the senator*

(4) the story *that Eleanor had given to the senator*

The first noun phrase is complemented by the subordinate that-clause, while the other noun phrase is different in that its subordinate that-clause does not supply the content of the story, instead, it functions as a modifier identifying the head. Hence, for the noun phrase, modifiers identify who or what the noun phrase refers to.

(5) the man *in the iron mask*

(6) a box *which was delivered here yesterday*

(7) a scoutmaster *fond of marshmallows*

The modifiers in the structures above have different realizations: in (5), the modifier is a prepositional phrase, in (6), a relative clause, in (7) an adjective phrase.

The assumption that modification is either restrictive or nonrestrictive is valuable since it provides us with an important background for the division of adnominal relative clauses into restrictive and nonrestrictive: “The modification is **restrictive** when the reference of the head is a member of a class which can be identified *only* through the modification that has been supplied, (.....), the referent of a noun phrase may be viewed as unique or as a member of a class that has been independently identified (.....). Any modification given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identification, and we call it **nonrestrictive**” (CGEL: 1239).

(8) Come and meet my *younger* daughter.

(9) Mary Smith, *who is in the corner*, wants to meet you.

In (8), *younger* is an example of restrictive premodification, while (9) illustrates nonrestrictive postmodification.

Furthermore, CGEL points out that certain noun-phrases heads do not admit restriction as they are treated as unique, which is the case of the noun phrases in (10) and (11), whose heads are treated as unique, or, alternatively, as in (12), have generic reference. The same applies to the head in (9), where the head is a proper noun (“Mary Smith’s identity is independent of whether or not she is in the corner.” [ibid: 1239]). However, a proper noun can temporarily

bear the features of a common noun, thus restrictive modification is possible, as is shown in (13).

(10) Come and meet my *beautiful* wife.

(11) I don't want him to put his *ugly* nose into my house again.

(12) The giant panda, *which is to be found in the remote parts of China*, lives exclusively on bamboo shoots.

(13) the Johnson *who wrote the dictionary*

Otherwise, most heads succumb to nonrestrictive modification:

(14) The tall girl, *who is a dentist*, is Mary Smith.

CGEL (1242) claims that “modification at its most restrictive tends to come after the head”, such modification is primarily realized by restrictive relative clauses; moreover, “restrictive modification tends to be given more prosodic emphasis than the head, since there is a built-in contrast.”

A similar approach has been adopted by most linguists: Jespersen (1924: pp. 108-112) divides “adjuncts” (one of the three types of subordinate clauses in his conception; see chapter 2.2) into restrictive (qualifying) and nonrestrictive, the function of the former being to restrict “the primary”, while the function of the latter lies in that they provide some characteristic of the primary. The use of nonrestrictive adjuncts “is generally of an emotional or even sentimental, though not always complimentary, character, while restrictive adjuncts are purely intellectual (.....). They (nonrestrictive adjuncts) often added to proper names” (ibid: 112). Consequently, there is a difference between *my dear Ann*, where the adjunct is nonrestrictive (and the head is realized by a proper name), and *a poor widow*, whose adjunct is restrictive.

Similarly, Biber (1999: 280) classifies postmodifiers into restrictive and nonrestrictive, stating that the great majority of postmodifiers other than adnominal relative clauses are restrictive; interestingly, such postmodifiers bear a nonrestrictive function only occasionally, much less commonly than relative clauses. The following examples (ibid: 281) demonstrate the nonrestrictive function of a present participle, a past participle, and a prepositional phrase respectively:

(15) Style variation is intrinsic to the novel's picture of Victorian urban society, *concentrating on the capitalist house of Dombey*. (an extract from academic writing)

(16) A converted farm building, *donated by Mr. And Mrs. Tabor*, has been turned into a study room filled with photographs and displays. (journalistic writing)

(17) The great tall library, *with the Book of Kells and of Robert Emmet*, charmed him. (fiction)

In fact, we can postulate that postmodification is more explicit than premodification, as is illustrated by the following set of examples taken from CGEL (1243):

(18) the girl *who is standing in the corner*

(19) the girl *standing in the corner*

(20) the girl *in the corner*

The adnominal relative clause in (18) is in any case more explicit than the present participle in (19), from which the tense of the verb is absent, however, (19) is in turn more explicit than the prepositional phrase in (20), lacking not only the verb tense, but also “the specific posture” (ibid: 1243).

The concept of restrictive modification is neatly exemplified in Baker (1989: 233) by way of three pairs of sentences, where (a) is a sentence which contains a noun phrase whose head noun is unmodified, and (b) is a sentence whose corresponding noun phrase is restricted (modification is printed in italics):

(21) (a) Gregory knows [a pianist].

(b) Gregory knows [a pianist *who lives in Boston*].

(22) (a) Janet met [a student].

(b) Janet met [a student *from Sweden*].

(23) (a) We spoke with [an artist].

(b) We spoke with [a *young* artist].

Baker proceeds to picture the sets of individuals denoted by *pianist*, *student* and *artist*:

pianist



student

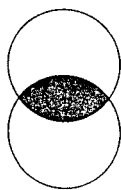


artist



These nouns, when not modified, denote entire sets. However, when modified, “the sets of individuals denoted by the whole expression are those that belong both to the original set and at the same time to a second set” (ibid: 234), as the following illustrates:

pianist



who lives in Boston

student



from Sweden

artist



young

The prints clearly show that when modifiers are combined with their heads, the heads are more restricted than when the heads are not modified. Baker terms the structure *who lives in Boston* a bound relative clause, the phrases *from Sweden* and *young* are referred to as nonclausal modifiers.

Moreover, CGEL (1242) makes a distinction between **temporary** and **permanent** modification, which is tied closely with the opposition progressive and nonprogressive in predication. In particular, this dichotomy concerns agential nouns, which – when premodified – are thus given the status of permanent. “Although this does not mean that postmodification position is committed to either temporariness or permanence, those adjectives which have to be predicative have a notably temporary reference.” Accordingly, (24) is an example of a temporary reference, and (25) an example of a permanent reference:

(24) a *courteous* man

(25) a man *who is courteous* (now)

Young (1980: 290) claims that structures without the relative WH-element “can be clearly paraphrased by using a clearly recognizable relative clause:”

(26) The glowing discharge *known as St Elmo’s fire*

(27) The glowing discharge *which is known as St Elmo’s fire*

(28) The best thing *to have happened since April*

(29) The best thing *that has happened since April*

However, the general assumption that relative clauses and postmodifying participles are interchangeable was proven wrong by several Czech linguists, notably by Šaldová (2000, 2005), who claims there are certain constraints on the usage of either form; they are constraints which stem from the systemic differences of these two forms, such as the verb tense, the number and gender concord. “A possible use of nonfinite postmodification is influenced by various factors from different levels of language structure (morphological, syntactic, lexical, FSP, stylistic, pragmatic)” (Šaldová, 2000: 138).

2.4 Postmodification by finite clauses

Relative clauses serve as a means of noun-phrase postmodification. CGEL (1244) recognizes two major types of finite clauses as noun-phrase postmodifiers: **relative clauses**, (30) and **appositive clauses** (31):

(30) The news *that appeared in the papers this morning* was well received.

(31) The news *that the team had won* calls for a celebration.

Although the two clauses printed in italics are superficially similar, they differ in many respects: *that* in (31) is not a relative pronoun, but a conjunction, and has no function as a clause element within the *that*-clause, as it does in the relative clause in (30). Another feature distinguishing the two clausal structures is that *that* in (31) is not replaceable by *which*. Furthermore, the head of the noun phrase must be a factive abstract noun such as *fact*, *belief*, *proposition*, *possibility*, *reply*, *answer*, *news*, *statement*, *question*, *inquiry*, *curiosity* or similar. Nevertheless, Kruisinga (1932: 374) adds that the head may also be realized by a pronoun (though this is very rare):

(32) The first thing that strikes one on looking at it (Magna Charta) is that it is a very long document – and a good deal of its importance consists in *this*, *that it is minute and detailed*.

As Quirk (1973: 384) points out, with appositives the apposed units can be linked with the copula verb *to be* (The news *is* that the team had won), or replace the deverbal noun by the corresponding verb plus object clause (The *belief* that no one is infallible is well founded > He *believes* that no one is infallible).

Young (1980: 289) calls these constructions **noun complement clauses**, and argues that they are very closely related to reported clauses as they vary between the *that*, *whether/if* and *wh*-types and occur as qualifiers of abstract nouns as exemplified above.

In CamGEL (1038), appositive clauses are termed **content clauses**, and are viewed as a default kind of subordinate clause as their structures lack the relativized element (be it overt or covert):

(33) They ignored the suggestion *that Kim made* ____ .

(34) They ignored the suggestion *that Kim cheated*.

In (33), *that* has a gap in the object position anaphorically linked to the antecedent, nevertheless, there is no such gap in (34), which inevitably must be interpreted as a content clause (appositive). It may be of some significance that if the verb in the subordinate clause

can be used transitively and intransitively, its use in these two constructions may lead to ambiguity, as is the case of the clause in (35), which allows the verb *advance* to yield two meanings: when transitive, its meaning is “to put st forward for discussion”, while when intransitive, the meaning is “to make progress”¹. As a result, the interpretation of the clause is dependant on the context, linguistic or situational.

(35) They rejected the idea *that we had advanced*.

According to Dušková (1999: 213), the distinction between appositive and postmodifying functions is also employed in the case of nonfinite verb forms, where the distinction relies on the semantics of the head noun: a concrete noun is followed by a postmodifying infinitive, while an abstract noun is followed by an appositive infinitive. However, both structures (the appositive clause and appositive nonfinite forms, i.e. gerunds and infinitives: their chance *to go/of going abroad was lost* [ibid:212]) are approached differently in Czech and English grammar theories. “Whereas in Czech they are classified as postmodification on the basis of the syntactic criterion (.....), English grammar relies on the semantic relation of equivalence between the two units and disregards the form of realization. Although apposition is primarily defined as a relation between noun phrases, its semantic characteristics – referential identity – override the form of realization.” (ibid: 212)

2.5 Typology of Relative Clauses

Within the system of relative clauses, CGEL (1244) distinguishes **nominal**, **adnominal** and **sentential relative clauses**. Nominal relative clauses are special constructions which differ from adnominal clauses in that they “contain” their antecedents. In fact, these constructions, always introduced by a *wh*-relative, represent the most complex relative construction, since it is not possible to separate them from their antecedents. (CamGEL: 1036). Sentential relative clauses refer to clausal antecedents; semantically, they are closely related to coordinate clauses. Adnominal relative clauses are the central type of relative clause. It is within these clauses that the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive is made.

(36) *What surprises me* is that they are fond of snakes and lizards. (nominal relative clause)

(37) This is the baby *which needs inoculation*. (restrictive adnominal relative clause)

¹ The definitions are derived from the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, pp. 20-21

(38) Rover, *who was barking*, frightened the children. (nonrestrictive adnominal relative clause)

(39) They are fond of snakes and lizards, *which surprises me*. (sentential relative clause)

(40) They are fond of snakes and lizards, *and that surprises me*. (compound sentence)

According to the relation of the relative construction to its matrix clause, CamGEL (1034) arranges relational types into four groups, with different results, and, consequently, with different terminology: **integrated**, **supplementary**, **cleft** (these will be dealt with later) and **fused** relatives. Integrated and supplementary relative clauses represent constructions which CGEL calls restrictive and nonrestrictive adnominal clauses, while fused relatives are nominal relative clauses in CGEL terminology. Consequently, in CamGEL, the sub-groups **restrictive** and **nonrestrictive** are not covered under any umbrella term, as they are in CGEL. Furthermore, CamGEL subjects relative clauses to a formal criterion and divides them into *wh*-relatives (integrated and supplementary), and non-*wh* relatives (cleft and fused). The most central type of the four relative constructions is integrated relatives.

Cleft clauses, included by CamGEL into the system of relative clauses for the reasons of its superficial resemblance to relative construction, are clauses which give both thematic and focal prominence to a particular element of the elementary construction: they divide the elementary construction (as in 41) into two parts, one of which is foregrounded, and the other backgrounded (42):

(41) Kim wanted Pat as treasurer.

(42) It was Kim *that wanted Pat as treasurer*. (CamGEL: 1035)

However may cleft clauses be similar in form to adnominal relative clauses, there are considerable differences, the first consists in the fact that *wh*-relatives are only rarely used in cleft clauses in comparison with *that* and the zero relative (CGEL: 1387). Another difference, perhaps more significant, is that, according to Dušková, is the function of subjective *it*, which is always referential in adnominal relative clauses and can be replaced with *this*, *that*, or even with a noun phrase according to the context. By contrast, this substitution is not possible in cleft clauses, where *it* is cataphoric, thus anticipating the main clause: in the following example, if *it* is substitutable by e.g. *Italy*, the clause is inevitably adnominal relative.²

(43) It is the country *that suits her best*.

² a further difference between the two clauses lies in the position of the main sentence stress. Cleft clauses do not carry it, while adnominal relative clauses do: the intonation centre is on the rheme

Fused relatives (or, nominal, in CGEL terminology) are always of the wh-type and the most complex of the four relative constructions as listed by CamGEL. “With the others we can separate a relative clause from its antecedent, but this is not possible with the fused construction.” (CamGEL: 1036)

Young (1980: 243) perceives nominal relative clauses as modifiers of the proposition of the matrix clause, and lists them among clauses which are given the collective name “conditional”. Nominal relative clauses in his view fall into the category “in-any-case” (the other categories are “nevertheless and “therefore”). Within the opposition presupposed/not presupposed, nominal relative clauses are representatives of the former type:

(44) *Whatever they say*, don't believe them. (= *given that they will say something, don't believe them in any case*)

CGEL (1119) notes two types of appositional clauses which provide alternatives to sentential relative clauses. Both types contain abstract nouns as heads of noun phrases:

(a) **resumptive clauses** repeat as the noun head a word:

(45) She expressed her belief in the economic recovery of the country, *a belief that was well founded*.

(b) **summative clauses** whose noun head is a word that summarizes the meaning of the main clause:

(46) Norman may be pretending to be sick to avoid going to school, *a possibility that we cannot ignore*.

In our study, we shall focus on adnominal relative clauses, which will be referred to as relative clauses henceforth, unless indicated otherwise.

2.6 The process of Embedding

According to Huddleston (1971: 141), “it is customary to distinguish two kinds of sentence recursion, conjoining and embedding: these correlate quite closely with the traditional notions of sentence coordination and subordination respectively. (.....) If we leave aside various types of ‘adverbial clause’ (.....), the remaining embedding processes are of three main types: relativization, comparison and complementation”. While relative clauses contain an element identical with the antecedent in the main clause, no such constraint is at force in

complementation.³ One of the typical characteristics of comparative clauses is that their underlying structures are identical (to a large extent) with those of their main clauses⁴.

Relative clauses are a result of the process of embedding. They are embedded in noun phrases, and follow a noun phrase. In Jacobs (1995: 364), **embedded clauses** are defined as dependent clauses functioning as the argument of a predicate, where the argument is “a grammatical unit such as a noun phrase or clause required by a grammatical predicate; also a semantic unit (.....) required by a semantic predicate” (ibid: 363). Jacobs (66) claims that embedded clauses have a special slot before the subject, where the complementizer or subordinator occurs. Embedded clauses are defined as dependent clauses functioning as the argument of a predicate (ibid: 364); Jacobs terms the clauses which contain embedded clauses **container clauses** or **matrix clauses**.

According to Young (1980: 40), the structural phenomenon of embedding has a more particular name of **rankshift**: “A unit of some rank has been shifted down the scale so that it is implanted below the label for its own rank (.....), moreover, this phenomenon is recursive, which means that a unit containing embedded material can itself be embedded.” The following structures printed in italics are both rankshifted clauses (clauses in Young’s conception), however, the rankshifting in (47) goes one stage further: the qualifier (the postmodifying relative clause) is a unit of higher rank than the entire structure.

(47) *Levying a tax on wealth* is a desperate measure.

(48) The food *which she had eaten* refreshed her. (ibid:238)

The following example shows three layers of embedding:

(49) She deplored the fact (*that Bill encouraged the belief (that the government had resigned)*) (ibid:41)

The structure in (50), with the rankshifted clause in italics, has been dissected into two patterns, (51) and (52), then embedded within the nominal group in (53):

(50) The person *that you spoke of* is over there.

(51) you / spoke of / somebody

(52) that / you / spoke / of

(53) The / person / that you spoke of

³ in the report that he received, the postmodifying clause is an example of relativization (relative clause), whereas the report that he received bribes illustrates complementation (appositive clause). (ibid:141).

2.7 The Adnominal Relative Clause

The term “relative clause” is self-explanatory – according to Poldauf (1955: 159), “relative” is the translation of the Latin word “relativus”, which itself is a translation of the Greek “anatorikos”. Although relative clauses are sometimes conceived as being of two types: finite and nonfinite (CamGEL, CGEL, Young, Baker, and others), for the purposes of our study, we will only examine finite relative clauses. Consequently, for the purposes of our research, relative clauses are finite constructions which are closely connected with a noun phrase in the matrix clause.

According to The Cambridge Grammar of the English Grammar (CamGEL henceforth, pp. 1036-1037), a relative clause is an embedded structure which contains an overt or covert element that relates anaphorically to its antecedent. “In relative clauses (.....) the anaphoric relation is an essential feature of the construction. What distinguishes relatives from other clauses is the specific nature of the anaphoric relation involved. (.....), the **antecedent** is the head that the clause modifies, and in all cases the anaphoric element itself has distinct properties.” CamGEL excludes *that* from the list of relative pronouns: “In *wh* relatives the overt forms *who*, *which* etc., are distinct from the anaphoric forms that are used in main clauses; (.....), in non-*wh* relatives the anaphoric element is a gap.” This essential anaphoric element is termed the **relativized element**, the presence of which in the relative clause is the feature which distinguishes relative clauses from their main clauses. The following is the case where the relativised element is the subject:

- (54) A letter drew our attention to the problem [main clause]
(55) This is the letter [*which drew our attention to the problem*] [*wh* relative]
(56) This is the letter [*that drew our attention to the problem*] [*that* relative]

The noun phrase *a letter* functions as the subject in the main clauses above, while the subjects of the relative clause in (55) is *which*; the relative pronoun is anaphorically linked to the antecedent *letter*. In (56), “the subject position is empty, but there is still an anaphoric link to the antecedent” (ibid: 1037). The meaning of (54) and (55) can be explained roughly as “This is letter *x*; *x* drew our attention to the problem.” This is an essential feature of all relative constructions.

⁴ The deep structures of *John was more subtle than Bill* are roughly *John was Degree subtle and Bill was Degree subtle*. *Degree* represents a class of modifiers, e.g. *very*, *surprisingly* etc. (ibid:141)

This conception is similar to that in transformation-generative grammar, where relative clauses are viewed as structures which are characterized by the presence in their remote structure of a relativized element that is co-referential with its antecedent. Huddleston (1971: 210) – following Chomsky – assumes that this referential identity is matched by linguistic identity in deep structure: “Thus in *John, who had overslept, was late for the meeting*, there will be two deep structure occurrences of *John*, the second of which is pronominalized – more specifically relativized – to become *who*.”

The following survey, acquired from CamGEL (1044-1046) lists the elements in the relative clause which can be relativized:

(a) **subject**

(57) The man [*who came to dinner*] turned out to be from my home town.

(b) **object**

(58) This is the letter [*that she received ___ from the Governor*].

(c) **predicative complement**

(59) Her book displays the fine sceptical intelligence of the scholar [*she is ___*].

(d) **complement of preposition**

(60) The penknife [*that he was trying to cut it with ___*] was blunt.

(d) **adjuncts and associated complements**

(61) Do you remember the day [*we met Kim at the races ___*]?

(e) **genitive subject-determiner**

(62) One cannot tailor a suit for a client [*whose measurements remain unknown*].

(f) **complement of auxiliary verb, and related constructions**

(63) He told me to design it myself, [*which I simply can't ___*].

CamGEL (1039) refers to the initial phrase in *wh*-relatives as the **relative phrase**, and makes a distinction between a simple relative phrase (*who, which* etc.) and a complex relative phrase which “consists of a relative word together with other material.” The relative clause in (64) is an example of complex relative phrase; it is *whose house*, however, *whose* – it is only the genitive determiner *whose* that derives its interpretation from the antecedent *people*. Such complex relative phrases yield pairs of different extents. In our example *whose* is linked to *people*, and the gap is linked to *whose house*;

(64) We've never met the *people* [*whose house we are renting ___*].

To account for the complexity of such relative phrases, CamGEL (1040) introduces the term **upward percolation**. Accordingly, in (64) the relative feature percolates upwards from the

genitive determiner *whose* to the noun phrase *whose house*. Seven types of upward percolation are to be classified in relative clauses; five types concern percolation from the element on the right (examples: *behind which*, *the result of which*, *prominent among which*, *to refute which*, *passing which*), two types represent percolation from the one on the left (*whose essay*, *which suggestion*).

To sum up, as Biber (1999: 281) notes, the three key components of the complex sentence with a relative clause are the head noun (the antecedent), the relativizer (the expression which introduces the relative clause), and the gap (the location of the missing constituent in the relative clause): in the diamond earrings *that Mama wore* ^, the antecedent is *earrings*, the relativizer *that* and the gap (indicated by ^) occurs in the direct object position. The underlying meaning of the relative clause is therefore that “Mama wore [the earrings].” Relativizers will be focused on in the following chapter.

2.8 Relative pronouns

According to Dušková (1988: 611), with the exception of the juxtaposed adnominal relative clauses, relative clauses are introduced by relative expressions (relative pronouns, adverbs, particles), which demonstrate clearly their subordinate relationship with the matrix clause.

The connection between “relative pronouns” and “relative words” is not as straightforward as it may seem to be; in other words, a relative word is not always a relative pronoun. For this reason, relative words are sometimes called connectors or relatives. Apparently, the relative word seen as problematic in this respect is *that*, whose status as a relative pronoun has been questioned by several linguists, who argue either for or against the pronominal character of *that*. Birenbaum (1981: 18) claims, “under the pressure of the arguments for and against the pronominal character of the connector *that*, many scholars arrive at the compromise that *that* is a relative pronoun with certain features of a conjunction.” It is interesting that, according to Birenbaum, even Jespersen, who had treated *that* as a conjunction, was later to change his opinion, indicating *that* with a joint symbol to demonstrate its characteristics of both a pronoun and a conjunction.

According to Radford (1997: 305), *that* is often regarded as a complementizer rather than a relative pronoun – firstly, for the reason that it has the vowel-reduced form; secondly, it has no possessive form; and thirdly, it can't be used as the complement of a preposition. CamGEL seems to be of a similar opinion, claiming that the relative *that* should be identified with the subordinator *that* which introduces declarative content clauses: “if *that* were a pronoun, or pro-form, its use would be much wider than that of the uncontroversial relative pronouns, or indeed of any pro-form at all in the language.(.....) It would not only cover the ground of all the simple *wh* words put together (.....); it would also appear in a variety of constructions where no *wh* word could replace it.” (ibid: 1056)

However, in our study we will leave the doubts about the theoretical status of *that* aside, and will use the umbrella term **relative pronouns** for both *wh*-relatives and *that*, together with the zero relative.

As maintained by Strang (1962: 120), “the relatives are clause-linking, pronoun-like elements relating back to an antecedent term in the utterance.” According to her, it is important to distinguish between the relative function and the relative form, since sometimes the function many have no form to express it, but is indicated by the juxtaposing of clauses without pause in the intonation pattern, which is the case of the *zero relative*. “If there is a form, it may be of of two, one variable, the other invariable. The variable has a paradigm with contrast of gender and case (not number),” which applies to the *wh*-relative. Accordingly, “human” gender has three case-variable forms: the subjective form *who*, the objective form *whom* (which Strang terms “second case”, since it “is the less favoured form and has no clear area of exclusive use”) and the genitive *whose*. By contrast, the “non-human” gender has the case-invariable form *which*. Moreover, both genders are attended to by the invariable *that*, whose existence “makes the situation more complicated.”

Relative pronouns include two series: *wh*-pronouns (*who*, *whom*, *which*, *whose*) and *that* and the zero relative (CGEL: 366). As maintained by Zandvoort (1950: pp. 160-163), relative *who* differs from interrogative *who* in being pronounced with weaker stress and lower pitch; the same applies to relative and interrogative *which*, similarly, relative *that* is also unstressed. The *wh*-series has gender contrast between personal *who* and nonpersonal *which*, and also the case contrast between *who*, *whom* and *whose*. However, *which* can have a personal antecedent if the function of the relative pronoun is that of the complement with the semantic role of characterization attribute (CGEL: 1246):

(65) He imagined himself to be an artist, *which he was not*.

As has been mentioned above, *that* differs from the *wh*-series both in not having gender marking (consequently, it is independent of the animate or inanimate character of the antecedent), and in not having an objective form (like *who/whom*), nor a genitive (thus it is not able to function as a constituent of an element in the relative clause). Interestingly, *who* is usually preferred to *that* with personal antecedents.

The distinction between *who* and *whom* depends on its role as subject of the relative clause, or as object, or as prepositional complement, where *whom* is used in the latter two functions. Nevertheless, even in those two functions it is interchangeable with *who*; it is preferred to *who* presumably only in formal English (ibid: pp.1248-1249). CGEL notes the hypercorrect use of *whom*, in such sentences as **The Ambassador, whom we hope will arrive at 10 a.m. ...* (ibid: 369). Scheurweghs (1961: 290) notes that a construction *than whom* survives in dignified style. He himself perceives this construction as a remnant of classical influence on English:

(66) He expressed thanks to her Majesty the Queen Mother, *than whom there was no better ambassador*.

Unlike *who* and *whom*, *whose* can refer both to animate and inanimate antecedents, “although there is a certain reluctance to use *whose* for nonpersonal antecedents.” However, relative clauses with *whose* referring to nonpersonal antecedents are frequently attested. To avoid the use of *whose* with inanimate antecedents, *of which* has to be used (ibid: 367):

(67) The house *whose roof was damaged has now been repaired*.

(68) The house *of which the roof/the roof of which was damaged has now been repaired*.

Relative pronouns serve two roles in the sentence structure: they refer to the antecedent, and function as an element in the relative clause (CGEL: 365). In the relative clause, relative pronouns and adverbials function as subject, object, complement and adverbial. As will be seen in the following examples, the function of the relative pronoun is one of the decisive factors in the choice of the pronoun itself, along with the distinction of antecedents into animate and inanimate, and the relation of the relative clause to its antecedent. The survey is adopted from CGEL (pp.1248-1249 [() marks zero relative]), and illustrates the various functions of relative pronouns: subject, object, complement, and adverbial (or complement in a prepositional phrase functioning as adverbial).

- (69) They are delighted with (a) the person *who/that/*()* has been appointed.
subject (b) the book *which/that/*()* has just appeared.
- (70) They are delighted with (a) the person *who(m)/that/()* we have appointed.
object (b) the book *which/that/()* she has written.
- (71) She is the perfect accountant, *which/*who/*that her predecessor was not*.
complement
- (72) This is not the type of modern house *which/*that/*()* my own is.
complement
- (73) He is the policeman *at whom the burglar fired the gun*.
adverbial *who(m) /that/()* the burglar fired the gun at.
- (74) She arrived the day *on which I was ill*.
adverbial *that/()* I was ill (on).
- (75) I make cakes the way *in which/that/()* my mother made them.
adverbial

The zero relative cannot replace the subject in a relative clause such as that in (76):

- (76) *The table *() stands in the corner has a broken leg*.

However, such examples occur in informal speech where the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun:

- (77) ?Anybody *() does that ought to be locked up*.

Constructions with the zero relative functioning as the subject in the relative clause are commoner in existential relative clauses and cleft constructions, for example (78) and (79):

- (78) There's a table *() stands in the corner*.

- (79) It's Simon *() did it*.

Jespersen (1954: 134) terms relative clauses introduced by the zero relative **contact clauses**. In his view, they represent "an after-effect of old speech-habits" from the time when pronouns were not required to the same extent as in later times." For historical reasons, the zero relative is not a relative pronoun omitted (or, deleted), as is sometimes thought.

As is apparent from the survey of the various functions of relative pronouns in the sentence structure, relative clauses can also be introduced by adverbials. Semantically, the major types

of adverbials introducing relative clauses are as follows (examples are adopted from CamGEL: 1045):

- (80) It was a *time in my life when everything seemed to be going right.* (time)
(81) I've finally found *somewhere where I can work undisturbed.* (location)
(82) They want to go to the *place where they went last year.* (goal)
(83) I shall go back the *way I came.* (path)
(84) Look at the *way he tackled the job.* (manner)
(85) That's not really the *reason she left him.* (reason)

As indicated by CGEL (1252), when the relative pronoun functions as the complement of a Preposition, there is some choice in placing a preposition which has a *wh*-pronoun as its complement, however, the same is not true of *who*, *that* and the zero relative:

- (86) the lady *towards whom the dog ran*
(87) the lady *whom the dog ran towards*
(88) the lady *who/that/() the dog ran towards*

Furthermore, CGEL explains that the choice of the relative construction depends on the relevant style; thus *wh*-pronouns with initial preposition are prevalent in formal English. "Initial prepositions are normally avoided in more informal use, where they would be felt to be stilted or pompous."

In our first probe into the system of relative clauses (Fialová: 1996), in the data used for analysis (extracted from fiction, academic writing and journalistic writing), virtually no such case was found in which a preposition occurring with a *wh*-relative was postponed. By contrast, as we found out, the same does not apply to phrasal (or, prepositional) verbs.

"A deferred preposition is more generally used with prepositional verbs:" (ibid: 1235)
(89) That's the book () *he's been looking for.*

Moreover, "prepositions with spatial relations allow a deferred preposition even when the preposition is complex:" (ibid: 1253)

- (90) This is the house () *he stood in front of.*

Only occasionally can archaic relatives be found now. They include such connectors as *but*, *as*, *than*, *whence*, *whither*, *whereat*, *whereby*, *wherein*, *wherewith*, *whereof*, *whereto* and similar compounds; moreover, in sentential relative clauses, two archaic relatives can be encountered, though rarely: *whereupon* and *as* (cf Dušková: 1988: 116). As Birenbaum (1981:

18) notes, these relatives are restricted to literary, poetic and archaic styles. The following examples are taken from a novel by Charles Dickens and Rudyard Kipling respectively, cited by Birenbaum:

(91) There was nothing in the whole collection *but was in keeping with himself*.

(92) ... Imray ... became a mystery – such a thing *as men talk over at their tables* ...

The relative *but* implies negation: “*who/which not*”:

(93) There are few of us *but regard him as their model*. (Dušková: 1988: 623)

However, archaic pronouns will not be taken into consideration in our research since they occur extremely rarely, with their use limited to high literary style.

It is interesting that, since non-finite relative clauses delete relative pronouns, there is a type of a non-finite relative clause which retains them: on the word of Kjellner (1988: 567), they are non-finite relative clauses (infinitival) with prepositions, with the exclusive use of *which*. Whenever there is no preposition, the deletion of the relative pronoun is obligatory:

(94) *That is the film *which to see*.

(95) *That is the film *which to write about*.

(96) That is the film *about which to write*.

2.9 The distribution of relative pronouns across registers

On the word of Strang (1962: 121), *that* and *wh*-pronouns are felt to be in free variation. However, “it is only recently that a painstaking frequency-survey by Randolph Quirk has shown up the complicated network of conditions operating to favour one relative or the other (the zero) in a given utterance.” The research was carried out on the material of about sixteen hours of continuous speech, ranging from unprepared talk to an unscripted broadcast discussion. The patterns emerging as dominant in spoken English do not correspond to those found in written English, though they are not rejected in a substitution test.

According to Quirk, (1957: 106), one of the most striking revelations of his research is the preponderance of *which* in the clauses classified as restrictive: “In my material there turned out to be more *wh*-clauses than *that* and zero clauses put together. (.....) Thus, if, as is reasonable to suppose, an impressionistic grammarian notices more readily features in which an actual choice exists for users of the language (.....), he will regard with some reason the

colloquial occurrence⁵ of that and zero as of great significance.” Nonrestrictive clauses showed to be predominantly introduced by *wh*-pronouns. With personal antecedents, *who* dramatically outnumbered its substitutes *that* and the zero relative. Interestingly, with relative clauses placed medially, there was a tendency to anacoluthon:

(97) anyone in this world *who cannot be moved to change their views in the light of what has been what has happened in Hungary* well it it’s a shocking commentary upon human soul

As for nonrestrictive relative clauses, only one in the sample was found to be introduced by *that*, which, in his own words, “reduces one’s confidence in the extent to which that is a genuine substitute.”⁶

In concert with Quirk, Biber (1999: 284) arrives at a similar conclusion, claiming that *wh*-pronouns are regarded more literate, whereas *that* and the zero relative have “a more colloquial flavour and are preferred in conversation.” The study of “relative pronoun choices in Biber (1999) was based on four registers: fiction, conversation, news and academic writing. The results of the study showed that the zero relative and *that* are preferred in conversation (though rare occurrence of relative clauses is typical of this domain), the same is true of fiction; however, news and academic writing are characterized by a strong preference of *wh*-relatives. The choice among relative pronouns is affected by many factors, for example, it is dependent on the character of the antecedent: *who* almost exclusively occurs after personal antecedents. News typically discusses actions of people, hence the preponderance of *who*, which seems to be the first choice to introduce a relative clause with a personal antecedent (as we have already noted above). However, as Biber points out, *that* and the zero relative freely occur with personal antecedents: “for many head nouns referring to humans, *that* is almost as common in conversation as *who*”, the same applies to the zero relative.

In his discussion about the competition among *who*, *whom* and *that*, Biber confirms that the use of *whom* is restricted to the object function in the relative clause, and *that* is preferred to *whom* in conversation, as it “avoids the formal overtones of *whom*.” The relatives *which* and *that* are distinguished from each other at the level of formality, the former being more formal, the latter having colloquial associations and therefore preferable in conversation and contemporary fiction. *Whose* with nonpersonal antecedents is common in academic prose, together with the alternative phrase *of which*. In the other registers, the possessive meaning can be expressed in other ways, for example:

⁵emphasis mine

(98) He joined a dining club *of which the motto was* ...

(99) He joined a dining club *which had the motto* ...

(100) He joined a dining club *with the motto* ...

The zero relative⁷, though found in all registers, has colloquial associations, which makes it characteristic of conversation and fiction. "In conversation, the relativizer is omitted in about half of the relative clauses that permit this option." (ibid: 289). Furthermore, it turns out that that does occur in nonrestrictive clauses, and it is usually in fiction, for the reason of a special stylistic effect:

(101) He gazed at the yellow, stained wall with all the spots which dead bugs, *that had once crawled*, had left.

According to Chambers Good English manual (1985: 124), *that* is wrongly regarded as too informal in formal contexts: wrongly so, since it is as appropriate in formal contexts as it is in a colloquial style of language. What is more, it is often preferred to *which* and *who* as it sounds more natural. On the word of Leech (1989: 410), *that* is commonly used instead of *which*, especially in speech.

Nosek's analysis (1960) of relative clauses extracted from the novel *The Contenders* by Wain yielded the following results: 1159 relative clauses were found, 710 of which were read as restrictive – in these, 298 clauses were introduced by the zero relative, 214 have *that*, 26 *which*, and 172 *who*. The analysis of G. B. Shaw's play *Geneva* showed that out of all 277 relative clauses, 168 were restrictive, within which 43 were introduced by the zero relative, 43 by *that*, 36 *which*, and 46 *who*. According to Nosek, his "investigation corroborates an earlier view that restriction is the pivotal domain within relative clauses. Within it, the contact and the *that*-clauses are nearly equally balanced, unless contact clauses occur even more frequently." (ibid: 103)

In Fialová (1996: pp. 36-37), two publications (domain: academic writing) were searched for occurrences of *that* and *which* in restrictive clauses.⁸ These two publications were of about the same length, and dealt with the same topic (a description and history of a ship). In the first publication, restrictive clauses were introduced by *which* in 48% clauses, out of the total of all restrictive clauses with nonpersonal antecedents, while *that* was found to introduce only 27%

⁶ contrary to common belief, some descriptive grammarians feel *that* is capable of introducing nonrestrictive relative clauses. We shall return to this point later.

⁷ An experiment, carried out by Hakes and Cairns (1970) proved that the zero relative makes it difficult for the listener to comprehend of complex clauses containing two or more relative clauses

⁸ We worked under the assumption that, according to prescriptive grammarians, nonrestrictive relative clauses cannot be introduced by *that*

of such clauses (the other restrictive clauses with nonpersonal antecedents were introduced by adverbials and the zero relative). Similarly, in the other book, *which* was predominant – it accounted for 89% of all restrictive clauses with nonpersonal antecedents, while *that* accounted only for 8%. These results lead us to the assumption that indeed *which* is felt to be of higher stylistic value than *that*.

3. Minor subtypes of adnominal relative clauses

There are two subtypes of relative clauses which will be excluded from our research: existential sentences with relative clauses and have-existential sentences with relative clauses. By contrast, we will take into consideration continuative clauses, which are sometimes distinguished in the system of relative clauses.

According to CGEL (1406), existential-with-relative constructions are constructions which consist of *there + be + noun phrase + relative clause*:

(1) There's something (*that*) *keeps upsetting him*.

Existential sentences with relative clauses resemble cleft sentences in their rhetorical motivation.

(2) There's nothing *I can do about it*.

According to Dušková (1999: 92), when the verb *be* is replaced by other verbs expressing existence or coming into existence (e.g. *exist, stand, lie, live*), existential-with-relatives are often found with extensive postmodification:

(3) Next door to us, at the Hermitage, there lived a lady *who had eight servants, a little dog, two horses, a carriage, a coachman and a footman*.

The research carried out by Fox and Thompson (1990) revealed that in existential-with-relative constructions relative pronouns predominantly function as subjects, where the tendency is for relative pronouns not to occur in these constructions. However, interesting examples were found with two relative clauses: the function of the first relative pronoun being that of the object, while the function of the second relative pronoun being that of the subject:

(4) There was something *we needed which was really obscure*.

(5) He claims that there's a kind of stuff *you make that has a pear in it*.

As Scheurweghs (1961: 284) notes, the zero relative can introduce relative clauses only when the subject is present in the relative clause, which is not true of existential-with-relative constructions:

(6) The next morning there was a boy *came to see me*.

(7) There's none *knows that*.

However, Kruisinga (1932: 397) claims that such a construction is naturally avoided in written English and is only permissible in informal usage. As maintained by CGEL (1407), “this omissibility is a sign of the special status within the main clause of the annex clause.”⁹

According to CGEL (1413), have existential sentences with relative clauses correspond to existential-with-relatives:

(8) I've something *I've been meaning to tell you*.

(9) ?They have a visitor *come to see them*.

Continuative relative clauses represent a subdivision under nonrestrictive clauses in Jespersen's conception. They can be placed only at the end of the whole sentence, and are exclusively introduced by *wh*-pronouns. The whole continuative relative clause can be paraphrased by *and* a respective relative pronoun. (Jespersen: 1954: 105)

(10) The mother put me towards the child, *who presently seized me by the middle*.

(> The mother put me towards the child, and it presently seized me by the middle.)

Jespersen emphasizes the presence of indicators of time in continuative clauses, e.g. *presently, immediately, then*.

According to Depraetere (1996: 699), narrative time only moves forward in main clauses, however, continuative clauses are exceptional in this respect: “this type of subclause appears to be a counterexample to the general rule that stipulates that foregrounding is restricted to main clauses.” Ehrlich defines foregrounding as “the linguistic material which charts the progress of a narrative through time, while the background is durative and descriptive material which serves to embellish and elaborate upon the foreground.” (cited in Depraetere: 701)

The time referred to in a restrictive clause may also be posterior to that expressed by the main clause:

(11) Rummaging among the remains of our provisions I found a bottle *with which I made numerous marks on the ground surrounding our tents and a few yards into the jungle, as far as I dared venture*.

However, there is a constraint on the possibility of restrictive clauses to carry foregrounded information. Inevitably, restrictive clause can represent foregrounded information only when referring to an indefinite noun phrase; if a noun phrase is definite, the time expressed by the relative clause is anterior to the one in the main clause:

⁹ the zero relative in the function of the subject can also introduce cleft clauses.

(12) Rummaging among the remains of our provisions I found the bottle *with which I made numerous marks on the ground surrounding our tents and a few yards into the jungle, as far as I dared venture.*

Nevertheless, Depraetere (ibid: 718) adds that there still are a number of restrictive clauses – referring to definite noun phrases – which contain foregrounded situations, but this mostly applies to relative clauses whose status is not unequivocally restrictive, i.e. “although the antecedent is one that typically combines with a nonrestrictive clause, this interpretation is not supported by the presence of a comma between the antecedent and the relative clause.”

(13) The table of drink bottles came down. They ended against the record player *which tottered but did not fall, releasing a confetti of gramophone discs on them.*

As maintained by Depraetere (ibid: 727), the reason why continuative clauses, unlike restrictive clauses, are more likely to carry foregrounded information is related to the semantic differences between the two types of clauses: “restrictive clauses restrict the reference of the antecedent noun by presenting modifying information in the same information unit, nonrestrictive clauses¹⁰ need not bother about this task and presuppose the speaker’s familiarity (in the broad sense) with the antecedent. Nonrestrictive clauses are free of the burden of providing restrictive information; accordingly, the relevant information about the antecedent they give is presented in a separate information unit.”

¹⁰ nonrestrictive clauses with the subclass of continuative clauses

4. Typology of adnominal relative clauses

The purpose of this chapter is to review various approaches of traditional grammarians¹¹ to the classification of adnominal relative clauses, and to present various terms and definitions of respective types of these clauses, as used by different authors.

As maintained by Nosek (1960: 85), relative clauses have been examined more frequently than any other type of dependent clauses. Relative clauses were approached from a formal point of view at first. As early as at the beginning of 20th century, Sweet classifies relative pronouns from a formal point of view, and – with the emphasis on the formal criterion – arrives together with other linguistics, notably Poutsma, Onions, and Mason, at the conclusion that the two relative clauses subtypes are **restrictive**, i.e. those introduced by *wh*-relatives and *that*, and **continuative**, i.e. those introduced by *wh*-relatives only. This view was later polemized by Van Draat, who found out that continuative clauses can also be introduced by *that* and the comma is certainly no indication of the continuative function of the relative clause.

According to Nosek (ibid: 85) a more extensive study of relative clauses was carried out by Jespersen (1954) who approached the problem from many aspects: “Along the lines of his theory of ranks, he examines their functions of sentence elements and further the operation of pronouns within their subdivisions.” (Nosek: 86). Jespersen’s study is based on the corpus of 19th century texts from “writers representative of different styles.” His distinction of relative clauses is twofold: from a formal point of view, he classifies them as **contact clauses** (without any connective), **clauses with *that***, **clauses with *who* or *which***, and **clauses with pronominal adverbs** (introduced by *when*, *where*, *as*, *but* etc.). On the basis of the semantic relation between the antecedent and the relative clause, he divides relative clauses into:

- (a) **restrictive, or defining clauses**, which provide the antecedent with a necessary determination
- (b) **nonrestrictive, or loose clauses**, which “might be discarded without serious injury to the precise understanding of the sentence as a whole.” (1954: 82).

The (b) group is further divided into **continuative clauses**, which can be paraphrased by means of *and then s/he...*

¹¹ i.e. descriptive grammarians

As Jespersen notes, there is no exact correspondence between the formal classification and the classification into restrictive and nonrestrictive: contact clauses are used exclusively in restrictive clauses, clauses with *that* chiefly in restrictive clauses, and the latter two classes are used in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. "The historical tendency is, in literary style, to favour the *wh*-clauses at the expense of the two other classes, but the position of the latter is still strong in popular usage." (ibid: 82)

Phonologic phenomena are dealt with in his work as well: Jespersen notes that there is never a pause before a contact clause, while before *that* a pause occurs only rarely; a pause is frequent before *wh*-pronouns in nonrestrictive clauses. Another very important observation is that restrictive clauses usually immediately follow their antecedents, whereas nonrestrictive clauses may stand at some distance. Furthermore, he states that a relative clause may be concatenated or interwoven with another clause, a process termed **relative concatenation** (ibid: 196). Typically, this applies to relative clauses 'discontinued' by nominal clauses with verbs such as *say, hear, fear*.

(1) a man *she soon found that it would be impossible she should ever marry*.

Jespersen introduces three terms concerning the system of relative clauses, **double restriction**, "if two relative clauses are only seemingly coordinated, while really the second restricts the antecedent as already defined by the first," as in

(2) Can you mention any one *that we know who is as talented as he?* (ibid: 86),

and **exhausted relative clauses**, or, anacoluthon: the result of the process when a relative clause "which has been begun in the ordinary way, is continued irregularly as if the power of the relative were exhausted, a personal pronoun being substituted for it," as in

(3) The lanes and alleys *which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed*, are from twelve to eighteen inches. (ibid: 105).

In their paper *Relative Clauses in Modern English* (1980), Bache and Jakobsen polemicize with Jespersen's definitions, claiming that they are not very helpful when applied to a wide range of examples. The essential problem seems to be that of in/dispensability of relative clauses from the complex sentence: "it is quite possible to find examples with a restrictive relative clause which may be deleted with no more harm done to our understanding of the sentence than if a corresponding nonrestrictive clause had been deleted:" (ibid: 247)

(4) Under the willed roughness of his manner lay a love of the East *which seemed sometimes to string him tighter than he could stand ...*

(5) Under the willed roughness of his manner lay a love of the East, *which seemed sometimes to string him tighter than he could stand, ...*

In the examples above, the difference between restrictive clause in (4) and nonrestrictive clause in (5) is slight, but recognizable, nevertheless, the deletion of the restrictive clause in (4) would cause as little harm as would the deletion of nonrestrictive clause in (5).

Moreover, "certain types of nonrestrictive relative clause provide what we consider essential information without which it is hardly possible to preserve the precise understanding of the sentence." (ibid: 247)

(6) Laurence, *who was aglow from several drinks*, spoke the obliging banality, 'I never forget a face' ...

(7) He gave the letter to the clerk, *who copied it* ...

According to Bache and Jakobsen, in (6) the relative clause explains the situation described in the linguistic context, i.e. Laurence speaking an obliging banality, and in (7), the relative clause is of the type referred to as continuative, which brings the action forward and is not, therefore, indispensable.

Another problem seems to be with Jespersen's implication that restrictive relative clauses define their antecedents, while nonrestrictive relative clauses do not. Bache and Jakobsen try to prove this point with the following two examples

(8) Dogs, *which are carnivorous*, are expensive to feed.

(9) She was careful not to step on vipers, *which are poisonous*.

As maintained by Bache and Jakobsen, the nonrestrictive relative clauses in (8) and (9) define, "in one sense of the word" an inherent property of *dogs* and *vipers*, and are used to secure a common ground between the interlocutors. (ibid: 248) Bache and Jakobsen's main concern is that it is primarily the communicative function of restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses that should be taken into consideration, alongside the formal criteria.

However, Jespersen himself admits that "the bi-partition here adopted cannot always be strictly carried through; still it is more satisfactory that the tri-partition sometimes proposed" (ed. 1954: 82).

Sørensen (1958: 125) expands Jespersen's notion of 'necessary determination' to make it more explicit, defining a restrictive relative clause as "a relative clause which together with its antecedent determines a subclass of the class determined by the antecedent), and a nonrestrictive relative clause as "a relative clause which together with its antecedent determines the same class as the antecedent." To attend to the problem of definite and indefinite noun phrase, he subclassifies structures traditionally termed restrictive relative clauses into two types: (a) clauses which are not part of a construction containing the definite article (the antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase; such clauses he calls restrictive), and (b)

clauses which are part of a construction containing the definite article (the antecedent is the definite noun phrase; these clauses are not restrictive). His view is also polemized with by Bache and Jakobsen in their paper on Relative Clauses in Modern English (pp. 249–250), who claim this is not “a viable solution” and feel that “the possibility of associating the characteristics of traditional restrictive clauses with one meaning should be further explored.”

All the same, most grammarians seem to work along the traditional bifurcation into two contradictory classes of relative clauses: on the basis of the relation of the relative clause (termed attributive in his work) to the antecedent, Kruisinga (1932: 375) distinguishes two classes of relative clauses, **restrictive** and **continuative**. Restrictive clauses serve to express a quality which differentiates the antecedent from the others of the same class. On the other hand, continuative clauses give incidental information about the antecedent “which is not subordinate to the rest of the sentence but of equal weight.” Although continuative clauses are syntactically part of a complex sentence, they have a meaning of an independent sentence. On the word of Kruisinga, this classification is not exhaustive by any means, since there are attributive (or, relative) clauses which are neither restrictive nor continuative (ibid: 377), as in:

(10) I shall ask him if the Council of Trent *that he is always appealing to*, says anything about the Catholic laity.

(11) Take your hated body, *that I love*, out of my house.

The relative clause in (10) is not independent in meaning, but rather expresses cause or reason, in (11) concession as well. Therefore, Kruisinga, together with van Draat (whose examples Kruisinga quotes to prove his point) believe that there is a third type of relative clauses, formed by clauses neither restrictive nor continuative.

Similarly, Scheurweghs (1961: pp. 271-272), whose research was based on fifteen publications published since 1945, groups relative clauses into **defining** and **non-defining** relative clauses. Defining clauses contain information which provides the antecedent with its definite connotation, whereas non-defining clauses give additional information. Non-defining clauses are separated from the antecedent by pauses, which are indicated by commas in writing. Scheurweghs notes that some non-defining clauses have the same value as coordinate sentences, stating what follows the happening referred to in the main clause (continuative clauses).

Zandvoort (1950: pp. 162) classifies relative clauses into two types: **restrictive** and **continuative** (or, **amplifying**). Restrictive clauses limit the reference of the antecedent, continuative give further relevant information about it; continuative clauses are independent,

since their contents might be expressed, though not always, by an independent clause. Zandvoort realizes that the distinction between restrictive and continuative is too absolute to fit all cases, and establishes a third category, **the semi-adverbial**. "Now there is no doubt that many attributive clauses imply a causal or other adverbial notion, but this is true of some that are clearly restrictive or continuative as well as of some that are not clearly either one or the other." (ibid: 213) Furthermore, he points out that a complex sentence with a restrictive clause contains a single statement, while a complex sentence with a continuative clause contains two statements. (ibid:163)

Young (1980) uses with different terms but similar definitions: he makes a distinction between relative clauses and adding clauses, which, in fact, represent structures which are traditionally termed restrictive and nonrestrictive respectively. The function of a relative clause (or, restrictive) is to define or restrict the antecedent, while an adding clause (or, nonrestrictive) adds something that is incidental to it. (ibid: pp. 247-248)

In Baker (1989) the two subgroups of relative clauses are traditionally termed restrictive and nonrestrictive (bound) relative clauses (clauses introduced by the zero relative are called bare relative clauses), and distinguished on the semantic basis. Restrictive clauses are "modifiers that are used to restrict a common noun phrase – that is, to create a narrower set of entities than that denoted by the common noun phrase alone." Conversely, nonrestrictive relative clauses "add independent assertions about the individual or individuals in question."

Jacobs (1995: pp. 303-327) maintains that the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive (his term is appositive) clauses is crucial for English. According to him, these two contradictory structures are characterized by seven differences. The first difference lies in the function: the major function of restrictive clauses is to identify its referents, that of nonrestrictive clauses is typically to add information about referents already thought to be sufficiently identified. The second difference is indicated by pronunciation: in restrictive clauses, which carry the rheme, the heavy stress falls on the first syllable of the rheme; while with nonrestrictive clauses, the heavy stress falls upon the first syllable of the antecedent, marking it as the end of the noun phrase. In written English, this difference is reflected in the punctuation: commas enclose nonrestrictive clauses. The fourth difference is that proper nouns can be followed only by nonrestrictive clauses. The fifth difference consists in the fact that a certain kind of restrictive clause – an intransitive clause – can be extraposed. This movement is not permitted for nonrestrictive clauses:

(12) The women arrived *who wanted to run for the Senate*.

(13)*The women arrived, *who wanted to run for the Senate*.

The restrictive clause in (12) can be extraposed, while the nonrestrictive clause in (13) cannot.

The sixth difference concerns the use of relative pronouns. While restrictive relatives allow the whole range of relative words: the zero relative, *that*, *wh*-relatives, nonrestrictive relative clauses can only be introduced by *wh*-relatives. The seventh difference is that nonrestrictive clauses can have a predicate or a whole clause as their antecedent, which is a phenomenon not possible for restrictive clauses. However, Jacob himself claims that the contrast between restrictive and nonrestrictive is not as clear-cut as it seems to be.

The representative definition of the dichotomy of relative clauses seems to be that of Quirk (1957), since other linguists often quote it and use it as a basis for their own research (e.g. Strang: 1962). Quirk works with the traditional terminology (restrictive, nonrestrictive relative clauses), claiming that "the advantages of using traditional and well-known terms wherever possible are greater than those conveyed by using a formal, more precise, but idiosyncratic terminology." (ibid: 101) While it is difficult to exercise the traditional terminology in absolutely all cases, the formal distinction is important. Stressing the formal features of relative clauses, his definition reads that "there are three features which mark off (.....) **nonrestrictive** clauses from the **restrictive** ones: these are juncture, intonation, and prominence. Restrictive clauses (...) are linked to their antecedents by close syntactic juncture, by unity of intonation contour, and by continuity of the degree of loudness. In contrast, nonrestrictive clauses are characterized by open juncture (recognized, together with the following features, by a comma in written materials), a fresh intonation contour, and a change (especially a diminution) in the degree of loudness. (.....) It is by no means universally the case that all three of these distinctions are present (the closeness or openness of the juncture seems to be especially dispensable), but it is rarely difficult on the basis of these criteria to distinguish restrictive from nonrestrictive clauses."

Quirk's and Jespersen's definitions are polemized with by Nosek (1960), who claims that while restrictive relative clauses are closely connected with their antecedents and are thus their attributes, nonrestrictive clauses are different in this respect: they are only loosely connected with their antecedents, and can even be deleted from the complex sentence. Consequently, nonrestrictive clauses do not participate in the system of elements of the sentence. Nosek reformulates the traditional opposition between restriction and description (or, 'nonrestriction') as the opposition between attributive and nonattributive determinative¹²

¹² determinative clauses are adnominal relative clauses in Nosek's terminology

clauses as an opposition participation : nonparticipation in the system of elements of the sentence. "Only those relative clauses that are syntactically best defined can participate in the elements of the sentence. Such a new syntactic feature of the restrictive relative clause must have escaped the notice of older syntacticians because they have examined the relative clause as severed from a larger sentence context." (ibid: 90)

As Nosek points out, some grammarians, notably Sweet, Erades and Poldauf, set up a further opposition class : individual on the basis that *that* clauses subsume and classify, while *wh*-clauses individualize. However, on the word of Nosek, it is not possible to superpose the opposition between classifying and individualizing clauses on the opposition between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses. Nosek claims that although some grammarians regard the opposition restrictive : nonrestrictive as artificial, there are still "unambiguous signals by means of zero relative and *that*, and the intonation-graphical and the semantic criteria, as argued by Quirk (which) positively speak for its existence." (ibid:91)

The standpoint of CGEL has already been dealt with: we said that the backbone of the division of relative clauses is their function as postmodifying constructions at the level of the noun phrase. Relative clauses are distinguished into restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses. Restrictive clauses impose a limitation on the reference of the antecedent, while nonrestrictive clauses refer to a noun phrase already adequately identified, the nature of the information they carry is additional. The whole range of relative pronouns is used to introduce restrictive relative clauses, whereas commas separate nonrestrictive relative clauses and the use of relative pronouns is limited to the *wh*-relatives. The relative clauses occurring in the medial phase between the opposition restrictive : nonrestrictive are termed **telescoped** relative clauses: "The distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive is valuable, but we should be prepared to view it as a **gradient**¹³ rather than as a dichotomy between two homogenous categories." The examples given to demonstrate the point are the following: (ibid: 1257)

(14) All this I gave up for the mother *who needed me*.

(15) This book is about a Bloomsbury *I simply don't recognize*.

In (14) *mother* is seen as having an appositional relation to a noun phrase whose head is a general noun, postmodified by a relative clause (> All this I gave up for a person *who needed me*, i.e. my mother). The same applies to the relative clause in (15); the proper noun is viewed as general (it is a place I don't recognize, but I should because I know it).

¹³ emphasis mine

In GCEL (1118), **sentential** relative clauses are claimed to be parallel to nonrestrictive clauses for the reason that they are separated by intonation or punctuation from their antecedent, which is the predicate of the main clause, or the whole clause, or even a series of sentences:

(16) They say he plays truant, *which he doesn't*.

(17) – *which is how the kangaroo came to have a pouch.*

The relative clause in (17) represents the end of a story, referring back to the whole length of the story.

The division of relative constructions in CamGEL is twofold: on the formal basis, relative constructions are classified as those that are introduced by *wh*-relatives, those that contain *that*, and those with the gap (or, zero relative) termed contact clauses. Another distinction, on the basis of relational types, yields **fused** and **supplementary** clauses (analogous to restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses respectively), which are contrasted with cleft and fused relative clauses. “Integrated relatives are so called because they are integrated into the construction containing them, both prosodically and in terms of their informational content. The prototypical integrated relative serves to restrict the denotation of the head nominal it modifies.” A supplementary relative clause, on the other hand, “adds extra information about the antecedent, information not fully integrated into the structure of the containing clause and not needed to delimit the sent denoted by the antecedent.” The information is separate from the main clause; accordingly, supplementary clauses are marked off prosodically or by a comma from the rest of the sentence (ibid: pp. 1034 – 1036)

Another difference between integrated and supplementary clauses also consists in the fact that supplementary relative clauses allow a wider range of antecedents: not only a noun phrase, but also a predicate, a whole clause and “a piece of text syntactically unconnected to the relative, as when lecturer finishes one topic and then moves on to the next with the supplementary relative *Which brings me to my next point.*” (ibid: 1036). Integrated relatives normally do not follow proper nouns unless preceded by determiner: (ibid: 1060)

(18) She is obviously not the Sue Jones *they are looking for.*

Moreover, there are differences with respect to the formal types: only *wh*-relatives occur freely in the supplementary clauses. “Supplementary relatives with *that* are found, (.....), but are comparatively rare and of questionable acceptability for many speakers.” (ibid: 1059)

Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the difference between the CGEL approach and the one of CGEL:
CGEL

Relative clauses	Adnominal	Restrictive Telescoped Nonrestrictive
	Nominal	
	Sentential	

CamGEL

Relative clauses	Formal types	<i>Wh</i> -relatives
		Non- <i>wh</i> relatives
Relative clauses	Relational types	Integrated Supplementary Cleft Fused

The treatment relative clauses in Czech grammar theory is at least comparable. MČS (524) says that clausal determination is either restrictive (expressed by restrictive clauses, which determine the antecedent), or nonrestrictive ('characterizing' relative clauses characterize, do not determine, the antecedent with additional information). Furthermore, MČS (525) distinguishes 'relative clauses proper' and 'relative pseudo-clauses'¹⁴ (these clauses are relative in character, but independent). An example of a relative pseudo-clause:

(18) Z druhé strany přiběhl pes který zaštěkal.

(a word-for-word translation renders *From the other side ran up a dog, which barked; the meaning is that first the dog ran up, and then it gave a bark)

According to MČS, the clause *which barked* is indeed relative, but not subordinate, as it is not included into the propositions expressed by superordinate clauses. Apparently, these relative pseudo-clauses in the MČS theory are continuative clauses in Jespersen's conception.

In conclusion, in traditional grammar, relative clauses are regarded as two contradictory categories, distinguished on the basis of the following criteria: formal (the use of pronouns, intonation in speech, punctuation in writing), semantic (the different relations of the relative clause to its antecedent) and syntactic (here we will employ Jespersen's idea of the

¹⁴ pravé věty vztažné a nepravé věty vztažné

in/dispensability of relative clauses). When subjected to these criteria, relative clauses perform within two types: **restrictive** and **nonrestrictive** clauses.

From the overview provided in the present chapter, we have come to the conclusion that **restrictive** relative clauses are clauses which denote a limitation on the reference of their antecedents. They play an important part in the clause containing it, therefore cannot be deleted from the complex sentence. Restrictive clauses are closely connected with their antecedent prosodically, which is reflected by the use of a comma in writing. They are introduced by *that*, *wh*-relatives and the zero relative.

Nonrestrictive relative clauses are clauses which provide the antecedent with incidental information, while describing, or characterizing it. The use of relative pronoun is restricted to *wh*-pronouns. They are marked off prosodically from the main clause in speech, which is reflected by a comma in writing. We are of the opinion that as they present parenthetical comments, they should be dispensable from the complex sentence.

Within the latter category, we believe two subclasses should be established: **sentential** relative clauses and **continuative** relative clauses, since both structures meet all the three criteria: they refer to an antecedent as such, providing it with incidental information, the use of relative pronouns is limited to *wh*-relatives; moreover, they are separated from the main clause by a pause in speech, and a comma in writing. Moreover, both structures should be deletable.

Most grammarians have misgivings about the traditional dichotomy, realizing that it cannot account for a large number of 'indeterminate' relative clauses. Some believe a medial category should be set up between the two types of relative clauses. CGEL claims the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive should be viewed as gradient. In our study, we will examine relative clauses to see whether it is always possible to be unequivocally interpreted as restrictive or nonrestrictive, or if there is a medial, or transitory, stage between the two categories.

5. The treatment of relative clauses in transformation generative grammar

This chapter provides a short excursion into the treatment of relative clauses in transformation generative grammar (TG henceforth), as we believe that TG theory offers many interesting and important observations concerning the topic of our research.

We will follow the example of Strang (1962: 200) in that “we must look at English not only to see how deep structure shapes surface structure, but also to see how one surface structure shapes another surface structure, thus revolutionising the relationship between surface and deep structure.”

As maintained by Smith (1964: 37), most noun modifiers can be accounted for in generative grammar by three transformational rules: the first adjoins a sentence to a noun as a relative clause, the other two yield postnominal and pronominal modifiers by deletion and order change operations respectively. These embedding rules are applied “to a given sentence, and adjoin that sentence to a noun phrase as modifier.” However, not every noun phrase can accept a relative clause, therefore certain constraints have been set up on the application of the embedding rules. She claims (*ibid*: 39) that one sentence may be embedded to another as a relative clause if the two sentences share a noun phrase. The relative transformation adjoins a sentence to a marker as a relative clause. Before it is adjoined to a nounphrase, the marker is moved to postnominal position; to accommodate for this change, the relative transformation is written in two parts: “the first part of T-relative (the relative transformation) is applied to the shared nounphrase in the containing sentence, and affects only the relative marker(s)”, shifting the marker beyond the noun and changing the structure of the noun phrase, as it moves the marker(s) from the determiner to the noun phrase node of the descriptive tree. The second part of the transformation adjoins the relative clause to the appropriate markers.

Smith feels that determiners are the decisive elements in the acceptance of the relative clause. She distinguishes three classes of determiners:

- (a) unique: those accepting only nonrestrictive (or, appositive in her terminology) relatives
- (b) specified: those accepting both nonrestrictive and restrictive relatives
- (c) unspecified: those accepting only restrictive relatives

According to her, these classes correspond to the classification of determiners into definite and indefinite: definite determiners are associated with nonrestrictive clauses and indefinite

ones with restrictive clauses. Her assumption has been extensively polemized with, notably by Ryden, Werth and others. We will turn to this point later, in chapter

Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968: pp. 211-212) note important transformations which apply to relative clauses:

- (a) relative clause deletion – yields structures such as *problems you raise*
- (b) relative clause reduction – results are structures such as *those people leaving now*
- (c) adjectival verb phrase shift or adjective transformation – relates structures like *plays which are controversial* to *controversial plays*
- (d) time-place deletion – reduces relative clauses like *at the time when you came home* to *when you came home*

Robbins (1968: pp. 84-87) claims that since in the derivation of relative clauses, *wh*-transformations participate, “it is useful to extract *wh*- from these words as morpheme of sentence-combining type.” Thus, in *A boy who knocked at our door was selling firewood*, the morpheme *-o* pronominalizes the subject *boy* in *A boy knocked at our door*. She assumes that when classifying relative clauses into the two types (restrictive and descriptive, in her terminology), the presence or the absence of a comma is a reliable indicator of the distinction.

According to Huddleston (1971: 210), - who in his assumption follows Chomsky - relative clauses are characterized by the presence in their remote structure of an element (which is termed the relativized element) which is co-referential with a preceding element (termed the antecedent). This referential identity is matched by linguistic identity in deep structure. In the following example, the antecedent *John* will occur twice in the deep structure, with the second occurrence being relativized (or, pronominalized) by *who*:

- (1) John, *who had overslept*, was late for the meeting.

In restrictive clauses, the relativized noun phrase and its antecedent are both dominated in remote structure by a larger noun phrase (‘matrix noun phrase’), thus in (2), the matrix noun phrase is *a person who has gone through repeated bout of gaining weight and reducing*:

- (2) Similar streaks appear on the body of a person *who has gone through repeated bout of gaining weight and reducing*.

However, in nonrestrictive clauses, the situation is different. The antecedent and the relative clauses do not jointly form a constituent in remote structure. Huddleston claims that nonrestrictive clauses “probably derive from underlying coordinate construction; if so, the relativization rule will be obligatory for restrictives, and optional for nonrestrictiveness.”

In his paper on nonrestrictive relatives (1974), Werth explores the semantic processes of nonrestrictive relativization, and its implications. He believes that the syntactic processes involved in relativization are “fairly superficial”, and claims that with relativization explained in terms of syntactic processes “we are left with no idea how the distinction (between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses) is to be drawn, nor what the content of these dummy symbols¹⁵ can be.” (ibid: 34). His research reveals that surprisingly many nonrestrictive clauses do not add further information about the antecedent, since they relate “the matrix proposition to its context, by means of expressions of causation/reason, concession, temporal sequence and perhaps others. (.....) Thus NR can never be anything other than declarative.” (ibid: pp 39-44).

(3) Even Sam, *who has an I.Q. of 13½*, can tell a grommet flange from a rebate overhang.

(4) Sam *has I.Q. of 13½* and even he can tell a grommet flange from a rebate overhang.
(coordinate construction)

(5) Even Sam, *although he has an I.Q. of 13½*, can tell a grommet flange from a rebate overhang.

(nonrestrictive clause paraphrased as adverbial clause)

It has already been mentioned that TG grammarians, notably Chomsky, Smith, Langendoen, Bach, Jacobs and Rosenbaum, accept the binary classification of relative clauses in its strictest form (Lucas: 1974: 83). According to Lucas (pp. 100-101), traditional grammarians operate under the assumption that relative clauses form a class, which is subdivided into two types, restrictive and nonrestrictive. TG grammarians look upon relative clauses as constructions different from how they are perceived by traditional grammarians: although they may have identical internal surface structures, restrictive clauses derive from a sentence embedded within a noun phrase, while nonrestrictive clauses derive from a sentence in apposition to a noun phrase (some TG grammarians term nonrestrictives appositive clauses). Lucas maintains that both approaches are not satisfactory, but the traditional one draws closer to the truth. The problem with the traditional approach is that of the notion ‘class’. In Lucas’ view, the term ‘relative clause’ is not a class name, but a label that can be attached to a structural type. As for TG approach to relative clauses, Lucas “views with suspicion” its attempt to place tight and loose clauses in two separate classes, overlooking the problem of “the grey zone”. Lucas (ibid: 88) uses terms **tight** and **loose** relatives to reflect the intonational basis of the distinction. A tight relative is a clause which is in the same

¹⁵ symbols proposed by Smith, later by Katz, Postal, Chomsky, e.g. Smith: A, R (which “conceal more than

intonation group as its antecedent, a loose relative is a clause which comprises an intonation group of its own; this phonologic criterion reflects "the difference in the quality of the connexion of these clauses with their antecedents: tight relatives are connected syntactically, and loose clauses anaphorically, to their antecedents (ibid: 117).

Lucas (ibid: 102) discusses Chomsky's assumption that "restrictive relatives belong to the determiner system", claiming that this statement is "so vague that there is bound to be some truth in it", indeed, Chomsky's statement is "one quarter justified" by Lucas' research: some of the tight relative clauses do belong to the determiner system, however, not as determiners, but as constituents of determiners. Lucas subclasses tight clauses (or, nominal constituent clauses) into determinative constituent clauses, which are clauses occurring as constituents of CL nominal groups (CL = cataphoric-linked nominals):

(6) (situation: several tinkers) The tinker *that wanted to cut his toenails stole a pair of scissors*.

Lucas (ibid: pp. 111-117) arrives at the conclusion that loose relatives should be treated as independent sentences, moving the questions whether they function as adverbs or adjectives out of the syntactic level into the level of discourse grammar. Furthermore, Lucas claims that it is not necessary to establish a subclass of 'continuous' (or, continuative) clauses, as they simply represent one of the uses of loose relative clauses as a stylistic device for continuing the narrative.

Lucas' treatment of indeterminate relative clauses is of great value: he claims that there are a number of clauses which cannot be termed with confidence as tight or loose, since the punctuation fails to give a reliable indication. However, cases of wrong punctuation must be distinguished from the class of indeterminate clauses. Indeterminate relative clauses group under two types:

- (a) those that occur after P-nominals¹⁶, where the decision as to whether the clause is loose or tight is not important
- (b) those that occur after L-nominals,¹⁷ where the choice between the interpretation of the clause as either loose and tight depends on the reader, because the relationship between the clause and the antecedent is left unmarked, which causes ambiguity.

reveal"), or Katy-Postal-Chomsky 'Q', 'Imp' etc. (ibid: 34)

¹⁶ p- nominals are partitive nominals, i.e. those occurring with the indefinite article and some (both /s^ m/ and /sØm/)

¹⁷ L-nominals, or linked nominals, occur with only one type of clause in a given context, 'linked' because those occurring with loose clauses are linked by *the, that* or *those* to the context, and those with tight clauses are linked by the same elements in conjunction with relative pronouns to the tight clause.

Example of (a):

(7) Elizabeth first became involved in politics through a cousin *who introduced her to the CND movement* ...

According to Lucas (113), it is not important to read the relative clause in (7) as tight or loose, since either makes no significant difference to our interpretation.: "When a writer cannot either make up his mind about whether to give the new information in one unit or two, or decides not to make the choice or enforce in on the reader, we have an occurrence of an indeterminate relative clause."

Example of (b):

(8) ... he added aside to the young man (,) *who helped him to whisky*.

The status of the relative clause above is unclear, since it is not known what elements constitute the determiner: does the linguistic or situational context supply full determination, or is the relative clause a constituent of the determiner? In other words, is there another young man in the room? If yes, the relative clause should be interpreted as tight, if no, it is loose.

Similarly, Lyttle (1974) tests the validity of the TG account of relative clauses. He notes that the three basic operations of junction are adjunction, conjunction¹⁸ First of all, he contradicts the general opinion that it is not possible to generate subordinate constituents by adjoining them to their antecedents, and claims that modern theoreticians failed to realize that the traditional concept of subordination is distinct from the other types of junction. Lyttle rewrites the rule $NP \rightarrow NP S$ (which implies a relative clause, the S, is merely adjoined to an antecedent, NP), arriving at the formula $NP \text{ subjoin } NP \text{ of } S$ (which entails that the latter NP is not an adjunct of the former NP, but is subjoined to it).

Furthermore, Lyttle examines the restrictive/nonrestrictive dichotomy, working with two relative clauses borrowed from Jacobs and Rosenbaum:¹⁹

(9) Professors *who enjoy poetry* are idealistic.

(10) Professors, *who enjoy poetry*, are idealistic.

He proposes that the correct rendition of the restrictive clause in (9) is *some professors are idealistic*, while the nonrestrictive one in (10) is *all professors are idealistic*, and concludes, "the posture of a relative clause is not DETERMINATIVE of the status of reference, but only REFLECTIVE of it." (ibid: 47)

¹⁸ Adjunction is primarily the relationship between the subject and the predicate, e.g. in *the cat scratched me*, *the cat* is adjoined to *scratched me*; conjunction joins constituents at the same structural level, e.g. *the dog and the cat* is a noun phrase consisting of two conjoined noun phrases. (ibid: pp. 22-23)

Further on, Lyttle postulates the existence of the 'universe' (marked with the symbol U) of all potential referents of a lexeme. This universe embraces both actualized referents (r) and unactualized but potential referents (r'). To describe the structure of reference, Lyttle introduces the following formula: $r + r' = U$.

According to Bache and Jakobsen (1980: pp. 250-253), Lyttle's theory represent a vast improvement over previous theories, for the reason that it manages to handle antecedents realized by both singular and plural constructions with the definite article. They maintain that his view is "particularly refreshing since it turns the traditional question of the *effect* of a relative clause on an antecedent upside down. Since he feels no obligation to consider the class relation between the collocation of an antecedent and a restrictive relative clause on the one hand and the 'antecedent' without the relative clause on the other, Lyttle is able to revive the class/subclass theory in an interesting way. (.....) The novelty of this approach lies in the greater attention paid to what is *not* referred to by a particular construction."

¹⁹ Jakobs and Rosenbaum: 1968: pp. 259-260

6. The Criteria Employed in the Distinction of Adnominal Relative Clauses

In chapter 4 we have seen that there are a number of different criteria which are exercised in the formation of relative clauses. These criteria include formal, phonologic, semantic, and syntactic factors. We believe these four criteria are the most important and the most utilized factors inducing the speaker to construct the relative clause as either restrictive or nonrestrictive. The present chapter examines these criteria in more detail, discussing the possibility of their violation.

6.1 The Formal Criterion

In our conception, the formal criterion governs the use of relative pronouns in relative clauses, and punctuation. As regards the latter, the use of a comma is regarded to reflect the phonological distinction (the pause between the main clause and the relative clause), however, since our research is restricted to the domain of written English, we include the use of a comma in the formal criterion.

In linguistic literature, formal criteria seem to be as straightforward: the whole range of relative pronouns is used to introduce restrictive relative clauses, with no comma, whereas nonrestrictive relative clauses are separated by commas, and *that* and the zero relative are avoided. According to van Draat (1919: 47), there are few subjects on which linguists are more in accordance than on the use of relative pronouns and the comma.

However, many linguists have proven that the formal criterion is not as valid as is sometimes thought, particularly by prescriptive grammarians. Van Draat's research encouraged him to claim that the utilization of relative pronouns and commas by no means reflect the state in modern English. He encountered a number of continuative (also nonrestrictive) clauses introduced by *that*, which – he feels – would be called archaisms by older grammarians: (ibid: pp. 48-49)

(1) I cursed the deformity *that I now began to consider a signal mark of the injustice of Providence.*

Van Draat maintains that the relative clause in (1) is “so clearly continuative that the absence of the comma does not prove anything to the contrary. The writers only omitted the comma from force of habit: because in the days when *that* was restrictive it had no comma

before it,” and concludes that the punctuation and the exclusive use of wh-pronouns is no longer a reliable indication of the nonrestrictive relationship.

Moreover, with the help of plentiful examples, van Draat (ibid: 51) contradicts the assumption that *that* is in a close relationship with its antecedent, and consequently cannot be separated from it:

(2) It seemed as if he remembered everything without exception, so it were in anything like the shape of verse, *that he had ever read*.

(3) And a gloom fell upon the boy, *that was quite unmistakable*.

Similarly, Jespersen’s investigation (in Jespersen: 1954) of 19th century literature yields a few cases with nonrestrictive *that*.

However, as the material used for both Jespersen’s and van Draat’s analysis boasts representative novels dating back to the 19th century, we are not certain if the outcomes of the research are relevant for the situation in present-day English, and, what is more, for other registers. In addition, some grammarians view the use of *that* in nonrestrictive clauses as still existent, but only an archaism.

However, grammarians analysing novels written in the 20th century arrive at a similar conclusion. Scheurweghs (1961: pp. 279-282), who extracted novels and newspapers published since 1945, points out that *that* is often supposed to imply that the clause is restrictive, but it is in “more general use than strict grammarians may believe or want to admit.” He introduces several examples to demonstrate that such a supposition is inevitably wrong, since it is frequently found in nonrestrictive clauses:

(4) This came from a popular prose romance called *Rosalynde that Tom Lodge had written when on a voyage in the 80’s*.

(5) I hate my untrusting mind, *that set Parkis on the watch*.

The use of *that* in the relative clauses in (4) and (5) are particularly significant, since it renders clauses restrictive in form, yet the antecedents are exceptional: the antecedent of the former clause is a proper noun (normally proper nouns permit nonrestrictive modification only), and the antecedent in the latter clause is a noun with unique reference (which too should normally allow nonrestrictive modification only). Moreover, in (5), a clear break is present between the main clause and the relative clause.

Another descriptive grammarian, Jacobsson (1963) examined present-day usage of *that* in nonrestrictive clauses in modern prose. He found a number of instances of *that* in nonrestrictive clauses (these instances are often quoted by other grammarians), for example:

(6) In bilious horror *that filled a lurching, sea-sick world with the sound of muffled drums*, I remembered in a dizzy acceptance of defeat the night before.

(7) The fair boy stopped and jerked his stockings with an automatic gesture *that made the jungle seem for a moment like the Home Counties*.

Jacobsson argues that the two relative clauses above both present additional information; although the information may be regarded as so important that the complex sentence would not be complete without it, the relative clauses are not restrictive. Jacobsson deduces that *that* is fairly rare when the antecedent of the nonrestrictive clause is personal, while when the antecedent is nonpersonal, "*that* is used with greater freedom and sometimes bear a close resemblance to parenthetical clauses." (ibid: 414)

According to Jacobsson (ibid: 416), although this use of *that* "was declared obsolescent long ago, there are no signs as yet of its becoming extinct. If it is moribund, as so many have declared it to be, then it may truly be said to have been an unconscionable time a-dying."

As stated by CGEL (1259), "a nonrestrictive interpretation is occasionally introduced by *that* when a premodifier or determiner would make a restrictive clause absurd, but when which, on the other hand, might imply too parenthetical a relation:"

(8) I looked at Mary's sad face, *that I had once so passionately loved*.

Usually the addresser has confused what he has wanted to say, as in the following sentence extracted from "a serious article:" (ibid)

(9) One of the most important recent developments in neutral hydrogen studies of our Galaxy has been the discovery of high velocities in the centre and in regions away from the plane, *that I have mentioned*.

In Biber (1999), the analysis based on four registers (see chapter 2.9) shows that *that* is decidedly rare in nonrestrictive clauses, however, when it "does introduce a non-restrictive clause, it often occurs in a series of postmodifiers and is used for special stylistic effect (especially in fiction):"

(10) He gazed at the yellow, stained wall with all the spots *which dead bugs, that had once crawled, had left*.

The examples above demonstrate that, though rarely, it is possible for a nonrestrictive *that* clause to be separated by a comma from its main clause; on the other hand, nonrestrictive *wh*-clauses not separated by a comma are decidedly easy to find. As Huddleston (1971: 212) maintains, in written English, "punctuation provides a much less reliable guide than is often supposed. (...) contrary to the prescriptions of normative grammarians, many nonrestrictive relatives are not preceded by a comma," for example:

(11) Both samples came from the same ingot *which was not intentionally doped*. (register: academic writing)

The examples of nonrestrictive clauses wrongly punctuated are indeed plentiful. The following are taken from Fialová (pp. 33-34):

(12) The call was from his wife Caroline *who was pregnant*. (register: journalistic writing)

(13) In 1513, Sir Edward Howard *who used the ship as his flagship during the French campaign* wrote a letter to the king. (register: fiction)

Though rare, examples of nonrestrictive relative clauses introduced by the zero relative were attested as well:

(14) Lorelei's dress fell from the smooth shoulders *she had asked me to touch*. (register: fiction)

(15) She crept with her carrier bags from the bedroom she shares with her grandmother to the blackyard shed, to hide them behind a jumble of old floorboards *her father intends to make an old frame out of*. (register: fiction)

The relative clauses in (14) and (15) should be read as inevitably nonrestrictive: the identity of the antecedent in (14) is clear, therefore the information in the relative clause can be additional only; the relative clause in (15) does not really define its antecedent, it provides it with incidental information.

In Šímová (2006: 73), an attempt to examine relative clauses in several ESL textbooks (which are prescriptive in nature) yielded the following results: 25% of all nonrestrictive clauses found, violated the formal criteria (were introduced by *that*, or separated by a comma, or both).

The review offered in this chapter clearly demonstrates that the formal criterion is hardly reliable, which is especially true of the use of a comma; however, it also applies to the use of relative pronouns. Though we cannot claim that *that* and the zero relative occur freely in nonrestrictive clauses, such occurrences are not rare.

6.2 The Phonological Criterion

The difference between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses is marked phonologically in spoken English. In chapter 4 we quoted Quirk's representative definition of the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses, based on prosodic features. The definition states that restrictive clauses are linked to their antecedents by close syntactic juncture, by unity of intonation contour, and by continuity of the degree of

loudness. Nonrestrictive clauses are characterized by open juncture, a fresh intonation contour, and a change in the degree of loudness.

Further on, Quirk claims "it is by no means universally the case that all three of these distinctions are present (closeness or openness of the juncture seems to be especially dispensable), but it is rarely difficult on the basis of these criteria to distinguish restrictive from nonrestrictive clauses." (Quirk: 1957: 101).

In linguistic literature, the phonological criterion is regarded as an undeniably decisive factor in the dichotomy of relative clauses. Grammarians assert that in speech the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses is clearly signalled by pitch and juncture. Accordingly, e.g. Jespersen (1924: 112) argues nonrestrictive clauses begin on a deeper tone than restrictive clauses, besides, unlike the former type, the latter type is never separated from the main clause by a pause. According to Fries (quoted by Jakobsson: 1963: 410), restrictiveness is identified with no change of pitch level between the antecedent and the pronoun, and nonrestrictiveness is recognized with a change of pitch level with a possible pause.

Halliday (1967: pp. 20-21) maintains that restrictive relative clauses (relative clauses in his terminology) do not represent a separate tone group, while nonrestrictive (adding) do, which is "merely consistent with neutral tonality: relative clauses, are rankshifted and do not operate in sentence structure, whereas adding clauses are not rankshifted and therefore do enter into sentence structure:"

restrictive clause:

(16) // if you've got / something that / grows / rapidly it / kills off the / other thing /

nonrestrictive clause:

(17) // I'm / marking a / thousand ... // ^ of which / three are from/ home centres and ... //²⁰

Correspondingly, Bache and Jakobsen (1980: 244), who proceed along the same line of reasoning, state that nonrestrictive clauses are normally realized as independent tone units and restrictive relative clauses from one tone unit with their antecedents unless the clause is too long. Young (1980: 249) verifies Bache and Jakobsen's statement: "adding clauses are always informationally divided from their antecedent. There has to be a new tone group for the adding clause." Nonrestrictive clauses are also set off intonationally, by a falling "end intonation on the words preceding it (ibid: 272). In other words, restrictive clauses form

²⁰ // marks tone group boundary, / is foot boundary, ____ tonic syllable, ^ silent ictus, and ... a pause

together with their antecedents one intonation unit (without a pause and intonation), and nonrestrictive clauses represent an independent intonation unit.

As claimed by Depraetere (1994: 434), the fact that restrictive clauses form one information unit with their antecedents, where nonrestrictive clauses compose a separate information group, is the most important factor influencing the choice between the restrictive and nonrestrictive clause. This stipulation goes hand in hand with prosody: restrictive clauses constitute one information unit on the semantic level, and one tone unit, on the phonologic level; nonrestrictive clauses in turn form an independent information unit, while representing a separate tone unit.

Jacobsson (1963: pp. 410-413) says that the best treatment of the phonological criterion is to be found in Hill²¹, who carried out the following test (quoted by Jacobsson, p. 411):

“Informants were given a map showing a road with two crossings, one paved and the other unpaved. Two cars were represented as travelling along this road in opposite directions, car A so as to approach the unpaved crossing first, car B so as to approach the paved crossing first. After proper explanation, the informants were given a test sentence, and asked to respond by saying whether the sentence would have been appropriately addressed to A or to B. The sentence – shown here unpunctuated – was a direction, such as a bystander might have given:

Take the first crossing *which is paved*.

When the sentence was given in the form immediately following [with internal juncture], the response was unanimous: ... All informants agreed that this sentence was addressed to A, who came to the unpaved crossing first. If, however, the sentence was next given with / after *crossing* and the proper changes in pitch and stress, most informants also said that it applied to A. Next the sentence was tried with // after *crossing*. The result was confusion, informants replying A or B in a fashion approaching random. Finally, the sentence was given with fully separate superfixes [i.e. #²²]. The response to this sentence was clear – it applied to B.”

It appears that in the test the restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses each had a range of three junctures, the overlap being two junctures, / and //. The sentences were unambiguously interpreted as either restrictive or nonrestrictive only when the juncture was either internal or double cross. Ambiguity was reduced if there was a word which directed attention to a difference in meaning. Jacobsson infers from Hill's discussion of the test that a change in

²¹ Hill, A., Introduction to Linguistic Structures

²² # indicates the end of a principal tone unit

junction may or may not result in a change in meaning, and on the contrary, different meanings may be compatible with the same juncture.

Taglicht (1977) examines the system of relative clauses with regard to the semantic, syntactic and prosodic choices as applied to the binary distinction. One of the most striking facts which his study revealed is that at the level of prosody “there is no real correspondence between choice of intonation and incidence of pause. (.....), only half the embedded clauses²³ are tonally integrated in the matrix” (ibid: 97). Taglicht’s observations confirm those of Abercrombie (quoted by Taglicht, ibid: 98): “in spoken prose the pauses are closely related to the grammatical structure of the sentences, but in conversation pauses seem to play a different kind of role – they frequently come at place which, in the present state of our knowledge, are unpredictable.”

In Fox and Thompson (1990), a study into grammatical patterns of noun phrases and their relative clauses based on a corpus of natural conversations, no distinction was made between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses, as “on intonational grounds, we found no clear cases of nonrestrictive relative clauses in our conversational data, and several cases which were indeterminate; it therefore seemed appropriate to refrain from making the distinction for this project.”²⁴ Regrettably, this interesting assertion is not developed any further in the paper.

However, as there is no much evidence to claim that the phonologic criterion is not valid, the assumption of renowned linguists that the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses is marked phonologically leads us to accept it as true. As has already been mentioned, we will leave the phonological criterion aside, for the reason that this study is not written in phonological terms, and is restricted to the domain of written English.

6.3 The Semantic Criterion

The semantic criterion has already been touched upon in chapter 4, where we overviewed the traditional typology of adnominal relative clauses, together with various definitions as indicated by renowned linguists. We noted that some of the definitions have been polemized with, e.g. Bache and Jakobsen argued with Jespersen’s explanations of restrictive and

²³ Taglicht uses the terms ‘embedded’ and ‘appositive’ to correspond to ‘restrictive’ and ‘nonrestrictive’ at the level of syntax.

nonrestrictive clauses, claiming that restrictive clauses do not always define their antecedents, and nonrestrictive clauses do not always carry incidental information in the best sense of the word.

However, the opposition between restrictiveness and nonrestrictiveness indeed seems to correspond to the opposition between restricting information and adding extra (but relevant) information.

As we have already seen (chapters 4 and 6.2), this line of reasoning seems to be followed by most linguists, e.g. Jacobs (1995: 310) affirms that the difference between restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses is realized through the number of information units: "if we think of constructions as units of information, then a head noun and its restrictive modifier form a single information unit, while a noun phrase followed by an appositive²⁵ form two distinct information units."

Baker (1989: 273) introduces the notion of **news content**, the meaning of which is illustrated by the following two instances:

(18) Yesterday John saw an animal *which resembled his great uncle Fred*.

(19) Yesterday John saw an animal, *which resembled his great uncle Fred*.

Baker considers the situations in (18) and (19) as seemingly indistinguishable, but with a significant difference. The former comprises one information unit (made of the relative clause and the antecedent); the latter expresses two separate information units. The complex sentence in (19) is slightly odd, since *John's seeing an animal* would not really be **newsworthy** in most contexts. In Baker's words, "the 'news content' of seeing an animal is too slim in its own right to warrant a separate assertion."

Another set of examples to prove his point:

(20) Last night, John was introduced to a man *who had once courted his aunt*.

(21) Last night, John was introduced to a Martian, *who had once courted his aunt*.

The meaning expressed by the main clause in (20) is certainly not newsworthy, whereas the one in the main clause in (21) is. Therefore, the news content of the relative clause and its antecedent (20) is enough to permit only one information unit, while the news content of (21) warrants two.

As will have been noted, the relative clauses in (18), (19), (20), and (21) all refer to indefinite noun phrases. Baker claims, if the antecedent has been clearly identified (through the definite determination, and without the help of a relative clause), then the relative clause

²⁴ *ibid*: 297

that follows can be nonrestrictive only. However, with indefinite noun phrases, the choice between restrictive and nonrestrictive is not so clear. (ibid: 273)

According to Huddleston (1971: 214) the difference between one tone unit and two tone units is reflected at the semantic-syntactic level in terms of one information unit versus two:

(22) // I saw John yesterday //

(23) // I saw John // yesterday //²⁶

The difference between (22) and (23) consists in the fact that (22) suggest one piece of information only, while (23) conveys two. Huddleston claims that with relative clauses the difference should be the same, however, with relative clauses referring to indefinite noun phrase, it is "less pronounced."

(24) Physalia has a large elaborate float *which has been described by A.K. Totton.*

(25) Thus pontellid copepods and one or two species of decapod crustacea possess a pigment *which has been extracted and examined spectroscopically.*

Both restrictive and nonrestrictive interpretations seem to be plausible here, however, on the word of Huddleston, the relative clause in (25) is better read as restrictive, since it consists of one information unit; and the one in (24) as nonrestrictive, as it presents two information units. Huddleston adds (ibid: 213), "it is significant that grammarians almost invariably choose definite noun phrases to exemplify the contrast; with indefinite ones, the semantic difference is frequently less pronounced, and may be largely a matter of 'information structure'."

This problem has been dealt with Depraetere (1994: 438-438), who speaks of **a semantic weight of the antecedent**. The axiom she postulates is "the lighter the antecedent, the more likely a restrictive clause will be added." The concept of 'light' is understood lexically empty, thus e.g. *someone* is lighter than *man*, which is in turn lighter than *bachelor*:

(26) She married someone (*??,) *who had lived with his mother all his life.*

(27) She married a man (*?,) *who had lived with his mother all his life.*

(28) She married a bachelor (,) *who had lived with his mother all his life.*

While it is relatively possible to use a restrictive clause in (27) and (28), in (26) the only choice must be a restrictive clause. It is interesting that, as Depraetere claims, it is difficult to add a nonrestrictive clause to an empty antecedent, but the other extreme, i.e. a restrictive clause with a proper noun, is possible:

²⁵ or, nonrestrictive

²⁶ these examples are adopted from Halliday (1964: 147), quoted by Huddleston (ibid: 214)

(29) The sea makes me think of my mamma *that's dead*. (Jespersen: 1961: 101, quoted by Depraetere)

According to Depraetere, such examples lead linguists into creating an intermediate category of relative clauses, e.g. telescoped relative clauses in CGEL (1257). Depraetere is of the opinion that these clauses establish reference on their own: "they are like restrictive clauses in that the restrictive information is presented in the same information unit as the antecedent. The reference is clear, but the speaker chooses to represent the modifying information in a restrictive clause all the same, as he wishes to emphasize a particular feature of the antecedent." This stipulation is very important, since it would change the semantic definition of the restrictive clause: the definition would then read that restrictive clauses do not only define their antecedents, but they also emphasize features inherent in them. Depraetere believes that such examples are deviations from the usual patterns, still conforming to the definition of the restrictive clause in that they form one information unit with their antecedent. Is then the phonological criterion the decisive factor in distinguishing relative clauses? Regrettably, the test of the phonologic criterion is not presented her paper.

Taglicht (1977: 81) is of the opinion that with indefinite antecedents the difference in reference between restrictive and nonrestrictive constructions is not always important. It is important, nonetheless, if definite numbers are involved, as in (30) and (31):

(30) He found one apple *that was rotten*.

(31) He found one apple, *which was rotten*.

The relative clause in (30) forms together with its antecedent one information unit, while the relative clause in (31) is an independent information unit. But compare (32) with (33):

(32) There was a young lady of Dorking, *who bought a large bonnet for walking*.

(33) There was an old woman *who lived in a shoe*.

Here the choice between the two constructions seems to be semantically irrelevant. Both interpretations would apply to both relative clauses [except there is a comma in (32)].

Taglicht (1977: pp. 75-86) in his lengthy treatment of the semantic features, constructs the traditional dichotomy of restrictive and nonrestrictive as an intricate network of categories, which combine with one another, though not freely. The first among these choices is the opposition attributive : nonattributive, which relates to the antecedent. The other set of choices is between specific and non-specific, where the latter envelops all groups – other than attributive – with non-specific reference. This is followed by the opposition definite : indefinite, the former concerns antecedents constructed with a definite article, a possessive pronoun, or a determiner.

Another opposition is restrictive : nonrestrictive, where restrictive implies narrowing of reference between the antecedent and the relative clause, and nonrestrictive entails no such narrowing. Definite specific antecedents that are realized by proper names allow only the nonrestrictive construction. "With other specific definite antecedents, the restrictive clause helps to identify the referent, while the nonrestrictive clause plays no part in identifying the referent, and the relative pronoun or other relative word in it is coreferential with the antecedent group." (ibid: 81)

The next opposition exercised within the system of relative clauses is nonequative : equative: the former being associated with a tone unit boundary before the relative clause, and realized by a nonrestrictive construction. The equative construction is rare, it is represented at the syntactic level by the restrictive construction, and is not associated with a tone unit boundary.

an example of a nonequative construction:

(34) He did it for his wife, *whom he adored*.

an example of an equative construction:

(35) He did it for the wife *he adored*.

As Taglicht points out, a sentence with an equative construction can be perceived as "a conflation of two sentences, one with a nominalization corresponding to the relative clause, and one with the antecedent:" (ibid: 83)

(36) He did it for his wife.

Finally, there is an opposition primary : secondary, of which Taglicht says that the normal restrictive construction is primary, while the secondary construction involves an antecedent which is consecutively modified by two restrictive elements (the relative clause is the second), "two successive shots at the same target", in Taglicht's words.

Nevertheless, we feel this in-depth approach, though exhaustive, is too complicated to be employed in the distinction of relative clauses. Taglicht himself declares that the network is inadequate, since its basis is the relative construction, and not the noun phrase. He calls for a more complete account that would reveal all constraints on relative clauses.

From the review above, we believe that the opposition between restrictiveness and nonrestrictiveness indeed corresponds to the opposition between restricting information and adding extra (but relevant) information. However, we find the notions of 'a semantic weight of the antecedent' and 'news content' extremely useful, and will try to employ them in our research.

6.4 The syntactic criterion

This criterion presents a combination of the syntactic and semantic factors. We understand Jespersen' notions of dispensability or indispensability of the relative clause to be a syntactic feature, as it operates at the syntactic level of sentences. However, it is closely interwoven with the level of semantics. This problem was embarked upon in the preceding chapter, which dealt with the semantic criterion. We saw that restrictive clauses form one information (and intonation) unit with their antecedents, while nonrestrictive clauses convey an information (and intonation) units separate from their antecedents. This stipulation is intertwined with the abovementioned in/dispensability of relative clauses. If a relative clause is in a tight syntactic and semantic relationship with its antecedent, it is not possible for it to be deleted; on the other hand, if the syntactic and semantic bond between the clause and its antecedent is loose, the clause is definitely indispensable.

The relative clause in (37) is thus inevitably restrictive (despite the comma dividing it from the other part of the main clause):

(37) A pregnant lady *who runs*, runs the risk of losing the baby.²⁷

The relative clause above forms one information unit with its antecedent, moreover, if it is deleted, we acquire the following: *A pregnant lady runs the risk of losing the baby*, which, semantically, is a sentence devoid of all logic.

As stated by CamGEL, "the content of an integrated relative is presented as an integral part of the meaning of the clause containing it, whereas the content of a supplementary relative is presented as a separate unit of information, parenthetical or additional." (ibid: pp. 1058-1059; integrated and supplementary clauses indicate restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses respectively)

(38) They interviewed every student *who had lent money to the victim*. (restrictive)

(39) They interviewed Jill, *who had lent money to the victim*. (nonrestrictive)

According to CamGEL, the deletion of the relative clause in (38) would drastically change the meaning (the meaning of the sentence would then be that they interviewed every student, not just those who had lent money to the victim), in contrast, the sentence in (39) would retain its meaning, be the relative clause deleted or not.

Nonrestrictive clauses are not only dispensable, but they are also replaceable by clauses with non-relative anaphoric expressions:

²⁷ the example is derived from Fialová (1996)

(40) They interviewed Jill – *she had lent money to the victim.*

As maintained by CGEL (pp. 1258-1259), the nonrestrictive relationship semantically resembles coordination, with or without conjunction, or adverbial subordination:

(41) My brother, *who has lived in America since boyhood*, can still speak fluent Italian.
(nonrestrictive clause)

(42) My brother can still speak fluent Italian, *and he has lived in America since boyhood.*
(coordination)

(43) My brother can still speak Italian *although he has lived in America since boyhood.*
(adverbial subordination: concession)

Another syntactic test to attest the nonrestrictive relationship was devised by Jespersen (1954: 85): nonrestrictive clauses may be paraphrased as independent sentences with the inclusion of such phrases as *all of them*:

(44) He has four sons, *who became lawyers.*

(45) He has four sons. *All of them became lawyers.*

We feel these observations – in/dispensability of relative clauses and ‘repleceability’ of nonrestrictive clauses - are very important, and will try to utilize them in our research.

Having dealt with the four main criteria decisive in the construction of the relative clause as either restrictive or nonrestrictive, we will now attempt to employ these criteria and classify the relative clauses in the following complex clause, adopted from Quirk (1972: 126):

(46) The man *who came to the door when the policeman who lives nearby in a tumbledown house called with his faithful dog which is lame because of a car accident on account of which the driver was prosecuted for having a vehicle which had no roadworthiness certificate although he was acquitted* was drunk.

According to Quirk, this “breathless example” is definitely unacceptable although it does not contain a single feature that is grammatically dubious: it is a construction which seems to be obscure, but if closely observed, it is coherent and even simple. The main clause is *The man was drunk*, to which five relative clauses are successively embedded.

All the five relative clauses are introduced by a *wh*-relative, therefore – because of the formal criterion, regardless of punctuation – they can be interpreted as both restrictive and

nonrestrictive. The antecedents are *the man, the policeman, his faithful dog, a car accident* and *a vehicle*. The first two are premodified by the definite article. The first being semantically lighter than the other. The next antecedent is premodified by a possessive pronoun + an adjective, thus it can be regarded as semantically heavy. The other two antecedents are premodified by the indefinite article only; their reference should therefore be narrowed down by the postmodifying relative clauses.

The antecedent of the first is realized by a definite noun phrase *the man*, whose identity is narrowed by the following clause – therefore the whole relative construction should be interpreted as restrictive – hence, no comma in writing, no pause in speech before and after it (in this example, however, there is bound to be a pause and perhaps a comma as well for the sake of our understanding of the whole structure).

The same applies to the other relative clause embedded to the ‘main’ relative clause – the antecedent is a definite noun phrase *the policeman*, whose identity, we believe, is restricted by its relative clause, i.e. *who lives nearby in a tumbledown house*. Moreover, the deletion of this relative clause, which yields the following: *The man who came to the door when the policeman called with his faithful dog which is lame because ... was drunk*, would make the complex sentence even more obscure, the identity of the antecedent not being instantly recognizable.

In the second relative clause, a third relative clause (*which is lame*) is embedded, the antecedent of which is *his faithful dog*. The antecedent is premodified by a possessive pronoun and an adjective, which when put together should provide a sufficient identification of the antecedent. The possessive pronoun being the decisive element, the relative clause should be read as nonrestrictive – the consequences are commas in writing and a pause in speech.

Another relative clause is embedded in this relative clause, with the antecedent *a car accident*, the relative pronoun *on account of which* (a complex relative phrase; the case of upward percolation as indicated by CamGEL: 1039, of the type II: upward percolation from the element on the right, i.e. from the prepositional phrase complement of noun to the noun phrase). Again, providing its antecedent with extra information, and being dispensable from the sentence structure, this relative clause should be read as nonrestrictive. Nevertheless, this relative clause can be paraphrased in the following way: *... and then the driver was prosecuted ...*, where the narrative time moves forward (see Depraetere:.....), which makes the relative clause continuative, the subclass of nonrestrictive clauses.

Finally, the last relative clause in the complex sentence, this time embedded into the continuative relative clause, is *which had no roadworthiness certificate*, whose antecedent *a vehicle* is realized by a nondefinite noun phrase. We believe that the relative clause does not define the antecedent (it carries insufficient piece of information for it to be clearly and indisputably identified), nor does it carry additional information. However, if deleted, we have: ... ?*the driver was prosecuted for driving a vehicle although he was acquitted* This relative clause should be interpreted as restrictive, for the reason that its deletion is not possible. Accordingly, should we stipulate that the syntactic criterion is the most decisive one of the four aforementioned criteria? Alternatively, does the uncertainty concerning the interpretation of the relative clause stems from the occurrence of the indefinite article in the premodification of the head noun? In our research we will attempt to answer these questions.

7. The Description of the Corpus

This chapter provides descriptions of the relative clauses found in the corpus. First it makes a brief note of the complex sentences in which the relative clauses occurred (it shows one complex sentence can comprise as many as three relative clauses), at this point only hinting at the possible non/restrictive relationship. Then it explains the use of relative pronouns in the relative clauses, together with the punctuation utilized in the relative clauses. Finally, it proceeds to depict the antecedents and their premodification as found in the corpus.

7.1 Creating the Corpus

The aim of our study is to examine adnominal relative clauses regarding the possibility to be unequivocally labelled as either restrictive or nonrestrictive. The relative clauses in our corpus will be subjected to the formal, semantic, and syntactic criteria, as described above, the premodification of the antecedent will be taken into account as well, since it seems to be one of the most decisive phenomena in the construction of relative clauses.

For our purpose, we extracted twenty texts (publications and newspapers). The relative clauses found were tested as to their capacity to be classified as either restrictive or nonrestrictive. We utilized the traditional terminology of relative clauses, i.e. restrictive and nonrestrictive, continuative, sentential. Three criteria were applied to relative clauses: formal (the use of relative pronouns, the use of a comma), semantic (the function of narrowing the reference of the antecedent versus the one of supplying additional information), syntactic (can the relative clause be severed from the sentence structure without injuring the overall meaning of the sentence?); together with the premodification of the antecedent, which we believe is interwoven with the semantic factor.

Our research is based on four registers – fiction, direct speech (extracted from fiction), journalistic writing, and academic writing. Within each register, five texts were searched for occurrences of relative clauses, creating thus a body of twenty texts to be extracted for the purposes of our research. The volume of the data corpus is one thousand finite adnominal relative clauses. The same number (fifty) of finite relative clauses was taken out from each of the twenty source texts. In total, one thousand relative clauses were collected, with two hundred and fifty relative clauses for each register.

We continued the search until fifty examples of finite relative clauses were found in each text. Each occurrence of a relative clause was given a symbol indicating its origin and a number designating the order of which the sentence occurred in the particular text. As far as fiction, direct speech, and academic writing are considered, the abbreviation stands for the name of the author, while as for journalistic writing, the symbol was shortened from the title of the respective newspaper:

(1) The priest genuflected each time *he passed the central tabernacle on the altar above him*. [KO1]

The symbol KO1 indicates that the sentence was derived from the novel 'Involved' by Kate O'Riordan, and was the first to be found.

Similarly, the symbol assigned to the next example indicates that it was extracted from The Guardian newspaper, and it was found in the order as indicated by the number:

(2) Said-Ibrahim, *who has a British passport after fleeing from Eritrea*, spoke only to answers 'yes' when asked to confirm his name, address and date of birth. [Guard807]

Whenever there were more occurrences of a relative clause than one within a complex sentence, each relative clause was given its symbol, independent of the other. This also applies to clauses referring to the identical antecedent.

(3) Enterprises *which achieve effectiveness across the planning board* [BR602] have the total planning approach *which holds all the aces in the strategic success game*. [BR603]

(4) It meant that the Today organisation had missed out on the dance to capture customers *who were interested in the paper initially* [BR610] but *who lost interest after the early euphoria of the launch died away*. [BR611]

However, a relative clause with coordinated predicates was considered as one:

(5) Mr Anderson, *who trained in South Africa, and has been investigating new techniques ...* [DTel977].

The examples were extracted from twenty texts; each register was represented by five texts. The texts were chosen according to the following criteria:

- they all are examples of British English, not published before 1990
- in fiction, too poetic texts had to be excluded (e.g. the novel by Louis de Bernier' Captain Mandolin, originally used for analysis, had to be withdrawn from our research, as - though highly acclaimed by literary critique - showed multitude of sentences with relative clauses whose status would be very difficult to assign, since they are clear marks of the poetic style of the author). It shows the superfluous

imagination of renowned novelists would make it difficult for such relative clauses to be subjected to the three criteria)

- in academic writing, four texts were contrasted: two of the domain of ‘economics’, and two of the domain of ‘linguistics’.
- Suitable texts representing the register of direct speech were difficult to find, for it is typical of this register that relative clauses occur only rarely. Again, certain books, though representative of contemporary British English, had to be excluded. We included one play (The Gift of the Gordon by Peter Shaffer) into the body of the texts of direct speech register.
- Against four quality newspapers, one tabloid was compared in order to reveal possible differences in the distribution of relative pronouns.

7.2 The Source Texts

The following tables list the texts used for our research and make clear the symbols used:

Table 3 – the register of fiction

SOURCE TEXT	AUTHOR	PUBLISHED	SYMBOL
Involved	Kate O’Riordan	1995	KO (1-50)
Burning Bright	Helen Dunmore	1994	HD (51-100)
Any Human Heart	William Boyd	2002	WB (101- 150)
A Man of His Time	Alan Sillitoe	2004	AS (151-200)
The Children of Dymouth	William Trevor	1991	WT (201-250)

Table 4 – the register of direct speech

SOURCE TEXT	AUTHOR	PUBLISHED	SYMBOL
Native Rites	David Hewson	2000	DH (251-300)
The Gift of the Gordon	Peter Shaffer	1993	PS (300-350)
How to be Good	Nick Hornby	2001	NH (351-400)
Thinks ...	David Lodge	2001	DL (401-450)
Coastliners	Joanne Harris	2002	JH (451-500)

Table 5 – the register of academic writing

SOURCE TEXT	AUTHOR	PUBLISHED	SYMBOL
Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory	Arnold Bennett	1999	AB (501-550)
A Grammar of Speech	David Brazil	1995	DB (551-600)
Business Planning	Bernard Richardson	1992	BR (601-650)
Marketing	Michael Baker	1994	MB (651-700)
Vague Language	Joanna Channel	1994	JC (701-750)

Table 6 – the register of journalist writing

TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PUBLISHED	SYMBOL
The Sun	7 September 1993	Sun (751-800)
The Guardian	9 August 2005	Guard (801-850)
The Independent	15 February 1995	Ind (851-900)
Weekly Telegraph	7 December 2004	WTel (901-950)
Daily Telegraph	27 December 2004	DTel

7.3 Criteria for the excerption

Only finite relative clauses (i.e. those comprising the predicate realized by a finite verb) were taken into account, reduced relative clauses were excluded from our research, as well as existential-with-relative clauses, cleft sentences, summative or resumptive constructions. Relative clauses were recognized by the presence of a relative pronoun (which can be null as well) and an antecedent in the main clause. Moreover, only relative clauses referring to an antecedent occurring in a finite clause were treated, therefore relative clauses similar to the following were excluded:

the antecedent is not an element of a finite clause:

(6) The state *Miles was in* I doubt he even remembers much about it anyway. [DH:49]

cleft sentences:

(7) It is this type of variation *which is the central interest of this book*. [JC:4]

existential-with relative:

(8) There's a path *runs from the top horn of the White Horse*. [DH:71]

summative construction:

(9) He was a boy who was given to making jokes, a habit *that caused him sometimes to seem eccentric*. [WT:13]

However, relative clauses realized by the existential construction were taken into account:

(10) She knows absolutely everything *there is to know about colour in scientific terms* [DL436].

It is important to note here that also relative clauses separated from their antecedents by a period were considered as if incorporated into the preceding sentence, the tie being the antecedent:

(11) We have the feast of the Archangel Michael. *Who was a pretty fearsome chap in his own right*, but that's another story [DH256].

7.4 Multiple sentences in the corpus

In the corpus, there occur a number of multiple sentences comprising more than one relative clause. These relative clauses either refer to different antecedent within the sentence structure, or they may refer to the same antecedent, or, alternatively, refer to antecedents identical in form, but different in meaning (this difference is realized through the particular relative clauses).

In fiction, we found 26 multiple sentences which contain more than one relative clause, out of which three complex sentences comprised more than two relative clauses. Accordingly, 22% of the relative clauses found in fiction are embedded into complex sentences with more than one relative clause. The three multiple sentences with more than two relative clauses are:

(12) These were the first words *I wrote* [WB101] – or to be more precise, this is the earliest record of my writing and the beginning of my writing life – words that were inscribed on the flyleaf of an indigo pocket diary for the year 1912 (*which I still possess* [WB102] and *whose pages are otherwise void* [WB103]).

In (12), there is yet another relative clause (*words that were inscribed on the flyleaf*), but this clause was not included into our research, since the antecedent *words* is not an element of a finite clause, it is a part of a resumptive construction. The first relative clause is constructed as a restrictive clause, with the zero relative pronoun; the other two relative clauses –

postmodifying the same antecedent - are in the form of nonrestrictive clauses, parentheses being the formal indicator of the nonrestrictive relationship.

(13) The train squeaked alongside the platform at Pontypool Road station, and he reached for her bag, noting how much livelier and more attractive she was after what they had done back in the world of the much desired where he hoped she would stay [AS187] because a woman can look beautiful at any age as long as loving spunk is pumped into her which goes straight to the eyes and makes them glitter with the come-on of a peahen [AS188] everybody likes to see [AS189].

This multiple sentence embodies three relative clauses, which are constructed as restrictive, however, their status is not very clear as even at first blush all the three relative clauses seem to provide additional pieces of information. Moreover, all three are deletable.

(14) The houses of the well-to-do, solitary and set in generous gardens, were followed in order of such esteem by semi-detached villas that stood like twins in Dymouth's tree-lined avenues and crescents [WT203]. After which came dwellings [WT204] that had a look of economy about them, reflecting the burden of rent or mortgage [WT205].

This example is particularly interesting, not only for the character of the three relative clauses, but also for the fact that the second relative clause stands apart from its antecedent, since it is realized as a new sentence, however, it is not independent, since it refers to the antecedent in the preceding clause.

In fiction, there were only two multiple sentences with two relative clauses postmodifying the same antecedent:

(15) The Mountstuart family home was in Birmingham, where my father had been born and raised [WB122], and where the head office of Foley & Cardogin's Fresh Meat Co. was to be found [WB123].

(16) George sometimes disliked the sort of person his brother had turned into [AS195], who at times seemed reckless and needed watching [AS196].

The two relative clauses in (15) can only be of the nonrestrictive character, since they both refer to an antecedent realized by a proper noun. On the other hand, in (16), the restrictive clause is followed by a nonrestrictive clause (indicator: a comma), which postmodifies *his brother*, an antecedent deferred from its relative clause).

The following complex sentence consists of two relative clauses referring to the same antecedent, but this case is quite different from the one above:

(17) Her dislike of it extended to those who practised it [HD67] and to those who were obviously the result of it [HD68].

The antecedents are realized by the pro-form *those*, however, the semantic content of both antecedents are different as indicated by the respective relative clauses (restrictive in character: not deletable, both narrow the reference of their heads).

In direct speech, the number of multiple sentences comprising more relative clauses is decidedly lower – such multiple clauses accounted for only 10 instances, i.e. 5% of all relative clauses found in fiction were embedded into a complex sentence with more than two relative clauses. Only one instance of a multiple sentence with tree relative clauses was found:

(18) That would put me on, say, half a mill basic, plus bonuses and options *that would take me well over the mill mark* [DH266]. *Which, in case you don't recall, is more than double the pittance* [DH267] *I earn at the moment* [DH268].

Here, again, we have a relative clause referring to an antecedent in the preceding sentence, the fact that it is constructed as a new sentence, identifies the relative clause as nonrestrictive.

(19) Everything I am [PS307], everything I do [PS308], is because of him.

The following are the same cases as (16) above: two antecedents of the same form, but of different semantic contents.

(20) And I know it's a stereotype, and I know lots of people who go to Arsenal [NH394] *who aren't like that* [NH395].

(21) I tell you, if it was someone I loved [PS318] *who was killed* [PS319], I would need to honour life by killing the killer.

Both are cases of 'double restriction', in Jespersen's terminology, where the first relative clause joins the antecedent people to form a unit that is postmodified by the second relative clause.

Academic writing, which is characterized by multiple sentences, comprises the highest number of sentences with more than one relative clause. In our corpus, we found 41 such sentences, in which four embedded as many as three relative clauses. The following is an example of a multiple sentence with three relative clauses, all of which are introduced by the zero relative:

(22) We will take it that if we describe the mechanism speakers use in telling [DB574], we shall have thereby described the mechanisms they require for all those other purposes [DB575] *they pursue by telling* [DH576].

This example is interesting, since the zero relative, together with *that*, is sometimes regarded as inappropriate for the register of academic writing, yet here we have all the three relative clauses introduced by the zero relative. Perhaps the choice of the relative pronoun might have been governed by its function as the object in the relative clause.

Consider the following example, where all relative clause are connected by *wh*-pronouns:

(23) The situation *with which we are faced* [MB690] therefore, is one *in which consumer demand dictates* that [MB691] *which will be produced* [MB692].

The following are instances of 'double restriction' (seven cases in total in academic writing):

(24) It meant that the Today organization had missed out on the dance to capture customers *who were interested in the paper initially* [BD610] but *who lost interest after the early euphoria of the launch died away* [BD611].

Journalistic writing considered, 14 multiple sentences comprise more than one relative clause, with 4 multiple sentences containing three relative clauses. No case of 'double restriction' was found. The following is an example of a multiple sentence with three relative clauses:

(25) It was sent to a private laboratory and the results, *which confirmed a match*, were returned to Mrs Quinn, *who read them out to Mrs Blankett*, *who is blind* [WTel907].

All the relative clauses in (24) above are constructed as nonrestrictive. The second relative clause is continuative, since it can be interpreted as *...were returned to Mrs Quinn, and (then) she read them ...*

A number of relative clauses were found to be deferred from their antecedents, as in the following examples:

(26) Maureen went to keep her sister happy *who lived nearby* [KO41].

(27) It was a figure known in Dymouth only as Old Ape, *who had come a day early for his weekly scraps* [WT209].

(28) He did not turn around to know that the widow wore a scarf around her head *which made a triangle of her face not dissimilar ...* [KO3].

(29) Alsop (...) seems to have won over the retired colonels on the south coast *who used to prefer their Brahms done only by chaps* [Guard828]

In (29), the prepositional phrase is the cause of discontinuity, since it is not a part of the modification of the noun phrase, which makes this example different from (30), where the noun phrase is postmodified by the prepositional phrase, and is not discontinued from its relative clause:

(30) Ben had his first session with Fr Doig yesterday, *which he described as 'eerie'* [WB147].

Following examples illustrate relative clauses with sub-clauses, of which the pronoun is the subject. These sub-clauses contain mostly *dicendi* verbs:

(31) Some parents turned up in slings to symbolize the effects of spending cuts, *which the council says* are the result [Ind898]

(32) So close to the river that they were regularly flooded by it were the cottages of Boughs Lane *which people said* were a disgrace. [WT206].

7.5 Relative pronouns in the corpus

This section analyses relative pronouns which occurred in the corpus. It describes their use in each register, then it moves on to examine the syntactic functions in the relative clauses, and gives a description of their use with respect to the type of their antecedents.

FICTION

Table 7 illustrates the frequency of relative pronouns in fiction

RELATIVE PRONOUN	N	%
that	26	10
the zero relative	59	24
which	72	29
who	76	30
adverbs ²⁸	17	7
TOTAL	250	100

It is evident in Table 7 that *who* is by far the most predominant pronoun, since *who* seems to be virtually the only pronoun postmodifying personal antecedents. Only occasionally can personal antecedents be found with other pronouns, i.e. *that* or the zero relative. The total number indicating the occurrences of *who* includes those of *whose*, which was found in three relative clauses:

²⁸ *when, where, why*

(33) ... It would be better than putting up with the snipe-nosed lot in his area *whose horses he shoed* [AS153].

(34) Land rose mountainously to either side, the train spindled a river *whose name he didn't know* [AS188], fields and rivers much the same everywhere.

(35) What did the wretched creature think that Eamon would do to him in a house with witnesses *whose reactions would be at best unknowable, at worst, unpredictable* [KO29]?

The relative clauses in (33) and (35) postmodify personal antecedents, while the relative clause in (34) postmodifies a nonpersonal antecedent. The relative *who* is preferred to *that* even when the antecedent is not directly person, as in (36):

(36) Another man with uptilted bottle was getting rid of the beer quite nicely, while a third *who was lighting his pipe by the fireplace* [AS196] asked what Ernest interpreted to be

The relative *who* showed to refer to (higher) animals as well, as will be proved by the following examples:

(37) A horse *who's had that done to it* [AS198] feels pain just like a person, so it's harder for other smiths to show and the horse might injure them in its distress.

However, it is with free variation with that in almost identical situation:

(38) It also calmed those horses *that balked at being pushed between the shafts* [AS197] when the work was finished.

However, the only occurrence of *whom* was attested in the corpus of fiction [example (39) below]. This is the only case of upward percolation found in the register of fiction.

It seems that, in fiction, *who* is used after generalizing antecedents, such as *people*, *anyone*, *those*, *that* is preferred after selective antecedents such as superlatives, and antecedents premodified by *the only*. The zero relative postmodifies antecedents whose heads are realized by *reason*, *something*, superlatives, *the first (only, next, last) time* and similar.

Formal indicators of the nonrestrictive relationship in writing are commas, parentheses, dashes, and period [as we have seen in (11)] above). Out of 66 nonrestrictive relationships (the rationale for the term being punctuation only), 58 relative clauses were divided by commas from the main clause, 5 by parentheses, 3 by dashes, and 1 was constructed as a new clause; with 15 relative clauses postmodifying a sentential antecedent.

The following examples illustrate the different formal indicators of the nonrestrictive relationship between the antecedent and its relative clause:

(39) Two years later I born, and named Logan Gonzago after my respective grandfathers (*neither of whom was alive to meet his grandson*) [WB119].

(40) "In Huntingdonshire. I was a milliner's apprentice" - *which showed in the neat dress fitting the slim waist so nicely* [AS158], he noticed as she walked into another room at the call of her mistress.

Table 8: The distribution of relative pronouns in clauses nonrestrictive in form as found in fiction

RELATIVE PRONOUN	N	%
who	21	32
which	33	50
adverbs	12	18
TOTAL	66	100

The high percentage indicating the occurrence of *which* can be accounted for its being the only relative pronoun capable of postmodifying sentential antecedents.

In fiction, seven relative clauses (11% of all nonrestrictive clauses as indicated by punctuation) were found to postmodify sentential antecedents; three were surrounded by dashes.

Examples of relative clauses with sentential antecedents:

(41) It meant employing intermediaries, *which he didn't like* [HD72].

(42) Eamon smiled, *which made the boy flinch*, and gazed upstairs again [KO20].

DIRECT SPEECH

Table 9: The distribution of relative pronouns in direct speech

RELATIVE PRONOUNS	N	%
that	41	16
the zero relative	134	54
which	39	15
who ²⁹	24	10
adverbs	12	5
TOTAL	250	100

²⁹ not a single occurrence of *whom* or *whose* was attested in the corpus of direct speech

The above results display that the zero relative and *that* are the preferred choices in direct speech. Both seem to attain the essence of having colloquial associations; hence they are more utilized in direct speech than in fiction. The zero relative predominantly postmodifies such antecedents as *anything, everything, nothing*, etc, and *all, the only* + noun, superlatives, *the way, the first (next, only, last) thing, day, year*. If *that* follows these antecedents, then the function of the relative pronoun is that of the subject.

After temporal and local antecedents, the zero relative is predominant:

(43) She got it the first time *she saw him* [NH385].

(44) We had not seen anything like it since that time *Aristide Bastonnet caught a fish with a head at both ends* [JH452].

The construction with the zero relative permits the deletion of a preposition, which would be obligatory with the use of *when* or *where*. The same is true of the following relative clause:

(45) ...he thinks the only reason *Phillippe would want to come back after all these years* is because he's after money [JH499].

The adverbial *why* is primarily used with *reason*, however, we found it to refer to a different antecedent:

(46) It was an explanation *for why I didn't come* [NH381]

Moreover, personal antecedents were postmodified by other relative pronouns, other than *who*, as in:

(47) You should get the person *you had the conversation with* [NH362] round and read their part out loud.

Another salient point is the low number of relative clauses introduced by *which*. The reason for such a low score is that writer may feel *which* is too formal for the context of direct speech. The pronoun *which* chiefly introduce nonrestrictive clauses. The following is an example of a relative clauses introduced by *which*:

(48) The autumnal equinox is the point *at which day ceases to be longer than night* [DH257].

Here, the only possibility for the relative clause is to be introduced by *which* (as with the zero construction, the preposition *at* would have to be postponed, which would yield ...*the point day ceases to be longer than night at*; a construction of a blurred meaning).

In DH, in one paragraph depicting a conversation about *computers/robots*, four mentions of *computers/robots* were constructed with relative clauses. It is interesting to observe the way the antecedent is postmodified with regard to the of relative pronouns; and how it is narrowed down by four successive relative clauses:

- (49) You mean, you're trying to design a computer *that thinks like a human being* [DL409].
- (50) You're trying to design a computer *that has hangovers and falls in love and suffers bereavement* [DL410].
- (51) But I don't see any inherent impossibility in designing and programming a robot *that could get into a symbiotic relationship with another robot and would exhibit symptoms of distress if the other robot were put out of commission* [DL411].
- (52) Or we may develop computers *that are carbon-based, like biological organisms, instead of silicon-based ones* [DL412].

In all the four relative clauses, referring to the same antecedent, the relative pronoun functions as the subject, *that*, though interchangeable in this function with *which*, is the only relative pronoun utilized.

The relative clauses extracted from fiction and the relative clauses extracted from the text of the play by Peter Shaffer display some differences as to the distribution of relative pronouns:

Table 10: The distribution of relative pronouns: direct speech extracted from fiction versus the one extracted from the text of the play (PS)

RELATIVE PRONOUN	FICTION %	PLAY %
that	21	2
the zero relative	58	44
who	11	26
which	6	22
adverbs	4	6
TOTAL	100	100

Table 10 makes apparent the shift from the relative pronouns generally felt to be informal (*that*, the zero relative), to the relative pronouns regarded as more formal (*wh*-relatives).

- (53) At this moment, like most would-be heroes in Greek legend, he has made an exceedingly foolish vow *which he cannot possibly fulfil* [PS337].

(> ...*that/()* *he cannot possibly fulfil*)

(54) It has a hollow wooden handle where you can store the blades [PS344].

(> ... *that/()* you can store the blades in

The relative pronoun *which* in (53) functions as the object in the relative clause, therefore it is replaceable by the zero pronoun; *which* seems to be more preferable for the context and the style of the play. However, it is not possible to hold this as a tendency employed in plays as projected against conversation, since only one play was extracted in our research.

The register of direct speech is also characterized by rare occurrences of formal indicators (commas etc) of the nonrestrictive relationship: only 21 relative clauses (8%) of the total of 250 relative clauses in the sample were enclosed by commas (15 instances), dashes (3 instances); and four clauses were realized as a new sentence:

(55) I do not wish to speak with you this side of lunch, Miles. *Which you will be cooking for yourself* [DH561].

Table 11: The distribution of relative pronouns in clauses nonrestrictive in form as found in direct speech

RELATIVE PRONOUN	N	%
who	21	32
which	33	50
adverbs	12	18
TOTAL	66	100

Four relative clauses indicated as nonrestrictive were found to postmodify sentential antecedents, an example:

(56) The computer works twenty-four hours a day, unmanned during the night. *Which is why they need the likes of me to pop in form time to time* [DH295].

ACADEMIC WRITING

Table 12: The distribution of relative pronouns in academic writing

RELATIVE PRONOUNS	N	%
that	13	6
the zero relative	8	3
which	163	65
who	53	21
adverbs	13	5
TOTAL	250	100

The variables of *who*, i.e. *whose* and *whom*, occurred in two relative clauses and four relative clauses respectively, examples with a personal and a nonpersonal antecedents with *whose*:

(57) We might suppose that a reader *whose irregular potty-training has resulted in a pathological hatred of authority-figures* will delight in the ironic treatment of the King of Kings in Shelley's poem [AB528].

(58) This is qualitatively different from additive vagueness or choice of vague words in the sense that these are cases of things *whose identity is unspecified in the sentence concerned* [JC736].

Moreover, seven examples of upward percolation were attested: *none of which*, *all of whom*, *many of which*, *each of which*, *the evidence for whose existence*, *the total system of which*, *units of which*, *the operation of which*; the latter three structures provide evidence for the assumption that even in academic writing, the domain of formal English, paraphrases with *which* are preferred to *whose* for nonpersonal antecedents:

(59) Craft industry leads to specialisation in the production of particular goods, *units of which can then be sold, enabling the craftsman to satisfy his needs by purchasing the output of other specialist producers* [MB677].

(> ..., *whose units can then be sold...*)

(60) ... We are more at home in dealing with smaller sub-groups *the operation of which is easier to evaluate and comprehend* [MB667].

(> ... *whose operation is easier to evaluate ...*)

The most striking feature about the distribution of relative pronouns in the register of academic writing is the preponderance of *wh*-pronouns. These pronouns are also preferred in

multiple sentences with more than one relative clause, where usually alternative possibilities of synonymous expressions are not utilized:

(61) The success *with which this basic strategy of effective adaptation is achieved* [BR606] depends upon the contributions made by all those sets of plans, decisions and actions which lead to *the development of an effective strategy* [BR607]

(> ... *that/()* *this basic strategy of effective adaptation is achieved with ...; ... that lead to the development of an effective strategy*)

(62) If one examines the development of an advanced industrial economy such as our own, one can clearly distinguish a number of stages *through which it has passed* [MB671], *each of which represents a step forward as compared with the preceding stage* [MB672].

Our results confirm those in Biber (1999: 287), where *wh*-pronouns are associated with being formal, consequently, preferred in academic writing. “In contrast, *that* has more informal, colloquial associations and is thus preferred in conversation and most contemporary fiction.”

In our sample of academic writing, 33 relative clauses are constructed as nonrestrictive, 29 of them are surrounded by commas, 3 by parentheses, and one by dashes. Five relative clauses were found to refer to a sentential antecedent. The quantitative results displaying the distribution of the relative pronouns in these clauses are as follows:

Table 13: The distribution of the relative pronouns in clauses nonrestrictive in form, academic writing

RELATIVE PRONOUN	N	%
who	6	18
which	24	72
adverbials	3	10
TOTAL	33	100

Examples of nonrestrictive clauses found in academic writing:

(63) According to Professor Johan Arndt, *who was one of the early marketing theorists* [MB656], marketing thought is developing in precisely the same way as other disciplines ...

(64) All we have, they argued, are the words on the page – *which may indicate intention but can never finally prove it* [AB543].

(65) Judith Fetterley has argued that female readers of classic US fiction have been immasculated, *by which she means that they have traditionally been taught to read as men* [AB536].

JOURNALISTIC WRITING

Table 14: The distribution of relative pronouns in journalistic writing

RELATIVE PRONOUNS	N	%
that	24	10
the zero relative	22	9
which	90	36
who	97	39
adverbs	17	6
TOTAL	250	100

Again, as in academic writing, the predominant use of *wh*-pronouns is characteristic of the register of writing, however, here, the reason for this is the preponderance of nonrestrictive clauses in the register.

Six relative clauses with *whose* were attested, and two with *whom*, the pronoun usually restricted to formal style. The relative *whose* introduced two relative clauses with nonpersonal antecedents:

(66) The low budget The madness of King George, *whose star, Nigel Hawthorne was among those on the best actors list*, ... [Ind890]

(67) In Sri Lanka, *much of whose east coast is controlled by the Tamil separatist movement*, a Roman Catholic priest was killed [DTel953].

Nevertheless, also in this register, *whose* with nonpersonal antecedents is avoided, as in:

(68) The accusation is contained in an e-mail written by Mrs Quinn, *a copy of which has been obtained by The Sunday Telegraph* [WT904].

(> ..., *whose copy has been obtained*)

(69) The 20-page report, *parts of which were published in the daily paper Le Figaro* [Guard844], was presented soon after British intelligence chiefs had lowered the al-Quada threat to substantial from severe – general.

(> ... , *whose parts were published ...*)

The five cases of upward percolation found in the register are: *many of whom, much of whose, many of whom, a copy of which, parts of which.*

Here are some examples with upward percolation:

(70) But two weeks ago warders began ordering girls, *many of whom regularly turned up in short skirts and no knickers* [Sun771] to get off their men's laps.

(71) Fishermen, *many of whom put to sea in rudimentary craft* [DTel998], were warned to stay on shore for at least the next two days

The relative *who* was recorded to refer to a higher animal, while *which* was found with a personal antecedent:

(72) Polly was killed in a fight with Bob's German Shepherd dog Flaxton, *who became jealous of all the attention* [Sun765] she got.

(73) Mrs Quinn is seven months pregnant with her second child, *which may also be Blunkett's* [WTel909].

The relative clause above postmodifies a personal antecedent; however, as maintained by CGEL (1245), "human babies can be regarded (though rarely perhaps by their parents) as not having developed personality."

To account for possible differences between the distribution of relative pronouns in quality newspapers and tabloids, we contrasted the four newspapers with the tabloid used for our research:

Table 15: tabloid versus quality newspapers

RELATIVE PRONOUN	QUALITY NEWSPAPER %	TABLOID %
that	10	0
the zero relative	12	6
who	37	52
which	38	32
adverbs	3	10
TOTAL	100	100

The results are interesting, since there is not a single occurrence of *that* in the excerpted tabloid, and also the score of the zero relative is low, *wh*-pronouns are certainly at the fore. In the tabloid, all the relative clauses with the relative pronoun in the function of the subject were introduced by a *wh*-relative. All the relative pronouns functioning as the object were realized by the zero relative:

(74) ... he became jealous of all the attention *she got* [Sun766].

(75) ... Brickie Alan Bateman, 35, wants someone to knit him a jumper from hair *he combed off pet Alsatian Lancia at his Swansea home* [Sun767].

(76) We should lock the rioters up in the wreckage *they have caused* [Sun777].

We found 102 nonrestrictive clauses, by far the highest score among the four registers; six clauses were separated by dashes from their antecedents. Our results are in accordance with those in Biber (1999: 280): “newspaper stories tend to use nonrestrictive clauses to a greater extent than other registers.” The typical feature of this register is a high occurrence of nonrestrictive clauses introduced by *who*, examples:

(77) Now the car dealer – *who was given Polly in exchange for a Golf GTi* [Sun761]....

(78) ... Mr Aswad, *who grew up in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire* [Guard846], said ...

In this register, antecedents and relative clauses are occasionally separated from each other by additional information presented in commas, as in:

(79) Antonella, *who can't drive* [Sun787], will be his first pupil.

(80) Ramzi Muhammad, 23, from Kensington, west London, *who is alleged to have tried to blow up a tube train near Oval station on July 21* [Guard809], was read the same four charges as Said-Ibrahim.

Table 16: The distribution of the relative pronouns in clauses nonrestrictive in form, journalistic writing

RELATIVE PRONOUN	N	%
who	64	63
which	22	22
adverbs	16	15
TOTAL	102	100

7.6 Syntactic Functions of the Relative Pronouns in the Corpus

The preceding chapter examined the distribution of relative pronouns in the four registers examined in our study. The focus of the present section is in turn the various syntactic functions of the relative pronouns as found in the corpus. As stated by CGEL (1245), the specifying power of the relative pronoun depends upon its capability to show concord with its antecedent (internal relation), and to indicate its function within the relative clause as either an **element** of the clause structure, or a **constituent** of an element in the relative clause (internal relation).

As the element of the clause structure, the relative pronoun occupies the functions of the subject, object, complement and adverbial; as the constituent of an element in the relative clause it occupies the function of a determiner (i.e. *whose house*). (ibid:1250)

The role of a constituent of an element in the relative clause is taken further in CamGEL (1039), where the whole phrase is termed a complex relative phrase; it consists of a relative pronoun + other material. The syntactic operation itself is given a term 'upward percolation', as we have seen in chapter 2.7. In the preceding chapter, we listed the cases of upward percolation as occurred in our sample. The instances of *whose* will not be reflected in the qualitative results presented in this section, since *whose* itself cannot function as the subject in the relative clause.

We are primarily interested in three functions of relative pronouns – those of the subject, the object, the complement, and the adverbial, which we will encompass under three categories: subject, non-subject (which covers the functions of the subject, the subject and the object complements), and adverbial positions. The adverbs *why*, *where*, *when* are not included in the results, since the only function they can occupy in the relative clause is that of the adverbial. The following overview displays the distribution of the relative pronouns in the corpus with regard to their syntactic functions:

Table 17: **FICTION**: the distribution of the relative pronouns in syntactic functions

RELATIVE PRONOUN	SUBJECT N	NON-SUBJECT N	ADVERBIAL N
that	6	20	-
the zero relative	-	36	23
who	73	1	-
which	52	11	8
TOTAL abs / %	131 / 57	68 / 30	31 / 13

The quantitative data show that the relative pronouns occupied the subject position in 57 % of all the relative clauses found in fiction, the object position was taken by 28 % of the relative pronouns, and the adverbial position by 15 % of the relative pronouns. The relative *who* invariably functions as the subject, only in one relative clause it was found to function as the object (in the form of *whom*). Other striking features are the apparent preference of *which* to *that* in the subject position, then the fact that the zero relative seems to be preferred to *that* for the object position, and the preference of the zero relative to occupy the position of the adverbial (*where, when and why* introduced only 17 relative clauses in fiction).

The following are examples of pronouns functioning as the subject: *who, which, and that* respectively:

(81) After Greek this morning I approached Younger, *who* is in the First XV [WB131], and, as casually as I could manage, asked him how the school team was doing and what its weaknesses were.

(82) ... we are obliged to eat in the conservatory, *which*, it being the middle of winter, is infernally cold [WB124].

(83) Plastic lampshades were scheduled to be manufactured soon on a site *that* had once been known as Long Dog's Field [WT202].

Examples of *which, that, and the zero relative* in the object position:

(84) When he came to the rectory he was also given a plate of meat and vegetables, provided he arrived at six o'clock on the specified day, *which* was Thursday [WT211].

(85) ... the one thing in my life *that* I anticipate with some excitement [WB150] is the prospect of the match tomorrow against O'Connor's.

Examples of *which*, the zero relative, and *where* in the adverbial position:

(86) He stopped to stare up the street *into which* he had just entered [KO11].

(87) Maureen recalled the only time she had ever seen Eamon outside her own house [KO40].

(88) Others read the list of forthcoming attractions outside the Essoldo Cinema *where* The Battle of Britain was at present showing [WT218].

It is perhaps of some interest that no occurrence of *why* or *when* was attested in the corpus of fiction, consequently, antecedents with *reason* as the head noun was postmodified by relative clauses with the zero relative, as in:

(89) He did it for reasons Ernest couldn't fathom [AS170].

Table 18: **DIRECT SPEECH**: the distribution of the relative pronouns in syntactic functions

RELATIVE PRONOUN	SUBJECT N	NON-SUBJECT N	ADVERBIAL N
that	28	13	-
the zero relative	1	94	44
who	24	-	-
which	9	13	12
TOTAL N / %	62 / 25	120 / 51	56 / 24

The most conspicuous feature about the syntactic functions the relative pronouns occupy in direct speech is the preponderance of the zero relative in the function of the object, and that of the adverbial, where it is preferred to *when* and *where*. This fact stems from the concept of language economy, the very essence of this register: evidently, utterances are constructed as short sentences, hence the zero relative is preferred in these two positions. As we will see later, the most common antecedents for the zero relative in these functions are compounds with *some, any, every, no; the way, the (last, next etc) time* and similar.

However, one instance with the zero relative in the subject position was attested:

(90) He got a woman comes from Wye [DH273].

Apparently, this relative clause violates the rule set for the subject position not to be occupied by the zero relative. Another example of such violation of the formal criterion was found, though outside the scope of our corpus:

(91) Honest to God I've gone out with lots of guys didn't look that good.³⁰

Example of *who* in the subject position:

(92) I've got a better deal than most women *who* 've lived in this cottage [DH572].

Following are typical examples of that in the subject position as found in direct speech:

(93) The programmes are all set a problem to solve and the ones *that* do best [DL424] are allowed to reproduce themselves for the next test.

(94) All *that* matters is it worked.

The relative clause in (93) postmodifies the pro-form *the one*, the relative clause in (94) *all*, which both are antecedents frequent in direct speech.

Examples of *that* in the object function:

(95) But if Kate Croy were a real human being, your cognitive science could tell us nothing about her *that* we'd want to know [DL423].

(96) If only everyone had had those bubbles over their heads *that* you get in kids' comics, with "Thinks ..." inside them [DL420].

The relative clauses in (95) and (96) are introduced by *that*, though the zero relative would be permitted as well, as in:

(97) All they really find out [DL421] is what has gone on in the writer's head.

(98) It's the only exercise I get [DL415].

(99) Everything you need for your holiday [DL415] is inside the fence.

(100) And I'll give you a cup of the best machine-made coffee you've ever had [DL414].

Examples of the zero relative, *which*, *where*, and *when* in the adverbial position:

(101) It isn't perfect, it isn't easy, but that's the way it is [JH476].

(102) The autumnal equinox is the point *at which* day ceases to be longer than night [DH257].

(103) And I saw it from a different side to you, *where* there weren't any flames to begin with [DH290].

(104) I remember a time *when* you two were good for something more than just talk [JH482]!

³⁰ Harris, T., Red Dragon, The Bodley Head Ltd. 1981

Table 19: **ACADEMIC WRITING**: the distribution of the relative pronouns in syntactic functions

RELATIVE PRONOUN	SUBJECT N / %	NON-SUBJECT N / %	ADVERBIAL N / %
that	5	3	5
the zero relative	-	6	2
who	47	4	-
which	98	30	35
TOTAL N / %	150 / 64	43 / 17	42 / 19

The results regarding that in 64 % of relative clauses, the relative pronouns occupied the subject position, which in turn was preferably filled by *wh*-pronouns. The shift from the relative forms other than *wh* is apparent in all functions: the *wh*-pronouns are preferred even in the function of the adverbial: against 36 adverbial positions occupied by *which* (and 13 by *when*, *where*, *why*), we have seven two filled by *that* and the zero relative.

Examples of *who*, *that*, and *which* in the subject function:

(105) ... the narrator speaks of meeting a traveller *who* reports having seen a vast shattered statue strewn across the desert [AB514].

(106) A poem, novel or play *that* does not in some sense relate to previous texts [AB510] is literally unimaginable.

(107) How much more difficult it would be to discover the origins of the thought *which* impels the text [AB511]

Examples of *that*, the zero relative and *which* in the object function:

(108) In this respect, the muse *that* Milton's poem addresses and invokes [AB504] is a second-hand muse.

(109) The success with *which* this basic strategy of effective adaptation is achieved [BR606] depends upon the contributions made ...

(110) This demand encouraged the Manorial lords to free the serfs from the feudal duties in order that the lords might repossess the land they occupied [NB675] and rear sheep on it.

Examples of *that*, the zero relative and *which* in the adverbial function:

(111) It assures us that this is the first time *that* such a project has been attempted [AB502].

(112) It is important to appreciate that one of the ways they demonstrate their competence [JC703] is ...

(113) One way *in which* both speakers and writers tailor their language [JC704] is by varying the precision and vagueness...

Table 20: **JOURNALISTIC WRITING**: The distribution of the relative pronouns in syntactic functions

RELATIVE PRONOUN	SUBJECT N / %	NON-SUBJECT N / %	ADVERBIAL N / %
that	21	2	-
the zero relative	-	19	3
who	91	2	-
which	72	11	6
TOTAL N / %	184 / 81	34 / 15	9 / 4

This register is characterized by the preponderance of *wh*-pronouns in the function of the subject, the fact that is mainly explained by the exclusive occurrence of *who* in this function. According to Jacobsson (1963: 412), with personal antecedents, *that* is very rare in the function of subject, which is proved by our research. Our results also provide the evidence that *wh*-pronouns are representatives of written domain of English. However, the zero relative in most cases attends to the object position.

Examples of *that*, *who* and *which* in the subject function:

(114) If the negotiators believed that the unionists can be bought off by a useless assembly *that* has no freedom to determine how it orders its own affairs [Ind853], they were gravely mistaken.

(115) Mr Hooper, *who* worked for British Telecom for eight years [Sun760], has left his job at the PA Consulting Group to become a freelance media and communications specialist.

(116) Despite the anti-Fascist protest *which* greeted his arrival at Heathrow airport yesterday [Ind869], and the promise of further disruptions ...

examples of *that*, the zero relative and *which* in the object position:

(117) She had been contacted about the passport application *that* David fast-tracked for her [WTel911]

(118) UK security sources have consistently denied that they received any specific threat on *which* it was possible to act before July [Ind845].

(119) ... Alsop is the most collegiate and least dictatorial conductor he has ever met ... [Guard831].

examples of *which*, *when*, and *where* in the adverbial function:

(120) The ceremony began with an enactment by Dame Judi and Michael Dennison of the play's handbag scene, in which John Worthing explains to the formidable lady Bracknell how he came to be found in a black handbag in Victoria Station [Ind854].

(121) In the days *when* the colonial government ruled without much reference to public opinion [Ind 855] Mrs Tu and Mr Syeto both occurred the wrath of the establishment.

(122) The approach was recommended by Lord Newton's committee of privy councillors in December 2003 as an alternative to Belmarsh detentions in cases *where* a conventional trial was not possible [Guard805].

7.7 The Antecedent

The purpose of this section is to describe the various forms of the premodification of the antecedents as occurred in the sample. As many linguists argue, notably Depraetere, van Haan, Smith, Ryden, the way in which the head noun is premodified is one of the most important factors influencing the construction of relative clauses as restrictive or nonrestrictive. In the present chapter, we will examine the antecedents in the corpus with regards to the ways of the head premodification, moreover, attention will be paid to the realization of the heads themselves.

Antecedents considered, it is important to note here that some relative clauses in the corpus were ambiguous with regard to their antecedents. The ambiguity between antecedents is likely to occur with relative clauses separated from their antecedents. However, it is usually possible to solve this ambiguity with the help of the situational or linguistic context, or through grammatical relations in the sentence (the form of the verb, or the relative pronoun itself).

The following relative clauses illustrate how the ambiguity between antecedents is solved: the relative clause in (123) refers inevitably to *the ironed handkerchief* (as is apparent from the linguistic context), not to the noun phrase occurring in the immediate vicinity of the relative clause (*the muff*); the relative clause in (124) is a typical example of ambiguity

between antecedents, as the antecedent is a part of the *of* phrase, nevertheless, with the help of the situational context we can infer that the clause postmodifies *parts* (not *the city*). The relative clause in (125) refers to *the collection*, which is also implied by the form of the verb in the clause (*forms* – third person singular), and finally, the fourth relative clause has a sentential antecedent (*holding the blade to the dog's throat provoked yips of delight*).

(125) Tears shone like pearls on her pale cheeks, and the ironed handkerchief from his pocket was there before she could pull hers from the muff, *which she accepted as one was entitled to do in the land of mourning* ... [AS182]

(126) These are short-cuts for businessmen traversing parts of the city *where you keep your windows wound up and lock your doors at traffic lights* [HD83]

(127) We keep a journal to entrap that collection of selves *that forms us, the individual human being* [WB117].

(128) He held the blade to the dog's throat *which provoked yips of delight* [KO27]

First, we dissected all antecedents into two halves – those whose heads are realized by proper nouns (where noun phrases are ‘at their most definite’), and those whose heads are realized by common nouns. The rationale for this division is that noun phrases realized by proper nouns intrinsically characterize its referent as being of unique reference: “the noun phrase is so much definitive that only a nonrestrictive relative clause can follow.” (van Den Broeck: 1973: 44).

Examples of relative clauses postmodifying proper nouns:

(129) Titchbum, *who wore a pepper-and-salt suit, waistcoat, cravat, and watch chain with two sovereigns dangling* [AS168], stabbed the air with opinionated snuff-stained fingers, pontificating ...

(130) The show is equally unsympathetic to Camilla Parker Bowles, *who is cruelly portrayed as a dominatrix in jodhpurs laying into the Prince of Wales with a whip* [WTel925].

Table 21: The lexical realization of the antecedents in the corpus

REGISTER	PROPER NOUNS	COMMON NOUNS
FICTION	24	226
DIRECT SPEECH	1	249
ACADEMIC WRITING	6	244
JOURNALISTIC WRITING	48	202
TOTAL abs / %	79 / 8	921 / 92

Again, in journalistic writing, we are faced with its most salient characteristics: the preponderance of personal antecedents (referred to by means of *who*) implies the highest score of proper nouns among the four registers.

However, it is interesting that in the corpus, a number of relative clauses postmodifying proper nouns are not surrounded by commas, though clearly nonrestrictive: in fiction we found six relative clauses were wrongly punctuated; in direct speech, academic writing, and journalistic writing, the number was decidedly lower – only 1 relative clause per register was violated the rule.

examples of proper nouns as antecedents of wrongly punctuated relative clauses:

(131) George didn't find it easy to keep up with Ernest *who noted the post office* [AS177].

(132) He'd been to Derby and Matlock, but now he was going to an unfamiliar place, and George *who was eighteen years older* [AS151] had drilled him on how not to reach the wrong town by mistake.

Similarly, the second step was to divide all antecedents into two groups: those in definite noun phrases and those in indefinite noun phrases. Noun phrases are identified by their modifiers. According to de Haan (1987: pp. 172-175), indefinite noun phrases cannot refer to an object which has been identified, while an object that has been identified cannot be referred to by an indefinite noun phrase. By 'definite noun phrase' we indicate, in concert with de Haan, all noun phrases linguistically or contextually determined whose identity is clear, and by 'indefinite noun phrases' we mean noun phrases not linguistically or contextually determined, indicating entities new in the context, where the speaker assumes that the hearer is not familiar with them:

definite noun phrases – head nouns determined by the definite article, a possessive pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun; and noun phrases whose heads are proper names and demonstrative pronouns

indefinite noun phrases – head nouns determined by the indefinite article, indefinite pronouns, numerals, predeterminers *both, half, all*, compounds with *some, any, every, no*; and noun phrases realized by plural countable nouns and uncountable nouns

examples of definite noun phrases:³¹ *the way, the winter, his books, Adam Smith's account, those things, that way, this approach, George, those, that*

examples of indefinite noun phrases: *a man, a kind of person, another view, some people, many things, fifty definitions, clothes, relativity*

Table 22: The distribution of indefinite and indefinite antecedents in the corpus

REGISTER	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE
FICTION	178	72
DIRECT SPEECH	128	122
ACADEMIC WRITING	117	133
JOURNALISTIC WRITING	170	130
TOTAL abs / %	593 / 49	407 / 41

Table 22 shows that there is a balance between definite and indefinite noun phrases as found in the corpus, with the only exception of the register of fiction.

The next step was to divide the definite and indefinite noun phrases according to the type of relative clauses in which they occurred. This is only a preliminary analysis, the working criterion being the presence of a comma (or other formal indicators of the nonrestrictive relationship).

³¹ derived from the corpus

Table 23: The distribution of restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses in the definite and indefinite noun phrases

CLAUSE TYPE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	OVERALL
restrictive	419	409	778
nonrestrictive	174	48	222
TOTAL	593	457	1000

The most common antecedents were of the following realizations:

FICTION

restrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 35 x
 uncountable nouns 2x
 plural countable nouns 17 x
some + noun 1 x
whatever + noun 1x
 the pro-form *one* 1x
one of + noun 1 x
all 3 x
any + noun 2 x
many + noun 1 x
each + noun 1 x
anyone 1 x
anything 1 x
everything 1 x
something 2 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 80 x
 possessive pronoun 8 x
 pro-form *those* 3 x
this + noun 2 x
that + noun 4 x
 superlatives 3 x
the same 1 x
those + noun 2 x

nonrestrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 6 x
 uncountable nouns 1 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 17 x
 possessive pronouns 5 x

DIRECT SPEECH

Restrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 26 x
plural countable nouns 4 x
some + noun 2 x
another 1 x
pro-form *one* 4 x
all 8 x
any 1 x
half + noun 1 x
most + noun 1 x
each + noun 1 x
every + noun 1 x
anything 3 x
anyone 1 x
everyone 1 x
everything 15 x
someone 10 x
somebody 1 x
nothing 1 x
nobody 1 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 73 x
pro-form *the one* 4 x
them 1 x
superlatives 8 x
that + noun 5 x
possessive pronouns 5x
those + noun 1 x

nonrestrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 6 x
uncountable nouns 1 x
everything 1 x

Definite noun phrases:

the 12 x
possessive pronoun 1 x

ACADEMIC WRITING

restrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 36 x
uncountable nouns 14 x
plural countable nouns 39 x
another 1 x
each 1 x
some 4 x
all 5 x
every + noun 1 x
pro-form *one* 5 x
one of + noun 1 x
many 1 x
someone 1 x
anyone 2 x
numeral 1 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 83 x
those + noun 7 x
pro-form *those* 5 x
that + noun 1 x
pro-form *that* 3 x
this + noun 2 x
superlatives 1 x

nonrestrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 1 x
uncountable nouns 1 x
plural countable nouns 7 x
all 1 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 4 x
possessive pronouns 1 x
those + noun 1 x

JOURNALISTIC WRITING

restrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 21 x
uncountable nouns 6 x
plural countable nouns 19 x
some + noun 1 x
any 1 x
numeral 1 x
all 2 x
one of + noun 1 x
everyone 1 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 44 x
possessive pronouns 1 x
superlatives 1 x

nonrestrictive clauses

Indefinite noun phrases:

a + noun 5 x
uncountable nouns 4 x
plural countable nouns 4 x

Definite noun phrases:

the + noun 27 x
possessive pronouns 9 x
this + noun 1 x

As is evident from the preceding survey, definite noun phrases are determined by the definite article, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns *that*, *this*, *those* (these was not attested in our sample), which function as either determiners or as pro-pro-forms (the same applies to *one* and *all* in indefinite noun phrases). One occurrence of the colloquial use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun was attested. On the other hand, indefinite noun phrases contain the indefinite article, *some*, *another*, *any*, numerals; and are very often realized by the compounds with *some*, *any*, *every*, *no*. The most striking feature displayed in the survey is the richness of premodification in the register of direct speech, which is mostly characterized by the antecedents realized by the aforementioned compounds, pro-forms, and superlatives. Here are some examples taken from the register of direct speech: (133) with the antecedent realized by a superlative form, (134) with the antecedent premodified by *the only* (10 relative clauses in direct speech were found to postmodify antecedents with the only), (135) realized by *the way*, (136) by *someone*, (137), (138), (139) by the pro-form *those*, *one*, *all*, respectively:

(133) This is the worst time you could have chosen [JH455].

(134) That's the only part of the beach you can build a sandcastle [DL403].

(135) It's the way things are [JH475].

(136) I hate living with someone who's so unhappy [NH354].

(137) Apparently, when vampire bats come back from a night out, the ones that struck lucky [DL428] will sometimes share their takeaway dinners with ones who didn't [DL429].

(138) Our bleating parliament can watch something like this, and not legislate death at once for those who did it [PS301].

(139) All I know [NH375] is I want to live a better life.

The last three instances are contrasted with the following three relative clauses (taken from the other registers), which postmodify antecedents determined by *those*, *all + those*, and *that*:

(140) Go well beyond those utterances *that have a clearly phatic or social function* ... [Bra565]

(141) The success (...) depends upon the contributions made by all those sets of plans, decisions and actions *which lead to the development of an effective strategy* [BR607]

(142) The serviceable, error-dotted, grammatically unsophisticated Spanish (...) is the poorest of poor cousins to that instinctive colloquial jabber *that spilled out of me for the first nine years of my life* [WB105].

The following is an example of *that* as the head of a noun phrase:

(143) Another critical decision is that *which establishes the type of product or service* [BR633].

The compounds with *some*, *any*, *no*, *every* seem to occur exclusively in restrictive clauses. However, in direct speech, one instance of everything was found to be postmodified by a nonrestrictive clause. In fact, it would be a false assumption to claim that this example is the exception that proves the rule:

(144) If Mary knew absolutely everything *there is to know about colour* [DL438] – *which is much, much more than we knew at the moment* [DL439] – maybe she'd be able to simulate the experience of red in her brain.

The antecedent everything is first followed by a restrictive clause, which narrows its identity, and forming with the antecedent one unit of a higher rank, it becomes the antecedent of the second clause, nonrestrictive this time – on account of the formal indicator and the additional information it carries.

Both types of clauses occur with both definite and nondefinite phrases, moreover, with the same patterns (with the exception of the compounds, predeterminers *some*, *all*, *both*, and demonstrative pronouns functioning as pro-forms). The relative clauses which proceed will exemplify the combinations *a + noun*, *the + noun*, plural countable nouns and uncountable nouns in both types of clauses:

(145) She might have been talking to a child *who had cut his knee and had come for a bandage* [KO34].

(146) Then I noticed on his chimney piece a brass artillery shell casing, *which was intricately worked with a complex embossed pattern* [WB140].

Both relative clauses refer to indefinite noun phrases, however, the first is lexically light – talking to a child would not be newsworthy, therefore the reference of the antecedent needs to be narrowed; while the other antecedent is lexically heavier, and is premodified by *artillery + shell* (in the function of the attribute), hence it is not necessary to restrict its identity.

(147) They weren't the men *who've bought the house* [HD77].

(148) I was slowly accustomizing myself to life in the scrum, *which seemed mainly to involve galloping about the field chasing the ball* [WB142] (*which I didn't touch once in the first half* [WB143]).

Both relative clauses refer to definite noun phrases, but the definite article in the first indicates what or who is being referred to; such restriction is not needed in (148), where the identity of the antecedent(s) is clear.

(148) It is perhaps small wonder that strategists *who continue to exercise skill in their jobs* [BR612] often command a high premium in the form of expensive organisational inducements.

(149) Professors – *who are usually old people, very seldom children, though not infrequently an undecidable mixture of the two* [AB512] – include Roland Barthes.

Here again both relative clauses refer to seemingly the same indefinite noun phrases. Nevertheless, with the relative clause the speaker intends to say that *not all strategists continue to exercise skill in their job*, while in the second the proposition expressed by the relative clause, in speaker's opinion, applies to *all professors in general*.

(150) Six other people had already been remanded in custody on charges of failing to disclose information *which could have helped police investigating the failed July attacks* [Guard812].

(151) I mean, when I compare it with jealousy – *which is equally disabling, equally unpleasant, but has an obvious function* [DL443].

These relative clauses are embedded to main clauses with uncountable nouns as antecedents – however, the antecedent of the first is semantically lighter than that of the second: *information* needs restriction to be differentiated from the other items of the same class, while *jealousy* does not, it is *jealousy* as such that the speaker is interested in.

In our preliminary analysis, we hope to have shown that the process of modification of noun phrases is an extremely intricate process. Several factors are put together: the in/definiteness of the antecedent, its realization, its semantic weight, and – last but not least, the contextual situation. Both types of relative clauses postmodify definite and indefinite noun phrases, but the difference between the two realizations of the antecedent seems to consist in the semantic weight of the head noun. The differences between definite and indefinite noun phrases appear to have effects on the construction of the relative clause, e.g. with antecedents premodified by a possessive pronoun; a nonrestrictive clause follows, when the head of the noun phrase is realized by a proper noun (not determined by the definite article), only a nonrestrictive clause occurs. By contrast, compounds with *some*, *any*, *every*, *no* are invariably postmodified by a restrictive clause, the same is true of the pro-forms *those*, *that*, *this*, *one*.

8. The Formal, Semantic, and Syntactic Criteria Applied to the Relative Clauses in the Corpus

The first criterion to be dealt with is the formal criterion. The findings will then be contrasted with the other two criteria. However, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, and also in our preliminary analysis, the formal criterion, especially the use of a comma, is not dependable. The first step will be to analyse the clauses indicated by formal means (punctuation) to be nonrestrictive, after that we will examine the realization of the antecedents in these clauses, and next we will attempt to specify what it is that gives a relative clause a nonrestrictive character.

8.1 The Formal Criterion

The following is the representative definition: "In nonrestrictive relative clauses, the most explicit forms of relative pronouns, i.e. the *wh*-series, are typically used. (...) In writing, nonrestrictive relationship is usually marked off by commas."³²

Taking into consideration this definition, (i.e. the use of pronouns and punctuation combined), we located 222 nonrestrictive clauses in our sample, which amounts to 22 % of all relative clauses in the sample. Not a single occurrence of *that* with a comma was attested. These clauses can be divided into six groups according to the realizations of the antecedents:

- (a) nonrestrictive clauses postmodifying proper nouns
- (b) nonrestrictive clauses postmodifying common nouns with 'unique reference'
- (c) nonrestrictive clauses postmodifying not premodified³³ uncountable nouns and countable plural nouns
- (d) nonrestrictive clauses postmodifying semantically heavy antecedents
- (e) nonrestrictive clauses postmodifying antecedents whose identity is clear from the preceding context
- (f) nonrestrictive clauses postmodifying sentential antecedents (i.e. sentential relative clauses)

and a supplementary group of

³² CGEL pp. 1257-1258

³³ the assumption that the determiner of such nouns is zero is not taken into consideration

- (g) nonrestrictive clauses in which narrative time moves forward (i.e. continuative relative clauses)

The following examples will illustrate our point:

The relative clauses in (1) and (2) are examples of (a): antecedents as proper nouns:

(1) John Prescott, *who is standing in for Tony Blair while the prime minister is on holiday* [Guard824], had just chaired a No 10 meeting on the security situation yesterday when he decided to get some air.

(2) Oxfordshire, *which has to cut about £ 23,5m from its budget this year* [Ind873], about half of it from education, has been in the forefront of the fight against cuts.

The following relative clauses are examples of (b): antecedents with ‘unique reference’:

(3) The devastation has been described as spectacularly greater than last year, *when similar warnings about a poor season proved premature* [Guard841], and a record number of grouse were shot.

(4) The DAB, *which is more urban based* [Ind876], will not put up candidates to oppose them.

(5) Euro tunnel, *which has the concession on the tunnel until 2052 and operates the Shuttle services* [Ind877], ...

(6) I’m quoting a speech made by Chief Seattle in the mid-nineteenth century, *when the American Government wanted to buy his tribe’s land* [DL402].

(7) She would hardly be late – only ten minutes or so after all – at the Working Men’s Club, *where nobody worked* [KO49].

(8) They depended heavily on the United States and Japanese trade, *which has been wiped out in 1991 by the Gulf War* [BR640].

(9) Many economists would add that it is a truism *which has been in currency since Adam Smith wrote his Wealth of Nations in 1776*, [MB662] ...

This is a broad category of antecedents which we call ‘unique reference’: it is formed by such noun phrases as *last night*, *last February*, i.e. unique entities. Moreover, noun phrases indicating names of companies, buildings etc, are included into this category. The rationale for this decision is based on the fact that their inclusion under the category of proper nouns would be very difficult, since some are composites of proper nouns and common nouns, while other are formed by common nouns only, therefore, the cut between the two types would be complicated.

The relative clauses in (10), (11), (12), (13), and (14) exemplify antecedents realized by uncountable nouns and plural countable nouns with no premodification (hence the proposition introduced by the relative clauses is applicable to all items in the class indicated by the noun):

(10) The taste of his ale was swill compared to the Nottingham stuff, but he pushed his tankard for refilling, *which would last him until Wales ...* [AS177].

(11) This house does not welcome idleness, Mr Damson, *which is what I see in you* [PS330].

(12) But after dark, *when the lights are on* [DL418], you can see everything ...

(13) That comes more naturally to a larger percentage of men than it does to women, *who are more likely to question themselves* [Guard837].

(14) Fishermen, *many of whom, put to sea in rudimentary craft, were ...* [DTel998].

The following will display antecedents so heavy semantically that only extra information can be supplied:

(15) Nobody paid much attention to O’Hennesy, who like to be known by his Christian name, *which was Brehon* [WT241].

(16) We have a cottage in the country about half an hour away, near the Stow, *which we use at weekends* [DL445].

(17) That is to say, c. and d. are facts about the world and people in it, *which in turn are reflected by, even necessitate, the capacity of language to express vagueness, that is a. and b., among other factors* [JC711].

(18) The idea that the structure of ideas is vague in no way precludes the language system also incorporating vagueness, but in a sense, discussing the structure of ideas goes beyond the proper province of this book, *which is to explain how it is that vagueness is part of language* [JC715].

(19) Witnesses said the sea on Phuket’s west side, *where resorts were full of European holidaymakers escaping the winter chill* [DTel963], retreated before three vast swells of water inundated buildings up to the second storey.

(20) Yesterday he was devastated as the band called off their seven-date British tour, *which was due to start tonight at Sheffield* [Sun798].

The antecedents in this category include the antecedents premodified by possessive pronouns, adjectives, definite article (+ adjectives, + ordinals), demonstrative pronouns, prepositional phrases, or are a part of the *of* phrase.

The category (d) includes antecedents whose identity is clear from the situational context; these antecedents are premodified by the definite article, or demonstrative pronouns:

(21) ... he commanded the boy, *who had remained at the bottom of the stairs, staring silent questions toward his father* [KO18].

(22) The air was close, though he only ever sweated in the forge, *where it ran off you like drink* [AS174].

(23) The dining room has been converted into her sewing room, so we are now obliged to eat in the conservatory, *which, it being the middle of winter, is infernally cold* [WB124].

(24) The chairman said the group, *which owns Hull's Royal hotel*, intended to take advantage of the glut of properties on the market by making further acquisitions [BR623].

(25) We could hardly keep our faces straight when, armed with shovels and pitchforks, we were led round to the stables, *where half a dozen massive shire-horses stamped and chewed and swished their tails* [WB130].

Examples of relative clauses with sentential antecedents:

(26) The service is restricted to cars below 1,85 metres – *which rules out the Land Rover Discovery and some Shoguns* [Ind892], but

(27) But this was not the same as deliberately ending a life, *which was not permissible* [Ind889].

(28) Alsop is the most collegiate and least dictatorial conductor he has ever met, *which makes her problems in Baltimore difficult to understand* [Guard832].

Relative clauses in which the narrative time moves forward:

(29) The figure can be represented as a number of constituents *which coalesce to form larger constituents, which in turn unite to form larger ones* [DB560].

(> ... *and then they in turn unite to form larger ones*)

(30) This paper is well worth reading for the additional perspectives it offers on the evolution of marketing, *many of which will be addressed in the development of this text* [MB700].

(> ... *and then they will be addressed ...*)

(31) ... the results, which confirmed a match, were returned to Mrs Quinn, who read them out to Mrs Blankett [WTel906], who is blind.

(> ... and then she read them out ...)

(32) Mrs Quinn rang Mr Blunkett, who allegedly told her ... [WTel614]

(> ... and then she told her ...)

Table 24 displays the frequency of the categories of antecedents in the nonrestrictive clauses as found in the corpus:

Table 24: The frequency of different antecedents in nonrestrictive clauses

CATEGORY	FICTION	DIRECT SPEECH	JOURNALISTIC WRITING	ACADEMIC WRITING
(a)	16	1	47	5
(b)	3	7	15	3
(c)	-	3	7	1
(d)	19	5	14	9
(e)	13	7	7	8
(f)	8	-	6	2
(g)	7	1	6	5
TOTAL	66	24	102	33

Key: (a) = proper nouns, (b) = 'unique reference', (c) = not premodified plural countable nouns and uncountable nouns, (d) = semantically heavy antecedents, (e) = antecedents whose identity is clear from the preceding context, (f) = sentential antecedents, (g) = continuative clauses

Admittedly, this division of antecedents in nonrestrictive clauses is only rough, but it has the twin advantages of being simple and well suited for the following discussion. It shows that in our corpus there is a number of clauses not separated by commas, or with that, which follow the antecedents structurally identical to our classification above. Moreover, when preliminarily confronted with the semantic criterion, we found out that these clauses carry additional information, and indeed should be termed nonrestrictive. We attempted to classify

the clauses violating the formal criterion into the same categories as above. The frequency of antecedents, divided into the same categories as above, is presented in the following table.

Table 25: The frequency of antecedents in nonrestrictive clauses violating the formal criterion

CATEGORY	FICTION	DIRECT SPEECH	JOURNALISTIC WRITING	ACADEMIC WRITING
(a)	6	-	1	1
(b)	7	1	3	4
(c)	2	-	1	1
(d)	17	1	3	5
(e)	7	-	6	1
(f)	2	-	1	-
(g)	-	-	3	2
TOTAL	23	2	18	14

Key: (a) = proper nouns, (b) = 'unique reference', (c) = not premodified plural countable nouns and uncountable nouns, (d) = semantically heavy antecedents, (e) = antecedents whose identity is clear from the preceding context, (f) = sentential antecedents, (g) = continuative clauses

The preliminary analysis shows that the formal criterion is violated mostly in the register of fiction. After some hesitation we present the data for the register of direct speech as well, though it is problematic to speak of the violation of the formal criterion here, since conversation = direct speech should be primarily spoken, not written, therefore punctuation is not a matter to be discussed.

The following relative clauses demonstrate relative clauses violating the formal criterion.

As we have already seen wrongly punctuated relative clauses postmodifying proper nouns, we present one such example for illustration:

(33) This idea has also been reflected by Wittgenstein (1954) *who suggests that words are like blurred photographs and adds, ...* [JC707]

This set of relative clauses includes clauses postmodifying noun phrases with so-called 'unique reference':

(34) In 1969 Philip Kotler and Sidney Levy published an article 'Broadening the Concept of Marketing' (journal of Marketing) *which argued that marketing techniques were used and should be used by all organisations needing favourable responses from internal interest groups* [MB657]

(35) She looked it up, of course, in the City Library atlas *which shows the tiniest village, the most fragile serration of international boundaries* [HD92].

(36) Others read the list of forthcoming attractions outside the Essoldo Cinema *where The Battle of Britain was at present showing* [WT218].

(37) The unveiling was carried out by Mr Holland *who pressed a switch to illuminate the window over Tennyson's grave on which his grandfather's name been inscribed* [Ind894].

(38) The proliferation of definitions was the subject of an article entitled 'What exactly is Marketing' *in which FKeith Crosier reviewed over fifty definitions* [MB652].

(39) They had already drafted a weak resolution for today's IAEA meeting, giving the Iranians another chance before the Europeans would support taking the dispute to the UN security council in New York *which could opt for punitive sanctions against Iran* [Guard818].³⁴

(40) We'd visit the famous Lion Gate *under which Agamemnon passed to his murder in that bath* [PS332].

The next relative clauses refer to plural countable nouns and uncountable nouns which are without premodification:

(41) It is his own choice to shunt past them in a traffic jam which is loosening up now, breaking into its component cars *which stream off right and left as the drivers accelerate, ...* [HD62].

(42) Everywhere kids pile into cars and vans *which are already moving away as the last body hurls itself through the door* [HD96].

(43) Harry had bought a hat and a container used to make mate *which is similar to green tea* [WTel935].

³⁴ we present this complex sentence in full on purpose: it is significant that a comma has not been used here, even though it may have facilitated our understanding of the structure of such complexity

(44) Theobromine was found to be almost a third more effective in preventing coughing than codeine *which is considered the best available cough medicine* [WTel939].

The following relative clauses exemplify antecedents semantically so heavy that they are inevitably postmodified by an incidental piece of information:

(45) The manorial system was based on an ideal of self-sufficiency *under which each self-contained community endeavoured to meet all its own requirements with regard to both production and consumption* [MB773].

(46) Ullmann's reason a. (the generic character of words) was discussed in the concluding speculative chapter of Fodor (1977) *which raises a number of issues connected with vagueness without explicitly explaining them in such terms* [JC724].

(47) In the back are her bags with her clothes and a few books and her building society savings book *into which her grandparents have been putting money each year since she was born* [HD90].

(48) He did not have to turn around to know that the widow wore a scarf around her head *which made a triangle of her face not dissimilar, he always thought, to those little triangles of children's processed cheese* [KO3].

(49) The Home Secretary allegedly gave her two first-class tickets in August 2002 *which are thought to have been assigned to him for his work as an MP* [WTel908].

The fifth category includes antecedents whose identity is recoverable in the situational or linguistic context:

(50) Eamon stared at the boy *who stared at his father* [KO19], *an expression of horror tinged with shame, Eamon noted, spreading over the freckled features.* (situation: one boy present)

(51) He genuflected in the aisle and inclined his head sideways toward the women *who peered up at him out of the corners of their eyes, with what he considered that wretched flirtatious look of truly ugly women* [KO5]. (situation: he had seen the women before when entering the place)

(52) Fans are being advised to keep their tickets for the shows *which will be staged early next year* [Sun 779]. (situation: the shows had already been mentioned)

(53) This is certainly true of this book *which is biased towards economics* but, it is hoped, for reasons other than that the author was trained as an economist [MB661]. (situation: *this book* is the book that the reader is holding)

The last but one category concerns sentential antecedents. Only two instances of the violation of the formal criterion were found, both in the register of academic writing:

(54) This inevitably leads to vagueness *which is in some ways regrettable* [JC708],

but it is the price we have to pay for having a means of social communication flexible enough to cope with the infinite variety of our experiences.

(55) We at Marks & Spencer co-operate with the British Institute of Management *from which we mutually benefit* [BR641].

Finally, here are some examples of continuative clauses which violate the formal criterion:

(56) Barnes, a keen angler and pool and darts player, went to the White Lion pub in Dover, Kent, in the afternoon *where he downed the pints of beer* [Sun752].

(57) Peter and I found a public house down by the canal *where we drank beer and ate bread and cheese before catching our train back to Norwich* [WB147].

(58) Eamon tossed over his shoulder in a friendly voice to the boy *who now bolted ahead of Eamon* [KO12].

(59) He buckets the van down a one-way *which brings them out near the school, runs it along the road a short distance, stops* [HD85].

Moreover, 7 instances of relative clauses nonrestrictive in nature (with the semantic criterion applied) were attested to be introduced by *that*, and 3 to be introduced by the zero relative:

(60) The first pages of the lifelong, though intermittent, journal *that I began to keep from the age of fifteen* [WB114] are missing. (situation: the journal had been referred to already)

(61) The slight, carefully clad figure of Miss Lavant moved slowly in the opposite direction, beneath a red umbrella *that caught occasionally in the wind* [WT222].

In (61), the antecedent is premodified by the indefinite article and an adjective, which define their antecedent sufficiently, [the antecedent together with its premodification would belong to the category (d)], however, the information in the relative clause can be regarded as incidental only.

(62) With her head down, she said, in her breathless voice *that rose at the end of every sentence, as though in permanent query* [KO35]: ...

(63) We despise our politicians for doing nothing, and think that this is somehow enough to show we care, and meanwhile we live in centrally heated houses *that are too big for us* [NH377].

The instances in (62) and (63) are essentially the same as (61): the antecedents are semantically heavy, and the relative clauses present additional information.

(64) You can do PET scans and MRI scans nowadays *that show different parts of the brain lighting up like a pinball* [DL405].

Here, again the relative clause can be identified as nonrestrictive only, since it carries extra information, moreover, the antecedent is that of 'unique reference'.

(65) Eyes *that were slightly bulbous* [KO32], cheeks soft and loose, a protrusion of the upper teeth which overlapped in front, short brown hair frizzed at the edges from too many bad home perms, merge to give the appearance of a benign chipmunk.

(66) He had salty clipped hair, a pink baldpate high on his long peanut-shaped head and eyes of pales blue *that could, at times appear to dissolve into a startling white* [KO44]

These clauses can be explained in the same way as the relative clauses above [with the exception of (64)]. It is interesting that such antecedents as *head, noun, smile, eyes, voice, dress, beard* and similar are typically followed by relative clauses restrictive in form, even if the information supplied by them is additional. It seems that these antecedents one way or another preclude the choice of the relative clause. However, we have not carried out any quantitative research into such antecedents and their relative clauses to postulate such a rule. For illustration, we present more examples of relative clauses postmodifying such antecedents, outside the scope of our corpus.³⁵

(67) He had blue eyes and straight fair hair that fell into his eyes.

(68) My sister learned to cultivate a brave, orphaned smile that earned her gifts of sweets.

(69) She stared at my brother with piercing black eyes that were the colour of quality coal.

The next relative clauses are introduced by the zero relative although they supply extra information:

(67) Tragic Rebecca Cousin shot herself dead after failing to get her GCSE grade *she needed* [Sun792].

(68) The tremulous smile *he attempted from the bottom stair* made Eamon look away again in disgust [KO15].

(69) Uruguay, my native land, is held as fleetingly in my head as the demotic Spanish *I once unconsciously spoke* [AS108]. (situation: the demotic Spanish had been referred to already)

³⁵ the examples are derived from Šimová (2005: 60)

The study of relative clauses performed by Quirk (1957) attested only one instance of a nonrestrictive clause which was introduced by *that*. Quirk (*ibid*: 102) claims, “although the informants on whom I tested these substitutions accepted *that* in a score of instances as idiomatic, when subsequently given the choice between the two forms, they preferred *wh-* in all cases.” Our research confirmed that *that* and the zero relative occur in nonrestrictive relative clauses rarely, and are certainly no free variations of *wh*-relatives in nonrestrictive clauses. The reasons for the use of these two pronouns (and wrong punctuation) may lie in the negligence of grammatical rules as such, or the reasons might be those of euphony, or – as Fowler puts it (cited in Jacobsson: 1963: 413), some authors choose *that* “under the impression that its archaic sound adds the grace of unusualness to their style.”

In our corpus, we identified 222 nonrestrictive clauses by the formal criterion (use of comma and punctuation). In addition, 57 relative clauses with additional information were located with the help of the semantic criterion and the examination of the various structures of antecedents; these clauses violate the formal criterion. We infer, therefore, that the formal criterion is not dependable, as it was disregarded by 21 % of the total of 279 relative clauses. The formal and semantic criteria considered, it is apparent that the rule that for a relative clause to be restrictive both formal and semantic criteria have to be met, is not valid and must be reformulated in the following way:

A clause is nonrestrictive if a) meets the formal criterion and the semantic criterion

b) meets the semantic criterion, and violates the formal criterion.

However, this is only a preliminary conclusion, since the syntactic criterion has not been exercised yet.

To come back to the question which we put at the beginning of the chapter: what is it that makes a relative clause nonrestrictive? We have seen that most often the most decisive role is that of the antecedent, its premodification, hence its semantic weight, its determination by various lexical means, and last but not least, its recoverability from the linguistic and situational contexts.

8.2 The Semantic Criterion

The following will be used as the representative definition denoting the semantic criterion: “The primary distinction concerning the relationship of the clauses is between the relative clauses as restrictive, i.e., indicating a limitation on the possible reference of the

antecedent, and nonrestrictive, i.e., characterising the antecedent without limiting it.”³⁶ We will also proceed from the definition of restrictive and nonrestrictive modification as stated in CGEL: “The modification is restrictive when the reference of the head is a member of a class which be identified only through the modification that has been supplied. (...) Alternatively, the referent of a noun phrase may be viewed as unique or as a member of a class that has been independently identified (...). Any modification given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identification, and we call it nonrestrictive.” (ibid: 1239)

In the preceding chapter, the semantic criterion was contrasted with the formal criterion, to examine the validity of the latter. These two criteria combined, the result was the allocation of 279 nonrestrictive clauses in the sample, which provides us with 721 relative clauses restrictive in form (which are characterized by no formal indicators of the nonrestrictive character, i.e. comma, dashes, parentheses; and the whole range of relative pronouns). This is a broad category of clauses, ranging from those of adverbial character (cf Nosek) to clauses with antecedents exclusively permitting restrictive postmodification (cf Smith, Ryden, Taglicht and others), to clauses whose antecedents are semantically heavy (cf Depraetere).

Nosek (1960) sets up a subclass within the class of adverbial clauses: clauses of adverbial character. According to him, these clauses are not relative clauses as such as they cannot be projected upon the opposition restrictive : nonrestrictive. Consequently, such antecedents as *last night, last winter, yesterday* are followed by nonrestrictive clauses only (we grouped these noun phrases under the antecedents of ‘unique reference’); alternatively, such antecedents as *the way, the first time, the moment* allow restrictive postmodification only. Nosek classifies these clauses into three categories: clauses of time, clauses of place, and clauses of manner (these clauses invariably postmodify the antecedent *way*). As we are presently interested in the restrictive modification, we searched the body of our texts for occurrences of clauses with temporal antecedents (of the kind *every time, the moment, the minute*), and clauses with the antecedent *way*, which are exclusively followed by restrictive relative clauses. The reason for excluding the category of clauses of place is that it is too broad a category with no prototypes of antecedents which would be followed exclusively by

³⁶ Barbara Strang: 1962: 121

either type of relative clauses (as can be claimed of *way* or *the moment*, *the first time* etc). Nosek presents the following examples of (relative) clauses of place:³⁷

(70) I can only remember one room *that we didn't go into*.

(71) Robert was a brute not to take her anywhere *she wanted to go*.

(72) Their people do not own the land *they starve in*.

In our research, the antecedent of the relative clause in (71) is subsumed under the group of universal and partitive pronouns, the antecedents in (70) and (72) are treated with regard to their premodification. Nevertheless, the notions of the (relative) clauses of time and manner are crucial for us, since they comprise antecedents which themselves influence the construction of their relative clauses to a great extent: they present a block on nonrestrictive clauses.

Table 26: The frequency of (relative) clauses of time and manner in the corpus

REGISTER	TIME	MANNER
fiction	7	8
direct speech	13	10
academic writing	1	11
journalistic writing	-	11
TOTAL	21	40

In the corpus, the antecedents of clauses of time are of the following forms: *any time*, *each time*, *the only time*, *the first time*, *that time*, *the worst time*, *the last time*, *the third time*, *the next time*, *the minute*, *the moment*; as regards clauses of manner, the antecedent *way* occurs in the following forms: *a way*, *ways*, *a way of*, *one of the ways*, *ways*, *the way*, *the ways*, *the modest way*, *the single most important way*.

Examples from the corpus:

(73) She'll end up losing him – and knowing my Mercedes, that'll be the moment [JH477] *she realizes he was the one she wanted all along*.

(74) You know the last time *we went out for pizza* [NH363]?

(75) This was the first time *I had ever seen him tieless* [WB137].

(76) He could never believe the way *Eamon O'Neill and others did* [KO25].

³⁷ *ibid.*: 97

(77) Critics such as Norman Holland and David Bleich are interested in investigating ways in which particular individuals respond to texts [AB526].

(78) Perhaps the single most important way in which control can be exercised by the corporate centre [BR645] is ...

We believe the relative clauses above all indicate limitation on their antecedents, therefore they are restrictive, according to the semantic criterion.

Chapter 7.7, which dealt with definite and indefinite noun phrases, explained that among determiners (and predeterminers), there are several items which, combined with their head nouns, can be exclusively followed by restrictive relative clauses. Particularly, this concerns the compounds with *every, some, any, no*, and the pro-forms for noun phrases *one, that, those, this*. The same is not true of premodifiers, *all, no, any, every*: as we have seen, Smith's claim that the 'unspecified determiners', as she calls them (and which, according to her, can occur with restrictive clauses only)³⁸ was polemized with by Ryden (1970), van den Broeck (1973) and others. Accordingly, the clauses postmodifying these antecedents were contrasted with the semantic criterion.

In our sample, the relative clauses postmodifying the compounds with *any, some, every, no* amounted to 42; the relative clauses postmodifying the pro-forms *one, that, those* amounted to 25. The relative clauses referring to these antecedents were confronted with the semantic criterion.

Examples of relative clauses postmodifying compounds with *some, any, no* and *every*:

(79) But please go, and let me see someone who has something wrong with them [NH359].

(80) You can run away from everyone who doesn't thoroughly approve of you every second of the day [NH567].

(81) Anything Xavier wants [JH463], he gets.

(82) This is not something that is made clear in the first sentence [AB539].

(83) But if Kate Croy were a real human being, your cognitive science could tell us nothing about her that we'd want to know [DL423].

All the relative clauses above supply information that is necessary for the unequivocal identity of their noun phrases. In (79), the relative clause narrows the identity of someone: they want to see only the person who has something wrong with them; the same is true of the other relative clauses. Invariably, all the relative clauses in our corpus which postmodify the

³⁸ Smith: 1964: 38

compounds with *some, any, every, no* are restrictive when subjected to the semantic criterion.

The examples of relative clauses postmodifying *all, that, those, one* as head nouns:

(84) But all they really find out [DL421] is what has gone on in the writer's head.

(85) All we can presume at this point [AB540] is that we are reading that particular kind of text called a novel ...

(86) Another critical decision is that which establishes the type of product or service to be aimed at the public. [BR633].

(87) Those who have accepted the marketing concept believe the real solution may be expressed something like this: ... [MB16].

(88) Ever-changing new technology also combines to produce the need for organising systems and structures very different from those which were effective only 15 or so, years ago [BR630].

(89) ... the bedraggled woman was one you might see on a winter's day trudging towards the workhouse [AS191].

(90) You were the one who mentioned defences [JH469], not me!

When confronted with the semantic criterion, all the preceding relative clauses are restrictive, since they supply their antecedents with a necessary determination. The same applies to the other relative clauses in the corpus which postmodify these antecedents. The semantic criterion considered, such relative clauses are restrictive. In the corpus, we found 25 clauses postmodifying this group of antecedents.

The examples of relative clauses postmodifying antecedents premodified by *all, any, every* (32 of them in the corpus):

(91) All these funerals you see on television after terrorist bombs, earthquakes, and so on, give me creeps [DL:442].

(92) Polly was killed in a fight with Bob's German Shepherd dog Flaxton, who became jealous of all the attention [Sun766] she got.

Both relative clauses above postmodify antecedents premodified by *all*; both indicate a limitation on the reference of the head noun: the proposition introduced by the relative clause

in (91) applies only to the funerals you see on television. Similarly, the dog became jealous only of the attention Polly got, in (92).

(93) UK security sources have consistently denied that they received any specific threat *on which it was possible to act before July* [Guard845].

(94) I would have sworn an oath to absolute candour and asserted my refusal to feel shame over any revelations *which that candour would have encouraged* [WB116].

It is true of the relative clauses in (93) and (94) that they identify their reference, they narrow their identity.

(95) This acknowledgement that the death of the author is written into every word *she or he publishes* [AB548] is evident in copyright law.

(96) Kill every terrorist *we capture* [PS339], instantly, in proper rage!

Similarly, as in the instances above, these relative clauses narrow the identity of their antecedents. The same can be said of the other clauses in the sample postmodifying *any, all, every* as premodifiers. In our sample, these relative clauses account for 14 instances.

In the corpus, *no* relative clause postmodifying an antecedent with *no* was attested.

Our findings prove those of Ryden, who in the corpus of 2,000 relative clauses has “no nonrestrictive examples of *any* + noun or *no* + noun” (1970:55); as regards *every, any, all, no* put together, he located 51 restrictive clauses and 4 restrictive clauses. The nonrestrictive use of all is shown in the following instance:

(97) Contrary to the advice and entreaties of all friends, among whom I was myself the most urgent³⁹

In addition, our findings based on the corpus revealed that antecedents premodified by *the only* (11 instances), *each* (2 instances), and adjectives in the superlative form (13 instances in the corpus, one instance of a superlative form as a head noun) are invariably followed by restrictive clauses. Here are some examples:

(98) It was the only occasion *he had every enjoyed at Dymouth comprehensive* [WT247] and it was crowned by his discovery that without any difficulty whatsoever he could adopt a falsetto voice.

(99) For each occasion *on which we speak* [DB551], we meet certain requirements we must seek to satisfy.

³⁹ 1970: 55

(100) The nearest thing we've got to Frankenstein's laboratory [DL413] is Max Karingthy's mural.

(101) In this way, as far as rugby is concerned, the most and the worst I have to do [WB123] is turn out once a week for the House XV in the school leagues.

Within the large category of 721 clauses potentially restrictive, we have 188 clauses that are decidedly restrictive: they meet both formal and semantic criteria. This group involves clauses which postmodify such temporal antecedents as *the first time, the minute, the way*; furthermore, they postmodify the pro-forms of noun phrases *all, one, that, those*, and finally, these clauses refer to antecedents premodified by *every, any, all, the only* and *each*. In our sample, these relative clauses amount to 19 % of all clauses. When deducted from the total of 721 clauses, which are not nonrestrictive, we are left with 533 relative clauses, whose status we will now examine.

This category consists of relative clauses postmodifying antecedents in both definite and indefinite noun phrases. The number of antecedents occurring in the former is 306, while the number of antecedents occurring in the latter is 227. In both types of antecedents, we are faced with head nouns which are further premodified (they are a part of the *of* phrase, or are premodified by adjectives or prepositional phrases), hence they can be regarded as being semantically heavy.

The relative clauses referring to the abovementioned antecedents were subjected to the semantic criterion. We found out that 55 of these clauses restrict the identity of their antecedents; consequently, the semantic criterion considered, they should be termed restrictive.

The following examples illustrate restrictive clauses postmodifying antecedents in indefinite and definite noun phrases:

(100) The word that was needed to trigger the inquiry's statutory powers [WTel917] is not a term one would associate with a tribunal [WTel9178] that has sat for 434 days over four and a half years.

(101) He thought about the act he'd devised for the Spot the Talent competition [WT238];

(103) She reported experiments which showed that perceptual categories such as colour and shape have internal structure [JC720].

(104) We have a taboo which should not be talked about. [DH257].

The examples of indefinite noun phrases which are further premodified:

(105) A pioneering keyhole operation that destroys cancer by freezing [DTel975] has been carried out for the first time on two British patients.

(106) Kojo Anna worked for a Swiss company that won one of the Iraq contracts [Guard819].

(107) He has a kind of rulebook containing logical procedures that enable him to answer them in Chinese [DL431].

(108) They believe that consciousness is an irreducible self evident fact about the world that can't be explained in other terms [DL408].

(109) The objective underlying the inclusion of this summary is the need to put marketing in perspective – to try and explain why it is only in this century that marketing has emerged as a significant concept which is quickly converting many of its tenets [MB670].

(110) The success (...) depends upon the contributions made by all those sets of plans, decisions and actions which lead to the development of an effective strategy [BR607].

(111) It makes sense to me to believe that if you wish to conceive, a frame of mind *that revolves around procreation, perhaps a touch obsessively* [DH275], is no bad thing.

We are of the opinion that all the antecedents above, though certainly not of a 'light' semantic weight, need to be identified through their postmodifying clauses. For instance, the antecedent of the first relative clause, *a pioneering keyhole operation*, only vaguely hints at its referent, the premodification does not indicate limitation on its head, the necessary limitation is attended to by the postmodifying clause.

The examples of definite noun phrases which are further premodified:

(112) Labour MPs are concerned that Tony Blair's sweeping 12-point plan for tackling the threat posed by Islamist terrorism may hinder the very goals he seeks to achieve [Guard842].

(113) The serviceable, error-dotted, grammatically unsophisticated Spanish that I speak today [WB104] is the poorest of poor cousins to that instinctive colloquial jabber *that spilled out of me for the first nine years of my life* [WB105].

(114) Oh, these are only the usual estuarial annoyances you get on the BBC these days [DH251].

(115) If I'd known that I'd be the sort of woman who was going to end up sitting with married friends and moaning about my single status [NH355], I would have to shot myself.

Again, we classified these clauses as restrictive, since - their semantic status considered - they define their antecedents, which can be identified only through the information these clauses carry.

However, in the corpus, several relative clauses were located which neither define their antecedents nor provide extra information. Apparently, they violate the semantic criterion. Consequently, the semantic criterion taken into account, a number of relative clauses cannot be projected upon the opposition restrictive : nonrestrictive. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, all relative clauses nonrestrictive in form provide additional, though relevant information, hence the impossibility of the univocal designation virtually refers to relative clauses restrictive in form, i.e. clauses without commas and not avoiding the use of *that*. In other words, all relative clauses nonrestrictive in form supply their antecedents with extra information, while not all relative clauses restrictive in form define their antecedents. We suggest that the following relative clauses do not define their antecedents nor do they supply them with incidental information:

FICTION

(116) She has this terrible frizzy corkscrew hair *she's ashamed of*, always hiding it under hats and scarves [WB141].

(117) A man *who came in at Droitwich* [AS173] tipped his cap and wished him good morning.

(118) He couldn't show breeding by giving up his seat, because the carriage was empty, but the leather portmanteau *he lifted onto the rack for her* [AS176] stained his arms as if filled with lead.

(119) When a woman *who was sixty if she was a day* [AS179] pushed into the crowded carriage carrying a large basket with a lid, he stood to put it on the rack for her.

(120) Glad to be by himself, he sat opposite a man and a woman *who fixed him as if knowing he couldn't be of the area* [AS190].

(121) Land rose mountainously to either side, the train spindled a river *whose name he didn't know* [AS181], fields and rivers much the same everywhere.

(122) Some daft ha'porths *who were as mean as hell with their pennies* [AS200] arranged for a smith to make so many shoes a year, but they got taken in, because the smith might put heavier shoes on the horse hoping they'd last longer and save him making so many, which wasn't good for the horse.

(123) The rectory *she lived in now* [WT209], an ivy-clad building set among ragged lawns, had been a mysterious and forbidding house to her as a child, partly hidden from the road by a stone wall and a row of macrocarpa trees.

(124) He rode down Fore Street, where holiday-makers *who had taken advantage of the pre-Easter rates* [WT 216] looked as though they regretted it as they loitered in the rain.

(125) 'Cheers,' he said to a couple of old-age pensioners *who were tottering along together, clinging to one another on a slippery pavement* [WT228], but they didn't reply.

(126) The eight children in Timothy Gedge's group laughed uproariously when he dressed up as Queen Elizabeth I in a red wig and garment *that had a lank white ruff at his neck* [WT245].

(127) He shrinks back against the dented steel railings *which hold off cars from the refuge* [HD58].

(128) Who's Paul Parrett to that gaunt young man in a green parka *who feels a winter wind blowing even in July* [HD59]? (situation: it is July and the man is wearing a green parka)

(129) It's there somewhere, it's lodged in their minds like grit *which they pearl into profit* [HD63].

(130) Now he's in his car, after a bowl of coffee and French bread and on his way back from a place *he will never visit again* [HD65].

(131) He makes sure that these intermediaries are professionals *who want to stay in business* [HD74], and also they have no links with major organised crime.

(132) Kai is lit up for her by the soft glamour of midsummer nights *she's never seen* [HD91].

(133) She had gifts *she gave human children* [HD93].

The relative clauses in (118), (121), (122), (125), (127), (132), (134), and (135) only seemingly define their antecedents, on the contrary, the information they supply does not indicate a limitation on the reference of the antecedents. Consequently, the identity of the antecedents is not clear. For instance, the antecedents of (119), (121), (132), and (135) are semantically empty, consequently, in need of restriction, however, the information supplied by the relative clause fails to narrow its identity. The same applies to the other antecedents. The antecedent of (116) is premodified by *this*, which is cataphoric, and precludes in a way the construction of a relative clause as restrictive, but, yet again, the information does not restrict its identity.

The relative clauses in (124), (125), (129), (131), (133) present such kind of information which is implied in the antecedent: the antecedent of the first *some daft ha'porths* indicates that these people are daft and mean; it is expected of the antecedent of the second clause *the*

dented steel railings to hold off cars from the refuge. The relative clause in (123) is very difficult to be commented on: on the one hand, the context of the story makes it clear that *she lives in the rectory*, hence no such restriction is needed, on the other hand, the antecedent itself needs to be defined so that it is unambiguous what the following relative clause refers to. As for (131) we infer from the context of the story that the people produce grit, i.e. they make profit out of it, and therefore the information cannot be regarded as restricting or additional. Similarly, the antecedent of (133) entails that (business) professionals want to stay in business and should not have links with major organized crime.

The antecedents in (119), (120), (126), (128), and (130) are postmodified by relative clauses which introduce essential information, which does not define them, but is vital for the context, both linguistic and situational. They are adverbial in nature, as they convey the concept of consequence. Thus in (120), the identity of the antecedent *the leather pormanteau* is clear, nevertheless the relative clause explains why he stained his arms. Correspondingly, the antecedent in (126), *holiday-makers* is not in need of being restricted, but the relative clause says what it was *that they regretted*. The relative clause in (128) explains why *the children laughed uproariously at the costume consisting of a red wig and a garment*.

DIRECT SPEECH

(137) But he'd only be some poof *who'd baffle you with science than leave the likes of us to do this anyway* [DH288].

(138) It's just a little ritual *we have to go through* [DH300].

(139) Listen, I'm a Mid-West academic *who stands every day before students in a place totally removed from proper theatre* [PS311].

(140) Like you, I'd written a dissertation *people liked* [PS313].

(141) A person of my standing should make the bed of a little nigsy *who calls herself princess* [PS332]!

(142) At this moment, like most would-be heroes in Greek legend, he has made an exceedingly foolish vow *which he cannot possibly fulfil* [PS337].

(143) It has a hollow wooden handle *where you can store the blades* [PS344].

(144) Tell it to their descendants *who are now slaughtering* [PS350] because of what he did.

(145) It was a prejudice *I hadn't examined properly* [NH371].

Again, as in the register of fiction, these relative clauses can be divided into three groups: the first comprises the relative clauses which define their antecedents only indirectly [the instances of (138), (139), (140), and (145)], the second group covers those relative clauses

that supply information inherent in the antecedent [the relative clauses in (137), (141), (142) and (143)]; finally, the third group is formed by the relative clauses which carry information essential for the situational or linguistic context [i.e. the relative clause in (145)].

ACADEMIC WRITING

(146) Many economists would add that it is a truism *which has been in currency since Adam Smith wrote his Wealth of Nations in 1776* [MB662], ...

(147) The answer is to be found in economic history, in which the evolution of economics may be studied, and no apologies are offered for the summary *which follows* [AB669].

(148) In the meantime, however, the original industrial nations are not standing still but are channelling their skill and knowledge into the production of more sophisticated products *which the newer industrial nations are eager, and able, to buy* [AB686].

(149) In this mode the decision-making proceed via small steps *which are expected only partially to achieve goals* [BR601].

(150) Jonathan spends a lot of time on converting former derelict grain warehouses into a hotel in Leeds *which is the first of its kind in Britain* [BR613].

(152) The findings then provide a convenient base *from which to go on to take in other possibilities* [DB564].

(153) In the narrator speaks of meeting a traveller *who reports having seen a vast shattered statue strewn across the desert* [AB514].

(154) A poststructuralist reading traces and affirms the sense of a radical otherness *which undermines all claims to interpretive mastery* [AB537].

Here, these relative clauses distinguish between those identifying their antecedents with insufficient information [the relative clauses in (146), (150), (153)], and those which comprise such information that is inherent in the antecedent [the examples of (147), (148), (149), (152), and (154)].

JOURNALISTIC WRITING

(155) Two hero firemen died yesterday in a massive blaze *which tore through a poultry factory* [Sun769].

(156) The luckiest people in the crash were two vagrants *who usually sleep on the station benches* [Sun785], a fire brigade spokesman said.

(157) The driver of a train *which jumped the rails and demolished a station yesterday* [Sun751] had been boozing just hours before going on duty.

(158) Mrs Cook's personal remarks come after the political tributes *which have poured from across the world* [Guard 848].

(159) Wilde had been not only a brilliant entertainer but a dedicated poet *who in the end had fulfilled the world's most solemn expectations* [Ind852].

(160) If the negotiators believed that the unionists can be bought off by a useless assembly *that has no freedom to determine how it orders its own affairs* [Ind853] they were gravely mistaken.

(161) The decision is made carefully with the parents and other specialists *who would have to be responsible for the child's future* [Ind866].

(162) They gathered to say farewell to a woman *who overnight became a martyr to the animal rights movement* [Ind868].

(163) Alan Clark, the former Tory Cabinet minister, put in an appearance *which caused a hostile ripple among those unaware of his dislike of fox hunting and animal cruelty* [Ind885].

(164) The decision prevented England from abandoning a tour *that has been widely condemned* [Ind901].

(165) We came to a *door which was locked* [DTel958] and the water was coming.

(166) With tears in his eyes, a hotel worker *who accompanied them to the airport* [DTel968], said ...

(167) The second factor is that we are living in a world of minimally invasive techniques *which are becoming more appealing* [DTel978].

(168) Its tourism is based on some unspoilt beaches *where turquoise seas lap on white sands* [DTel982].

(169) Many of the temples are magnificent, even if they have found themselves dwarfed by the huge high-rise hotels *which are dominating the skylines of some of the busier resorts* [DTel983].

(170) Nevertheless their appeal is sufficient to attract thousands of backpackers and divers *who come to marvel at the underwater life particularly at Ko Phi Phi, Ko Samui and Ko Lanta* [DTel936].

Expectantly, the relative clauses can be subsumed under three groups as drawn up above: thus the clauses (whose antecedents are empty in most cases) in (155), (158), (159), (162), (163), (164), (166), and (167) do not identify their antecedents sufficiently; the clauses in (160), (168), (169), (170), (161) provide information that has already been indicated by the antecedent itself; the remaining relative clauses in (156), (157) and (165) do not define their

antecedents, but rather explain why the information they introduce is important for the context.

The relative clauses numbered from (116) to (170) demonstrate structures which violate the semantic criterion. In other words, the semantic criterion cannot be applied to them, since they do not limit the reference of their antecedents, nor do they characterize them without limiting it. Very roughly, we divided these clauses into three groups, as described above. The following table displays the frequency of these clauses in the examined registers:

Table 27: The frequency of the relative clauses violating the semantic criterion

REGISTER	group A	group B	group C	TOTAL
fiction	8	5	5	18
direct speech	4	4	1	9
academic writing	3	5	-	8
journalistic writing	8	5	3	16
TOTAL	23	19	9	51

Key: group A: relative clauses defining their antecedents with insufficient information,

group B: relative clauses supplying information implicit in their antecedents

group C: relative clauses important not for the antecedent itself, but for the situational or the linguistic context

Table 27 displays that the relative clauses which trespass on the semantic criterion are mostly found in fiction, and in journalistic writing. Naturally, they occur in academic writing only rarely; the fact which stems from the disposition of the register – i.e. accuracy, clarity and brevity. The low frequency of these relative clauses in academic writing probably depends on the formal language, which is governed by the requirement for a precise idiom. In fiction, it is the individual style of the author or the style of the text and the autonomy of expression that are of the greatest importance in determining the final form of the relative clause.

For illustration, we present here more examples of relative clauses violating the semantic criterion. Although not within the scope of our corpus, we hope they will support our argument.⁴⁰

Relative clauses that carry information insufficient for the antecedent to be clearly identified:

(171) It fired iron bolts that could go right through several people.

(172) He lived in a flat he did not own in Clapham.

(173) The pistol was a short-barrelled gun that could be held in one hand.

(174) It fired iron bolts that could go right through several people.

(175) Anne had already fallen in love with a young sailor who had come off a ship in port.

Relative clauses that introduce redundant information with respect to the antecedent:

(176) They preferred slouch hats that protected the backs of their necks from the sun.

(177) Dampier was a keen naturalist who kept notes on all plants and animals.

(178) We laughed that it was a fairytale romance that was simply too perfect to be true.

(179) In the half-dark they no longer looked like nice friendly dogs that licked your face but hounds of hell.

(180) As a result of the archaeological investigation it was found that portions of the original 17th-century brick floor survived underneath a 19th-century floor which had been laid on top.

Examples of relative clauses which provide information more important for the content than for the antecedent:

(181) We shifted our feet to arrest the cold which gnawed the soles of our shoes and bit our bones.

(182) The officers stayed to fight with a bravery that was close to suicide.

(183) The firing had been desultory in the last hour, but now it rose to a sustained crackle that sounded like dry tinder burning fierce.

(184) She was desperately waiting for a gap between sentences which never came.

(185) As Harris retreated, Philomena threw a small stone that hit him behind his left ear, but he didn't care about the pain.

⁴⁰ the examples are derived from Šimová (2005) and Fialová (1996), our preliminary probes into the system of relative clauses

With the semantic criterion subjected to them, these relative clauses cannot be classified as restrictive or nonrestrictive, since they do not restrict their antecedents, nor do they provide additional information. However, with regard to the formal criterion, they are inevitably restrictive. As a result, it is evident that the final criterion to be examined, the syntactic criterion, should be applied to these controversial instances of relative clauses.

The application of the semantic criterion hence divides the relative clauses in our corpus into the following types:

- relative clauses which restrict their antecedents (these clauses are traditionally termed restrictive)
- relative clauses which provide their antecedents with additional information (the traditional term is nonrestrictive, with the subclasses of sentential relative clauses and continuative relative clauses)
- relative clauses which do not define their antecedents nor do they provide them with additional information (they form the intermediate stage or the grey zone, as stated by some linguists)

8.3 The Syntactic Criterion

The following is the representative definition: “Nonrestrictive clauses might be discarded without serious injury to the precise understanding of the sentence as a whole,” from which we infer that restrictive relative clauses are not deletable.

First, this definition was applied to the relative clauses classified as restrictive in the preceding chapter, then it was applied to the relative clauses which trespass on the semantic criterion, and finally, it was contrasted with the clauses termed as nonrestrictive.

Apparently, the antecedents which present a block on nonrestrictive clauses, cannot be deleted: i.e. temporal antecedents of the kind *the first time, the minute, the moment*, the antecedents realized by *way, one, all, those, that*, or by compounds with *any, some, no, every*, together with the antecedents premodified by adjectives in the superlative form, or by *all, any, every, the only, each*.

Here are some examples anchored in the immediate contexts of the respective texts:

(186) “Mercedes is playing with fire,” she declared. “Xavier Bastonnet’s a good lad, but deep down he’s as obstinate as his grandfather. She’ll end up losing him – and knowing my

Mercedes, that'll be the moment *she realizes he was the one* [JH477] she wanted all along [JH478].”

When deleted, we have *deep down he's as obstinate as his grandfather. She'll end up losing him – and knowing my Mercedes, that'll be the moment.* The other relative clause deleted, we obtain the following: ...*that'll be the moment she realizes he was the one.* It is apparent that neither of the relative clauses can be deleted, since the meaning changes dramatically. Both antecedents are determined by the context to be in need of restriction.

(186) Everything on his writing desk was squared off: blotter, paper knife, pen rack. A good fire was burning efficiently in the grate, and HD had changed into a cardigan and was wearing no tie. This was the first time I had ever seen him tieless [WB137]. He served me tea and fruit scones.

The deletion of the relative clause yields the following: * ... *he had changed into a cardigan and was wearing no tie. This was the first time. He served me tea and fruit scones.* Even though *the tie* occurs in the immediate vicinity of the other clause, the reference of the noun phrase *the first time* remains unclear without further modification. Consequently, the relative clause cannot be severed from its antecedent.

(187) To adapt Holden Caulfield's analogy here, a ghost does not have a telephone number. In keeping with the notion that the author is necessarily a ghost, we could suggest that the greatest literary texts are indeed those *which suggest they are singular, that no one else could have written them* [AB513], and yet that their authorship is, in more than one sense, a phantom issue.

If the relative clause is deleted from the complex sentence, it results in the following structure: * ...*with the notion that the author is necessarily a ghost, we could suggest that the greatest literary texts are indeed those, and yet that their authorship is, in more than one sense, a phantom issue.* The restrictive clause provides essential information without which it is not possible to imagine what the pro-form *those* refers to.

(188) Since she was eleven Nadine has walked home from school and seen what happens. Slowly it's swum into focus and become something *she understands* [HD84]. First the slowing car, then the sauntering girl glancing quickly up and down the street before she leans in at the car window and assesses its driver ...

The deletion of the relative clause yields the following: * ... *slowly it's swum into focus and become something. First the slowing car, then ...* If the relative clause is omitted, then the meaning changes, however, not only that, it harms the understanding of the sentence.

However, it appears that the relative clauses with the other antecedents, i.e. the clauses which, according to Nosek can be projected upon the opposition restrictive : nonrestrictive cannot be regarded as readily deletable. With some restrictive clauses, when deleted, no serious injury ensues, but there is a shift of meaning, as in:

(189) His adoptive mother never disclosed to the adoption society that the reason *she had not been able to have a child herself* [HD66] was that she had never slept with her husband in fifteen years of marriage. Mr Parrett said nothing and died two years after Paul was adopted.

If excluded from the complex sentence, the relative clause does not cause much harm to the sentence structure, nevertheless the overall meaning is changed to some extent: ... *she never disclosed to the adoption society that the reason was that she had never sleep with her husband in fifteen years of marriage*. The identity of the antecedent is recoverable from the context, which, on the other hand, might be too demanding on the reader's part.

The same applies to the other instance:

(191) On first acquaintance with a new subject most of us like to be given a definition *which summarises its subject matter as succinctly as possible* [MB651]. Furthermore, we expect this definition to be generally agreed upon by those who profess knowledge of the subject so that whatever personal idiosyncrasies may be demonstrated in the subsequent exposition there will be a common starting-point ...

The omission of the relative clause yields ...*most of us like to be given a definition. Furthermore, we expect this definition to be generally agreed upon* ... The sentence is seemingly complete without the relative clause, the antecedent can stand on its own; nevertheless, the meaning changes. Moreover, it is very unlikely that a structure of such a complexity as the other clause would follow.

Another example:

(191) "Martin," he inclined his head. The man *he addressed* [KO17] wrestled with his face and body in the hall. Eamon continued to rub one eye while the other watched the ungainly body, the twitchings and comical, unconscious handwringing of the other man.

If the relative clause is omitted, we have ... *he inclined his head. The man wrestled with his face and body in the hall. Eamon continued to rub one eye while the other* ... Admittedly, it is true that the reference should be narrowed by the relative clause, but, on the other hand, it is recoverable in the context. However, we believe this is too vague an assumption, and will suggest that these clauses are not deletable, since the meaning of the complex sentence should not be changed.

Nevertheless, these are exceptional examples, the other relative clauses which were termed restrictive when subjected to the semantic criterion, typically cannot be repudiated from the sentence structure for the reason that either the deletion would destroy the structure of the complex clause, or the overall meaning would be changed to a considerable extent, as in:

(192) We're GPs, Katie. We trained for seven years. I'm sure the world's full of people *who can do a better job than we do* [NH400] but we can't let the patients know that, or it's finished.

The deletion of the relative clause, * *...the world's full of people but we can't let the patients now that ...*, indeed noticeably changes the meaning: it implies that *people* in general are considered, which is fairly unlikely.

The same explanation applies to the next instances:

(193) "I presume you don't agree." – "No, I don't. Because, even in a thought experiment, it's impossible to conceive of a computer programme *that would work as this one is supposed to work* [DL434]. Or if it could, then it would be conscious by any ordinary criteria."

(> * *it's impossible to conceive of a computer programme. Or if it could, then it would be conscious by any ordinary criteria*)

(194) "He'd be conscious of doing an incredibly boring job." - "Good point," says Ralph. "But it's not Searle's. He argues that the man can't be conscious of the information *he's processing* [DL422], and inasmuch as he's acting like a computer programme, neither can a computer programme be conscious of the information *it's processing* [DL433]. Therefore Artificial Intelligence must fail."

(> *... he argues that the man can't be conscious of the information, and inasmuch as he's acting like a computer programme, neither can a computer programme be conscious of the information ...*; with the deletion of the relative clause the reference of the antecedent changes)

The second step was to apply the syntactic criterion to the relative clauses which violate the semantic criterion. The possibility or impossibility of the deletion of the relative clause apparently varies in the three groups, which we set up. Expectantly, the relative clauses in the third group (i.e. clauses which are more important for the context of the complex clause than the antecedent to which they refer) cannot be deleted from the sentence structure. Consider the following examples:

(195) Travelling put salt in your windpipe, and then he was diverted by a youngish woman in all-mourning black getting on at Hereford. He couldn't show breeding by giving up his seat, because the carriage was empty, but the leather portmanteau *he lifted onto the rack* [AS176] for her strained his arms as if filled with lead. Observing it, she told him it contained her devotional books.

The relative clause cannot be deleted, because if it were, it would not only destroy the overall meaning of the complex sentence, but it would also affect the following sentence: * *He couldn't show breeding by giving up his seat, because the carriage was empty, but the leather portmanteau strained his arms as if filled with lead. Observing it, she told him it contained her devotional books.*

Similarly, the next instance allows a similar explanation:

(196) He rode down Fore Street, where holiday-makers *who had taken advantage of the pre-Easter rates* [WT216] looked as though they regretted it as they loitered in the rain. Some took refuge in the doorways of shops, eating sweets or nuts.

(> ... *He rode down Fore Street, where holiday makers looked as though they regretted it as they loitered in the rain.*)

Similarly, the case of the relative clauses in the second group is as straightforward: they in turn can be deleted from the sentence structure, as the information they introduce is implicit in the antecedent, which makes the relative clause redundant. Here are some examples:

(197) Some daft ha'porths *who were as mean as hell with their pennies* [AS200] arranged for a smith to make so many shoes a year, but they got taken in, because the smith might put heavier shoes on the horse hoping they'd last longer and save him making so many, which wasn't good for the horse.

The deletion of the relative clause does not cause any injury to the complex sentence: ... *some daft ha'porths arranged for a smith to make so many shoes a year, but they got taken in* ...

(198) He requires a service, therefore he must deal with intermediaries. He makes sure that these intermediaries are professionals *who want to stay in business* [HD74], and also that they have no links with major organized crime.

(> ... *he makes sure that these intermediaries are professionals, and also they have no links with major organized crime.*)

(199) The answer is to be found in economic history, in which the evolution of economics may be studied, and no apologies are offered for the summary *which follows* [MB669]. The

objective underlying the inclusion of the summary is the need to put marketing in perspective.

(> ...no apologies are offered for the summary. The objective underlying the inclusion of the summary)

The first group of relative clauses which violate the formal criterion present a problem regarding the possible deletion of the clause: on the one hand, there are clauses that are deletable, on the other hand, there are clauses whose deletion is questionable. The basis for this division seems to lie in the premodification of the antecedent. The antecedents which are semantically heavy will permit the deletion of the relative clause; while with the antecedents which are semantically light there is some doubt about the possibility of the deletion. However, this rule is not valid for all clauses in this group, as will be shown later.

Examples of relative clauses postmodifying semantically light antecedents:

(200) Land rose mountainously to either side, the train spindling a river *whose name he didn't know*, fields and rivers much the same everywhere [AS168]. The lovely woman was so shy he forgot his intention not to speak till she did.

(> ? Land rose mountainously to either side, the train spindling a river. The lovely woman was so shy ...)

(201) I'm a Mid-West academic *who stands every day before students in a place totally removed from proper theatre* [PSD311]. Expounding things to them completely remote from their own concerns: structure in Ibsen, symbolism in Chekhov, mythodology in O'Neill – just because of him. Well, you are right, of course, I need money. Like every ex-graduate in America.

(> ? I'm a Mid-West academic. I need money)

(202) He's made his own maps to get out of it, and now he's here in his car, after a bowl of coffee and French bread and on his way back from a place *he will never visit again* [HD65]. A complete waste of time.

(> ? ... he's ... on his way back from a place. A complete waste of time)

The relative clauses in (200), (201), and (202) are different from the following two examples, where the relative clauses postmodify antecedents semantically heavy, which permit them to be deleted:

(203) He sees the bored face of a commuter, talking to himself or to his car telephone. A traffic jam is a good place to be alone. Who's Paul Parrett to that gaunt young man in a green

parka *who feels a winter wind blowing even in July* [HD59]? That woman on the refuge won't have seen the latest cartoon in the Guardian.

(> ... *Who's Paul Parrett to that gaunt young man in a green parka? That woman on the refuge ...*)

(204) "Cheers," he said to a couple of old-age pensioners *who were tottering along together, clinging to one another on a slippery pavement* [WT228], but they didn't reply. He paused beside three nuns ...

(> ... *he said to a couple of old-age pensioners, but they didn't reply*)

The following relative clause postmodify a semantically heavy antecedent, but there is doubt whether it can be deleted:

(205) "Well, she's quite small," he said, "I tower over her. And she has this terrible frizzy corkscrew hair *she's ashamed of* [WB141], always hiding it under hats and scarves. ..."

(> ? ...*I tower over her. And she has this terrible frizzy corkscrew hair, always hiding it under hats and scarves...*)

To sum it up, typically, relative clauses classified as restrictive cannot be deleted from the sentence structure. If deleted, the result is an injury to the linguistic or situational context. In the domain of relative clauses which do not comply with the semantic criterion, the clauses either permit deletion (groups B and C, in group A: clauses with semantically heavy antecedents), or their deletion is questionable (group A: clauses with semantically light antecedents).

The third step was for the nonrestrictive clauses in the corpus to be subjected to the syntactic criterion. It seems that all the nonrestrictive clauses in the corpus (with the exception of the clauses which we termed continuative) are deletable indeed, which confirms Jespersen's assumption that nonrestrictive clauses can be discarded without serious injury to the understanding of the sentence as a whole. Bache and Jakobsen's objections to his assumption are supported only with one example, which itself is not conclusive: their claim is that it is sometimes possible to find nonrestrictive relative clauses providing essential information which is essential for preserving the precise understanding of the sentence⁴¹, however this is supported only with two examples, which is not conclusive enough.

⁴¹ Bache, Jakobsen: 1980:247

Importantly, one of the examples is a case of a continuous relative clause – the point to be remembered is that continuous relative clauses are not deletable from the sentence structure since they bring the narrative time forward. This is where the objections to the rule postulated by Jespersen are valid. Jespersen subsumes continuative clauses under the class of nonrestrictive clauses, consequently the rule governing in/dispensability of nonrestrictive clauses ought to be applied to them as well.

Examples of continuative relative clauses:

(206) The opening of the narrative to which we shall make frequent reference in this book can be represented as a number of constituents which coalesce to form larger constituents, *which in turn unite with others to form larger ones still* [DB560] and so on, using either of these conventions: ...

(... ? *the opening of the narrative to which ... can be represented as a number of constituents which coalesce to form larger constituents, and so on, using either of these conventions ...*)

The deletion of the relative clause changes the meaning considerably, the continuity of the process is obliterated.

(207) “Sure we’ll have to have a look so,” Eamon tossed over his shoulder in a friendly voice to the boy *who bolted ahead of Eamon* [KO12]. Eamon made his way to the living room. It was not far. The boy shouted up the stairs, ...

(... *Eamon tossed over his shoulder in a friendly voice to the boy. Eamon made his way to the living room ... The boy shouted up the stairs, ...*)

The relative clause is only seemingly deletable; seemingly, since it is important for the indication of the boy’s position: *he wouldn’t have been able to shout up the stairs if he had not bolted ahead of Eamon.*

(208) And a breath test showed he was more than three times over BR’s drink limit. Barnes, a keen angler and pool and darts player, went to the White Lion pub in Dover, Kent, in the afternoon *where he downed two pints of beer* [Sun752]. The landlord said: “He seemed OK. I knew he was going to work later but he didn’t seem in any way drunk.”

(... *A breath test showed ... he was more than three times over BR’s drink limit. Barnes, ..., went to the White Lion pub in Dover, Kent, in the afternoon. The landlord said: “He seemed OK. I knew he was going to work later but he didn’t seem in any way drunk.”*)

The deletion of the relative clause is doubtful, as *going to the pub* does not necessarily imply that *one gets drunk*.

Examples of nonrestrictive clauses, which we found to be deletable from the sentence structure:

(209) The plan under consideration, which echoes elements of David Blunkett's proposal last year for secret anti-terrorist courts [Guard 801], could also involve the use of security-vetted 'special advocates' as legal representatives of those detained. But they wouldn't be able to disclose the nature of the evidence *under which their clients were held before being charged*.

(> ... *The plan under consideration could also involve the use of security-vetted 'special advocates' as legal representatives of those detained ...*)

The deletion of the relative clause imposes no harm on the meaning of the sentence. The information the relative clause supplies is merely incidental.

The same is true of the following relative clauses:

(210) When he did look up, he found what he had expected. Fogarty was terrified. His soft brown eyes shimmered under straight black eyebrows *which met in the middle* [KO14]. A pink tongue like a newborn hairless mouse, darted from side to side across the small open gash of mouth.

(> ... *his soft brown eyes shimmered under straight black eyebrows. A pink tongue like a newborn hairless mouse, darted ...*)

(211) "Well done." Ralph nods like a satisfied teacher. "That's half the answer. But after dark, *when the lights are on* [DL418], you can see everything that's going on inside in the building from outside, symbolizing the explanatory power of scientific research. That was the architect's idea, anyway."

(> ...*and after dark you can see everything that's going on inside in the building from outside, ...*)

Examples of sentential relative clauses:

(212) Only three of the 60 musicians who entered last month's competition in Leeds were women. (...) Marin Alsop is the most collegiate and least dictatorial conductor he have ever met, *which makes her problems in Baltimore difficult to understand* [Guard832]. There may have been only three women in the Leeds contest, but all of them made it to the final 16.

(> ...*Marin Alsop is the most collegiate and least dictatorial conductor he has ever met. There may have been ...*)

(213) It seems to me almost impossible, this challenge. In order to win my colours I must get a place in the First XV, *which means, logically, I have first to find a place in the Second XV*

[WB125], from where I might have a chance, all being well, of being selected [WB126]. Yet currently I am a reluctant left wing in the Soutar House XV ...

(> *I have first to find a place in the Second XV. Yet currently I am a reluctant left wing in the Soutar House XV ...*)

(214) The boy slowly rolled his wide brown eyes toward Eamon, his mouth had opened into a little 'O'. Eamon smiled, *which made the boy flinch* [KO20], and gazed upstairs again. The little mouth closed and set into a rigid line.

(> ... *his mouth had opened into a little 'O'. Eamon smiled, and gazed upstairs again. The little mouth closed ...*)

The three instances above illustrate that sentential relative clauses are typically deletable from the sentence structure. Carrying incidental information, they can be severed from their (sentential) antecedents.

The application of the syntactic criterion yields the following classification of relative clauses:

- relative clauses which cannot be deleted from the sentence structure (i.e. those clauses termed 'restrictive' in the preceding chapter)
- relative clauses which can be deleted from the sentence structure without imposing a serious injury on it ('nonrestrictive clauses', and the groups B and C of the relative clauses not complying with the semantic criterion)
- relative clauses whose deletion is questionable (this concerns the group A of the relative clauses which do not comply with the semantic criterion)

9. Conclusion

One striking feature of most observations of relative clauses is how similar are the points made about the division of relative clauses. The doubts about the division of relative clauses into the two types go back as far as to Jespersen, Kruisinga, and Zandvoort, who pronounced the division as important, but not exhaustive. This suggests that the various observations are not accidental conclusions. Some linguists, notably Ryden, van den Broeck, and Jacobsson, claim that there is a scale ('a linguistic continuum') with the ends of absolute restrictiveness and absolute nonrestrictiveness.

The present study examines relative clauses as for their capacity to be unequivocally interpreted as either restrictive or nonrestrictive. The relative clauses in our corpus were subjected to the following criteria: formal (the use of relative pronouns, punctuation), semantic (the semantic relationship between the antecedent and its relative clause), and syntactic (in/dispensability of the relative clause from the sentence structure).

Table 28: The criteria for the construction of relative clauses as either restrictive or nonrestrictive

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	category
+	-	+	-	+	-	A1
0	0	-	-	?	?	B
+	-	-	+	-	+	C
+	-	-	+	+	-	D
-	+	-	+	+	-	E
-	+	-	+	-	+	A2

Key: criteria: [(a), (b) present the formal criterion; (c), (d) the semantic criterion; (e), (f) the syntactic criterion]

- (a) no commas + the whole range of relative pronouns
- (b) commas + only wh-pronouns
- (c) the reference of the antecedent is narrowed down by the relative clause
- (d) the antecedent is given extra information
- (e) the relative clause is not deletable
- (f) the relative clause is deletable

symbols:

- + the criterion is satisfied
- the criterion is not satisfied
- ? there is doubt if the criterion is satisfied
- 0 the criterion cannot be applied

The application of these criteria divided the relative clauses in the corpus into the following types:

- A. clauses which comply with the semantic, formal, and syntactic criteria
- B. clauses which violate the semantic criterion, and cannot be subjected to the formal criterion, and with which there is some doubt if they satisfy the syntactic criterion
- C. clauses which comply with the semantic and syntactic criteria, but violate the formal criterion
- D. clauses which comply with the semantic criterion, but violate the formal and syntactic criteria
- E. clauses which comply with the semantic and formal criteria, but violate the syntactic criterion

The clauses traditionally termed 'restrictive' (A1) and 'nonrestrictive' (A2) are subsumed under the first category: they are clauses which either define their antecedents, or supply them with incidental information. Furthermore, in the case of nonrestrictive clauses, they are surrounded by commas and are introduced by the use of *wh*-pronouns only. Restrictive clauses are not deletable from the sentence structure, since their deletion would cause serious injury to the overall meaning. By contrast, nonrestrictive clauses are dispensable from the structure.

The following are examples of restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses respectively:

- (1) She reported experiments *which showed that perceptual categories such as colour and shape have internal structure* [JC721].
- (2) Mr Hooper, *who worked for British Telecom for eight years* [Sun760], has left his job at the PA Consulting Group to become a freelance media and communications specialist.

The relative clause in (1) is indispensable from the complex sentence, since indicates a limitation on the possible references of the antecedent: ... *only those experiments that showed*

perceptual categories ... were reported. On the other hand, the relative clause in (2) is dispensable, as it is a mere parenthetical comment upon the antecedent: ... *Mr Hooper has left his job, by the way, he worked for British Telecom for eight years.*

The next category, B, is formed by clauses which violate the semantic criterion, therefore it is questionable if such clauses can be subjected to the other criteria. With regard to the formal criterion, they are exclusively restrictive in form. Regarding the syntactic criterion, the conditions vary with respect to semantic 'heaviness' of the antecedent.

Examples:

(3) We came to a door *which was locked* [DTel958] and the water was coming.

The relative clause defines its antecedent only indirectly, rather, it explains why it was important at the time that the door was locked: the water was coming. Consequently, it cannot be deleted.

(4) The answer is to be found in economic history, *in which the evolution of economics may be studied, and no apologies are offered for the summary which follows* [AB669].

As in the case above, here the antecedent is neither defined nor given extra information by the relative clause. On the other hand, the clause can be severed from the antecedent, since the information it expresses is implied in the antecedent itself (expectantly, the summary follows).

The relative clauses subsumed under the category C are the clauses which give additional information, but the loose relationship between the antecedent and the relative clause is not manifested by punctuation in writing; these clauses can be introduced by *that* and the zero relative. They are deletable, which excludes continuative clauses from this group.

(5) Tragic Rebecca Cousin shot herself dead after failing to get her GCSE grade *she needed* [Sun792].

The relative clause does not restrict its antecedent, which is semantically heavy, but it is not surrounded by a comma, and is introduced by the zero relative. It observes the semantic criterion, but it violates the formal criterion. Moreover, it is dispensable from the sentence structure.

(6) We at Marks & Spencer co-operate with the British Institute of Management *from which we mutually benefit* [BR641].

The postmodification of the sentential antecedent is a parenthetical comment, however, the formal factor is violated.

The next category, D, is formed by continuative clauses which are not surrounded by commas, and are not deletable:

(7) He buckets the van down a one-way *which brings them out near the school, runs it along the road a short distance, stops* [HD85]. (the immediate context: *It's not quite at the gates, but she knows it can be seen from the window.*)

The relative clause can be paraphrased as '... a one-way, and it then brings them out near the school ...', the narrative time moves forward, it is extra information, but no comma is used. The clause cannot be deleted: > ?... *he buckets the van a one-way. It's not quite at the gates...*

Continuative clauses, which violate the syntactic criterion (as nonrestrictive in nature, they should be deletable) are included into the last category, E.

Example:

(8) The results, which confirmed a match, were returned to Mrs Quinn, *who read them out to Mrs Blankett* [WTe1906].

The time expressed by the relative clause is posterior to that expressed by the main clause (hence, the clause is continuative), providing the antecedent with incidental information (it observes the semantic factor, but the clause is not deletable from the sentence structure (thus violating the syntactic criterion).

Apparently, the semantic relationship between the antecedent and the relative clause is the decisive factor in the division of relative clauses. Accordingly, it is difficult to subject the relative clauses in B to the formal criterion, since the formal indicators are exercised through the semantic criterion: the relative clause is surrounded by commas if it supplies extra information, alternatively, there is no comma if the information narrows down the identity of the antecedent. However, if the information is neither restrictive nor additional, the formal criterion cannot be applied to the respective relative clause.

We believe the notions 'restrictive' and 'nonrestrictive' are two opposite ends of a scale (in Table 28 these ends are indicated by symbols A1 and A2), on whose scope relative clauses move. This assumption is supported by CGEL (1257): "the distinction between restrictive and

non-restrictive is valuable, but we should be prepared to view it as a gradient rather than as a dichotomy between two homogeneous categories.”

Sopher (1969) maintains that it is not practicable to classify relative clauses as restrictive and nonrestrictive, since, in her opinion, many relative clauses appear to fit into either category without any significant change of meaning. However, we believe that the traditional bipartition of relative clauses should be maintained, with the idea of a scale between two ends: the restrictive end and the nonrestrictive one. As there are many forms of reality, and as this multiform reality is not analyzable in all its aspects, so the image of such multiform reality in language is not always analyzable.

Table 29 displays the frequency of the relative clauses in the corpus with respect to the categories drawn up above. It shows restrictive clauses present the central type within the system of relative clauses. All registers are characterized by the predominance of restrictive clauses over other categories.

Table 29: The frequency of the relative clauses in the corpus with respect to their types

REGISTER	A1	A2	B	C	D	E	TOTAL
fiction	143	59	23	7	-	18	250
direct speech	215	23	2	1	-	9	250
academic writing	194	28	12	6	2	8	250
journalistic writing	118	93	15	5	3	16	250
TOTAL	670	203	52	19	15	51	1,000

10. Résumé

Cílem předložené práce je zkoumat vztažné věty adjektivní (dále jen vztažné věty) z hlediska možnosti jejich zařazení do jednoho z rozdílných typů – tj. do typu restriktivního a do typu nerestriktivního.

Tyto dva typy jsou v lingvistické literatuře chápány jako téměř kontradiktorní: jsou tedy pevně a ostře vymezeny. Ve vymezení vztažných vět do dvou typů má nejdůležitější roli sémantický vztah mezi antecedentem a vztažnou větou: vztažná věta je restriktivní, je-li nutná pro jednoznačné vymezení svého antecedenta, nebo nerestriktivní, pokud přidává další sémantický rys antecedentu, jehož identita je již známa. V kategorii vztažných vět nerestriktivních někteří lingvisté (Jespersen) vymezují další třídu vět: věty kontinuativní, tedy věty, jejichž slovesný čas je posteriorní času v hlavní větě. Další hledisko je hledisko fonologické, kdy vztažné věty restriktivní tvoří společnou intonační jednotku s antecedentem; vztažné věty nerestriktivní jsou realizovány samostatnou intonační jednotkou. Toto vymezení je analogické sémantickému hledisku: restriktivní věty tvoří spolu se svým antecedem samostatnou informační jednotku a věty nerestriktivní představují samostatné informační jednotky, sdělující informace sice důležité, ale ne zásadní pro jednoznačné určení reference svého antecedenta.

Někteří deskriptivní lingvisté (na rozdíl od transformačně generativních lingvistů, kteří tuto dichotomii akceptují v té „nejpřísnější formě“⁴²) nesouhlasí s tímto tradičním rozdělením vztažných vět, např. Sopher, Bache and Jakobsen. Jiní lingvisté, v čele s Jespersenem, vnímají tradiční typologii adjektivních vztažných vět z praktických důvodů jako užitečnou, avšak nedokonalou. Quirk, van den Broeck a jiní jsou názoru, že v případě vztažných vět se jedná o škálu (kontinuum), na které se vztažné věty pohybují. Další badatelé, např. Kruisinga a van Draat postulují třetí kategorii v systému vztažných vět: kategorii vztažných vět „semi-adverbiálních“, které implikují důvodové, důsledkové či jiné adverbiální vztahy. S tímto nesouhlasí Zandvoort: vedle těchto vět adverbiálních se vyskytuje mnoho vět, neklasifikovatelných jako restriktivní, nerestriktivní, ani jako semi-adverbiální.

Tato práce zkoumá vztažné věty na základě výzkumu ve čtyřech funčních stylech: v beletrii, přímé řeči (čerpané z beletrie), vědecké literatury a žurnalistické literatury. Z každého stylu bylo excerpováno 250 vztažných vět, konečný vzorek tedy čítá 1000 vět. Na tyto věty byly aplikovány tři hlediska zásadní pro rozdělení vztažných vět: hledisko sémantické, formální a syntaktické. Sémantické hledisko je založeno na sémantickém vztahu

⁴² Lucas: 1974: 83

mezi antecedentem a jeho vztažnou větou: vymezuje-li vztažná věta jednoznačně svého antecedenta, a tak ho odlišuje od ostatních členů třídy jím určené, jedná se o větu restriktivní. Charakterizuje-li vztažná věta antecedenta pouze přídavnou informací a nevymezuje ho blíže, jedná se o větu nerestriktivní. Další hledisko uplatněné ve výzkumu bylo hledisko formální, chápané – vzhledem k tomu, že se jedná o korpus vět z psaného jazyka – jako hledisko vymezující vztažné věty pomocí formálních indikátorů, tedy interpunkce (volný vztah mezi větou a antecedentem je v případě nerestriktivních vět reflektován čárkou v písmu) a použitím vztažných zájmen (*that* a nulové relativum neuvozují nerestriktivní věty). Posledním uplatněným hlediskem je hledisko syntaktické, které vychází z tvrzení Jespersona⁴³, kdy nerestriktivní věta je na rozdíl od věty restriktivní vypustitelná z větné struktury bez zásadního narušení významu. Vynechání vztažné věty naproti tomu význam větné struktury mění.

Ukázalo se, že v konstrukci vztažných vět jako restriktivní a nerestriktivní velkou roli hraje též premodifikace a realizace antecedenta: čím je antecedent (tedy jmenná fráze spolu se svou premodifikací) lexikálně lehčí, tím jej pravděpodobnost postmodifikace restriktivní větou pravděpodobnější. Vedle toho existuje velké množství antecedentů, realizovaných např. jmennými proformami *one, that, those*, nebo *all*, temporálními výrazy jako *the (first, next, last) time, the minute*, superlativy, nebo premodifikací *any, some, every, each*, které jsou postmodifikovány výlučně vztažnými větami restriktivními.

Na základě aplikace sémantického, formálního a syntaktického hlediska byly vztažné věty rozděleny do následujících typů:

- A. vztažné věty, které splňují sémantické, formální a syntaktické hledisko, jedná se o věty tradičně chápané jako restriktivní (A1) a věty nerestriktivní (A2)
- B. vztažné věty, které nevyhovují sémantickému hledisku a na které není možné proto aplikovat formální kritérium, vyhovění syntaktickému hledisku je diskutabilní a závisí na premodifikaci ve jmenné frázi
- C. vztažné věty, které splňují sémantické i syntaktické hledisko, ale nevyhovují formálnímu hledisku
- D. vztažné věty, které vyhovují sémantickému hledisku, ale nevyhovují formálnímu a syntaktickému hledisku
- E. vztažné věty, které vyhovují sémantickému a formálnímu hledisku, ale nespĺňují syntaktické hledisko

⁴³ Jespersen: 1954: 82

Vztažné věty se tedy pohybují na následující škále:

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	kategorie
+	-	+	-	+	-	A1
0	0	-	-	?	?	B
+	-	-	+	-	+	C
+	-	-	+	+	-	D
-	+	-	+	+	-	E
-	+	-	+	-	+	A2

Vysvětlivky: formální hledisko: (a) věty uvozené všemi druhy vztažných zájmen, bez interpunkce, (b) věty uvozené pouze wh-relativy, oddělené čárkou

sémantické hledisko: (c) věty, které jednoznačně vymezují svého antecedenta,

(d) věty, které antecedenta charakterizují přídatnou informací

syntaktické hledisko: (e) věty, které jsou nevypustitelné z větné struktury,

(f) věty vypustitelné z větné struktury

symboly: + hledisko je splněno

- hledisko není splněno

? splnění hlediska je diskutabilní

0 hledisko nemůže být uplatněno

Vztažné věty se pohybují na škále, na které oscilují mezi dvěma konci: koncem „absolutně restriktivním“, tj. A1, a koncem „absolutně nerestriktivním“, tj. A2. Kategorie B představuje věty, které nevyhovují sémantickému hledisku (nedefinují svého antecedenta, ani ho necharakterizují přídatnou informací). Kategorie C je tvořena nerestriktivními větami nesplňující formální kritérium (tyto věty nejsou odděleny čárkou a vyskytují se v nich všechna vztažná zájmena bez omezení). Kategorie D obsahuje věty kontinuativní, které nejsou vypustitelné z větné struktury a nadto nesplňují formální hledisko. Kategorie E představuje opět věty kontinuativní, které nejsou vypustitelné z větné struktury (nevypustitelnost z větné struktury je charakteristická pro všechny kontinuativní věty) a které splňují formální kritérium.

Následující tabulka uvádí frekvenci vztažných vět v korpusu podle výše uvedených kategorií:

STYL	A1	A2	B	C	D	E	CELKEM
beletrie	143	59	23	7	-	18	250
přímá řeč	215	23	2	1	-	9	250
vědecká literatura	194	28	12	6	2	8	250
žurnalistická literatura	118	93	15	5	3	16	250
CELKEM	670	203	52	19	15	51	1,000

Pro úplnost uvádíme přehled výskytu vztažných zájmen podle jednotlivých stylů:

STYL	that	nulové zájmeno	which	who	when, where, why
beletrie	26	59	72	76	17
přímá řeč	41	134	39	24	12
vědecká literatura	13	8	163	53	13
žurnalistická literatura	24	22	90	97	17
CELKEM	104	223	364	250	59

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APPENDIX

The list of sentences used for analysis

FICTION

Kate O’Riordan, *Involved*

- [KO1] The priest genuflected each time he passed the central tabernacle on the altar above him. (page 1)
- [KO2] Behind Eamon, who was kneeling in the third to last pew, two women had entered, muttering and nudging one another. (p. 2)
- [KO3], [KO4] He did not have to turn around to know that the widow wore a scarf around her head which made a triangle of her face not dissimilar, he always thought, to those little triangles of children’s processed cheese his mother sometimes bought – milky-white and putty-like. (p.2)
- [KO5] He smiled and peered ahead again toward the statue of the Virgin Mary which stood with widespread arms to the left of the altar; in the gloomy light she appeared luminous. (p. 2)
- [KO6] He genuflected in the aisle and inclined his head sideways toward the women who peered up at him out of the corners of their eyes, with what he considered that wretched flirtatious look of truly ugly women. (p. 3)
- [KO7] Eamon smiled and saluted the boy’s father who reeled out after his son. (p. 3)
- [KO8] He instantly recalled that this was a house where an older brother had recently acquired a bullet in the base of his spine for joy riding. (p. 4)
- [KO9] The streets widened slightly, some offered an erratic line of plane trees outside houses which were semi-detached, many with garages, many with a layer of bright paint covering their breeze block anatomy. (p. 4)
- [KO10] He looked up and smiled again at the young boy, who relaxed visibly but still studied the stranger with caution. (p. 5)
- [KO11] He stopped to stare up the street into which he had just entered. (p. 5)
- [KO12] Eamon tossed over his shoulder in a friendly voice to the boy who now bolted ahead of Eamon. (p. 6)
- [KO13] The boy shouted up the stairs with his eyes fixed on the visitor who reclined with insolent familiarity upon his father’s easy chair. (p. 6)
- [KO14] His soft brown eyes shimmered under straight black eyebrows which met in the middle. (p. 7)
- [KO15] The tremulous smile he attempted from the bottom stair made Eamon look away again in disgust. (p. 7)
- [KO16] It was in a man’s gaze, in his stance, in the sweat that glistened on his brow at the moment of confrontation and that almost imperceptible spark of relief at the back of the petrified glazed eyes. (p. 7)
- [KO17] The man he addressed wrestled with his face and body in the hall. (p. 7)
- [KO18] “Liam, flick on the kettle, there’s a good lad,” he commanded the boy, who had remained at the bottom of the stairs, string silent questions toward his father. (p. 8)
- [KO19] Eamon stared at the boy who stared at his father, an expression of horror tinged with shame, Eamon noted, spreading over the freckled features. (p. 9)
- [KO20] Eamon smiled, which made the boy flinch, and gazed upstairs again. (p. 10)
- [KO21] Then he smiled a broad easy grin which encompassed the boy in his benign approbation. (p. 10)
- [KO22] He dismissed her and returned his gaze to the hapless figure of Martin Fogarty who stood in the doorway, still weeping, still trailing snot from his nostrils. (p. 10)
- [KO23] A thousand denials ebbed and flowed but he could not gather his mouth around the lies he should be offering. (p. 11)
- [KO24] He had jumped from the tight embrace of the fundamentalists in the even tighter embrace of the risibly-raincoated Special Branch men who met him in the early hours of the morning at the city dump, walking even then at an angle to each other as they approached him, from years of practice at avoiding the sniper’s gun. (p. 12)
- [KO25] He could never believe the way Eamon O’Neill and others did. (p. 12)
- [KO26] He turned to the boy, who in the process of backing away, had met a chair and collapsed into it. (p. 12)
- [KO27] He held the blade to the dog’s throat which provoked yips of delight. (p. 14)
- [KO28] The expression of shock, horror and scalding shame might have mirrored his own face the night his father died. (p. 15)
- [KO29] What did the wretched creature think that Eamon would do to him in a house with witnesses whose reactions would be at best unknowable, at worst, unpredictable? (p. 16)
- [KO30] Maureen smiled a tentative questioning smile that merely traced her thin top lip, turning it up at the corners. (p. 18)
- [KO31] Maureen was standing by the kitchen table, slicing a sandwich in two for her son, who stood beside her. (p. 18)
- [KO32], [KO33] Eyes that were slightly bulbous, cheeks soft and loose, a protrusion of the upper teeth which overlapped in front, short brown hair frizzed at the edges from too many bad home perms, merge to give the appearance of a benign chipmunk. (p. 18)
- [KO34] She might have been talking to a child who had cut his knee and had come for a bandage. (p. 19)
- [KO35] With her head down, she said, in her breathless voice that rose at the end of every sentence, as though in permanent query: “Well, well, Mr O’Neill. Long time no see-ee.” (p. 19)
- [KO36] She was wearing white suspenders and panties above black stockings over which white soft flesh spilled generously. (p. 20)
- [KO37] She kept her stilettos on, which added to the grotesque proportions of her frame. (p. 20)
- [KO38] It seemed to him at that moment, at all such moments with Maureen, that she was the most beautiful and the most intrinsically evil thing he had ever seen. (p. 20)
- [KO39] She would hardly be late – only ten minutes or so after all – at the Working Men’s club, where nobody worked. (p. 22)
- [KO40] Maureen recalled the only time she had ever seen Eamon outside her own house – it was at some Easter service or other, the Stations of the Cross on Good Friday maybe, at the Redemptorist’s. (p. 23)
- [KO41] Maureen went to keep her sister happy who lived nearby. (p. 23)

[KO42] Those shining liquid brown eyes took you in, gave you time and face and sometimes respect and the benefit of his good humour which was, after all, a thing to be desired, a thing to see – that smile – as his head cocked to the side to listen to his mother as she whispered in his ear. (p. 24)

[KO43] His body shook in huge rolling paroxysmic shudders which seemed to emanate from his bowels. (p. 25)

[KO44] He had salty clipped hair, a pink bald pate high on his long peanut-shaped head and eyes of palest blue that could, at times appear to dissolve into a startling white. (p. 25)

[KO45] He had the appearance of a man who had been pasteurised, and relished the experience. (p. 26)

[KO46] She believed the problem of today staved off the problem of tomorrow, which to her mind was always worse. (p. 28)

[KO47] She issued words from the side of her mouth, staccato-like, threw them toward the ground, divested them of any inflection as they reached her lips, so that it seemed that everything she said, quickly, hurriedly, was in effect a sort of secret. (p. 27)

[KO48] Eamon grimaced to himself at the absurd repetition of almost the same conversation he had had with Maureen earlier. (p. 29)

[KO49] First, he ran the water for his bath downstairs in the small bathroom addition that was once a back kitchen. (p. 30)

[KO50] From force of habit he dipped his forefinger in the holy water font hanging on the wall that separated his bedroom from his mother's. (p. 30)

Helen Dunmore, Burning Bright

[HD51] Jenny will be walking the floor again, to and fro, to and fro, missing out the board that creaks. (p. 2)

[HD52] The last place Jenny was in had no windows and it was winter then. (p. 2)

[HD53] Decades of adult life are like a dull tide which is going out fast, leaving bare the landscape beneath. (p. 2)

[HD54] It'll be the end for Jenny, though, and the baby, and the others who drift in and out, half living here, drying their laundry in the bathroom and cooking meals at midnight on a Calor-gas stove. (p. 3)

[HD55] Oh, the house is beautiful, if you don't know what's behind that honey-coloured stone which splits in the frost. (p. 3)

[HD56] He knows this part of London well, with its sweat-shops, its missions, its disastrous housing where walkways cook in diesel fumes and tiny balconies drip washing. (p. 6)

[HD57] Just then a woman on the pedestrian refuge screeches after her child, who swings out off the rail, looking for a second as if he'll somersault as a Transit van swerves close enough to shave his forehead. (p. 6)

[HD58] He shrinks back against the dented steel railings which hold off cars from the refuge. (p. 6)

[HD59] Who's Paul Parret to that gaunt young man in a green parka who feels a winter wind blowing even in July? (p. 7)

[HD60] John gives a precis of the papers which have arrived for the morning's meeting. (p. 8)

[HD61], [HD62] It is his own choice to shunt past them in a traffic jam which is loosening up now, breaking into its component cars which stream off right and left as the drivers accelerate, thinking of the next meeting, of money, crisis, gain and loss. (p. 8)

[HD63] It's there somewhere, it's lodged in their minds like grit which they pearl into profit. (p. 8)

[HD64] He remembers standing for hours at bus-stops for buses which never came, listening out for cars so he could cross the roads in London smog. (p. 14)

[HD65] Now he's here in his car, after a bowl of coffee and French bread and on his way back from a place he will never visit again. (p. 9)

[HD66] His adoptive mother never disclosed to the adoption society that the reason she had not been able to have a child herself was that she had never slept with her husband in fifteen years of marriage. (p. 9)

[HD67], [HD68] He dislike of it extended to those who practised it and to those who were obviously the result of it. (p. 9)

[HD69] Paul was clearly in the second category, as the product of sex which must have been undertaken for pleasure rather than endured for the satisfaction of a wedding ring. (p. 10)

[HD70] When Paul was a baby she would watch him, as if to see through his transparency the sexual act which had engendered him, going on and on, endlessly repeating itself, endlessly unforgivable. (p. 10)

[HD71] She was a big, firm, righteous woman who stood alone outside the infant school gates, not speaking to the other mothers, the ones who had toddlers clawing at their skirts. (p. 10)

[HD72] It meant employing intermediaries, which he didn't like. (p. 11)

[HD73] Paul Parrett believes that those who are caught was to be caught. (p. 11)

[HD74] He makes sure that these intermediaries are professionals who want to stay in business, and also they have no links with major organised crime. (p. 11)

[HD75] He wants people who can be frightened if necessary. (p. 11)

[HD76] Enid saw the men who came to get them out. (p. 13)

[HD77] They weren't the men who came to get them out. (p. 13)

[HD78] And they don't look like the sort who'd want trouble, not with respectable tenants (p. 13)

[HD79] The men who came to get the squatters out were heavies, hired men, not owners. (p. 13)

[HD80] Water runs down the windscreen, dislodging the bud-silt which clogs the wipers. (p. 13)

[HD81] The rain beats harder, a squally wind rises and the chestnut tree under which they've parked the van thrashes its branches until immature conkers drop and bounce off the windscreen. (p. 13)

[HD82] Neither of them would be able to identify the crop which is growing in it. (p. 14)

[HD83] These are short-cuts for businessmen traversing parts of the city where you keep your windows wound up and lock your doors at traffic lights. (p. 18)

[HD84] Slowly it's swum into focus and become something she understands. (p. 18)

[HD85] He buckets the van down a one-way which brings them out near the school, runs it along the road a short distance, stops. (p. 18)

[HD86] Lulu would moan and gargle or lie still in the shadows of the night-light which was always on, because Lulu hated the dark. (p. 22)

[HD87] Away they went over the sea to the centre which could help Lulu. (p. 23)

- [HD88] Here were the kitchens where her mother would work. (p. 23)
- [HD89] That was all for Lulu, grunting and rolling in her wheelchair, fighting free of the world which pinned her down. (p. 23)
- [HD90] In the back are her bags with her clothes and a few books and her building society savings book into which her grandparents have been putting money each year since she was born. (p. 24)
- [HD91] Kai is lit up for her by the soft glamour of midsummer nights she's never seen. (p. 24)
- [HD92] She's looked it up, of course, in the City Library atlas which shows the tiniest village, the most fragile serration of international boundaries. (p. 25)
- [HD93] She had gifts she gave to human children. (p. 25)
- [HD94] That's the way business goes. (p. 27)
- [HD95] His tone is observant but uncritical, as if he's talking about a herd of cattle which has got on to the road. (p. 29)
- [HD96] Everywhere kids pile into cars and vans which are already moving away as the last body hurls itself through the door. (p. 30)
- [HD97] She was a feral cat, Kai said, who must have got in somehow when the door was left open. (p. 31)
- [HD98] It represents a past which he doesn't yet possess, just as this house does. (p. 33)
- [HD99], [HD100] The only time she feels like this is when Kai strips off his clothes at night, his back to her, and then turns and walks to the bed where she lies propped on her elbows, reading. (p. 33)

William Boyd, Any Human Heart

- [WB101], [WB102], [WB103] These were the first words I wrote – or to be more precise, this is the earliest record of my writing and the beginning of my writing life – words that were inscribed on the flyleaf of an indigo pocket diary for the year 1912 (which I still possess and whose pages are otherwise void). (p. 5)
- [WB104], [WB105] The serviceable, error-dotted, grammatically unsophisticated Spanish that I speak today is the poorest of poor cousins to that instinctive colloquial jabber that spilled out of me for the first nine years of my life. (p. 5)
- [WB106] I was a bilingual child in the true sense, namely that the Spanish I spoke was indistinguishable from that of a Uruguayan. (p. 5)
- [WB107] Is this the view of a stretch of the Rio Negro where I used to fish as a child? (p. 5)
- [WB108] Uruguay, my native land, is held as fleetingly in my head as the demotic Spanish I once unconsciously spoke. (p. 5)
- [WB109] He emerged naked from the Atlantic surf at Punta del Este, where we two had gone for a summer picnic one June day in 1914. (p. 6)
- [WB110] Always swim naked when you can, Logan, was the advice he gave to me that day, and I have tried to adhere to it ever since. (p. 6)
- [WB111], [WB112] Anyway, Roderick was circumcised and I was not – which explains why I was always paying such close attention, I suppose, but doesn't account for that particular day of all others being the one that sticks in my mind. (p. 6)
- [WB113] I wish I could offer up something more telling, more poetic, something more thematically pertinent to the life that was to follow, but I can't – and I must be honest, here of all places. (p. 6)
- [WB114] The first pages of the lifelong, though intermittent, journal that I began to keep from the age of fifteen are missing. (p. 6)
- [WB115] No great loss and doubtless, like the avowals that begin almost all intimate journals, mine too would have commenced with the familiar determination to be wholly and unshakeably truthful. (p. 6)
- [WB116] I would have sworn an oath to absolute candour and asserted my refusal to feel shame over any revelations which that candour would have encouraged. (p. 6)
- [WB117] We keep a journal to entrap that collection of selves that forms us, the individual human being. (p. 7)
- [WB118] Think of our progress through time as one of those handy images that illustrate the Ascent of Man. (p. 7)
- [WB119] Two years later I was born, their only child, named Logan Gonzago after my respective grandfathers (neither of whom was alive to meet his grandson). (p. 8)
- [WB120] I sent as a boarder to St Alfred's (where I briefly acquired the nickname 'Dago' – I was a dark, dark-eyed boy) and at the age of thirteen I moved on to Abbeyhurst College (usually known as Abbey) – an eminent boys' boarding school, though not quite of the first rank – to complete my secondary education. (p. 9)
- [WB121] After my lessons with Roderick we would go sea-bathing at Pocitos (where Roderick had to keep his bathing suit on) and would take the number 15 or 22 tram to reach the resort. (p. 9)
- [WB122], [WB123] The Mountstuart family home was in Birmingham, where my father had been born and raised and where the head office of Foley & Cardogin's Fresh Meat Co. was to be found. (p. 9)
- [WB124] The dining room has been converted into her 'sewing room', so we are now obliged to eat in the conservatory, which, it being the middle of winter, is infernally cold. (p. 17)
- [WB125] Her lips were soft, my lips were soft, the sensation was not at all unlike the practice kisses I have bestowed on the inner portion of my upper arm or the crook of my elbow. (p. 18)
- [WB126] I could see the small terrace on which Lucy and I had kissed. (p. 19)
- [WB127] It is one of the key factors that binds and draws us together. (p. 23)
- [WB128] In this way, as far as rugby is concerned, the most and the worst I have to do is turn out once a week for the House XV in the school leagues. (p. 23)
- [WB129] He thought it an excellent idea that I try for the Griffud Rhys Bowen history scholarship at Jesus College, to which end he asked me if I had any Welsh blood in my veins. (p. 24)
- [WB130] We could hardly keep our faces straight when, armed with shovels and pitchforks, we were led round to the stables, where half a dozed massive shire-horses stamped and chewed and swished their tails. (p. 24)
- [WB131] After Greek this morning I approached Younger, who is in the First XV, and, as casually as I could manage, asked him how the school team was doing and what its weaknesses were. (p. 25)
- [WB132], [WB133] In order to win my colours I must get a place in the First XV, which means, logically, I have first to find a place in the Second XV, from where I might have a chance, all being well, of being selected. (P. 25)

[WB134] Yet currently I am a reluctant left wing in the Soutar House XV, which resides third from bottom in the inter-house league table. (p. 25)

[WB135] Father Doig's glee was almost disgusting when I told him I had a friend of 'the Jewish persuasion' who wanted to convert to Catholicism. (p. 26)

[WB136] Leeping told me he'd spoken to Beauchamp – who runs our house team – and I am to play in the scrum for our next match. (p. 27)

[WB137] This was the first time I had ever seen him tieless. (p. 26)

[WB138], [WB139] I admired his pictures – mainly watercolours and drypoint etchings – looked at some of his prize books and talked about my latest essay, which I was rather pleased with, but which he had pedantically ranked alpha-beta plus query plus. (p. 26)

[WB140] Then I noticed on his chimney piece a brass artillery shell casing, which was intricately worked with a complex embossed pattern. (p. 26)

[WB141] She has this terrible frizzy corkscrew hair she's ashamed of, always hiding it under hats and scarves. (p. 28)

[WB142], [WB143] I was slowly accustomizing myself to life in the scrum, which seemed mainly to involve galloping about the field chasing the ball (which I didn't touch once in the first half). (p. 29)

[WB144] Somehow the pain I was in diminished, magically. (p. 30)

[WB145] All I have to do is play rugby like a suicidal maniac. (p. 31)

[WB146] 'He has a sort of anaemia,' mother writes, which is making him lose weight and become easily tired. (p. 31)

[WB147] Ben had his first session with Fr Doig yesterday, which he described as 'eerie'. (p. 32)

[WB148] A morning and afternoon we spent taking the History papers, which seemed to pass off well enough. (p. 32)

[WB149] Peter and I found a public house down by the canal where we drank beer and ate bread and cheese before catching our train back to Norwich. (p. 34)

[WB150] It is almost shaming to say this, but currently, the one thing in my life that I anticipate with some excitement is the prospect of the match tomorrow against O'Connor's. (p. 34)

Allan Sillitoe, A Man of his Time

[AS151] He's been to Derby and Matlock, but now he was going to an unfamiliar place, and George who was eighteen years older had drilled him on how not to reach the wrong town by mistake. (p. 5)

[AS152], [AS153] You had to go where the work was, blacksmiths being as common around here as houseflies in summer, but if the pay wasn't good where he was going he'd come back even if he had to walk, though if all went well, which he expected, it would be better that putting up with the snipe-nosed lot in his area whose horses he shod. (p. 6)

[AS154] People who want their horses shod spout all the penny-pitching notions to save a farthing or two but make no bigger mistake because it isn't economy in the end. (p. 7)

[AS155] Her smile was the best present he could wish for. (p. 8)

[AS156] She must have liked the way he touched his cap, not to know he only ever did so for a woman. (p. 8)

[AS157] The blue and white striped high-necked shirt with a lapis lazuli brooch at the throat told him she was no common sort of barmaid, as she assiduously filled the pint pots, or dispensed stronger stuff from a high facade of bottles behind the bar, responding with a flick of her auburn hair if anyway made the kind of remark she didn't care to hear. (p. 9)

[AS158] 'In Huntingdonshire. I was a milliner's apprentice' – which showed in the neat dress fitting the slim waist so nicely, he noticed as she walked into another room at the call of her mistress. (p.9)

[AS159], [AS160] It was hard to keep his glance from whatever part of the bar she was in, and enjoy the modest way she served, wondering how she could favour anybody more than him as she went quietly about her work. (p. 10)

[AS161], [AS162] He had gone home a few weeks ago with a woman called Leah who worked in a lace factory, her husband doing shifts as a railway shunter, and had the sort of time that showed no need to marry for what he wanted. (p. 10)

[AS163], [AS164] A lovely robust woman ten years older, he seasoned her till she was greedy for all he could give, and asked him to call any time he liked, as long as nobody else was in the house. (p. 10)

[AS165], [AS166] Now he could more than hold his own with George, who had now turned him into as hard a man as himself, which was something to thank him for. (p. 12)

[AS167] George could still be surly and distant, but believed you had to help one another in the same family, it was human nature, if you didn't went under, like many who trod the smooth cobbles to the workhouse with their wives and children, too downhearted to look back. (p. 12)

[AS168], [AS169] Tichbum, who wore a pepper-and-salt suit, waistcoat, cravat, and watch chain with two sovereigns dangling, stabbed the air with opinionated snuff-stained fingers, pontificating thick and fast to the others about some poor bloke called Disraeli, for reasons Ernest couldn't fathom. (p. 12)

[AS170] He smiled, and realised it was that of the place they were stopping at, a smell of beer and hops wafting in from the breweries. (p. 12)

[AS171] A word not spoken was a word saved, which might later be used with more effect on somebody else, if you were in the mood to let it. (p. 12)

[AS172] Maybe he'd drunk too much whisky with his breakfast, in which case Ernest would have understood, and ignored him.

[AS173] A man who came in at Droitwich tipped his cap and wished him good morning. (p. 13)

[AS174] The air was close, though he only ever sweated in the forge, where it ran off you like drink. (p. 15)

[AS175] He seemed to have been travelling days instead of hours, Lenton far behind, glad to be away from working under the grudging eye of a father never satisfied with anything he did, though what Master Blacksmith would be? (p. 15)

[AS176] He couldn't show breeding by giving up his seat, because the carriage was empty, but the leather portmanteau he lifted onto the rack for her stained his arms as if filled with lead. (p. 15)

[AS177], [AS178] The taste of his ale was swill compared to the Nottingham stuff, but he pushed his tankard forward for refilling, which would last him until Wales, where George had promised a very fine bitter – though we'll see how right he is. (p. 15)

- [AS179] When a woman who was sixty if she was a day pushed into the crowded carriage carrying a large basket with a lid, he stood to put it on the rack for her. (p. 15)
- [AS180] Words he hadn't used that day welled up for spending, could now let her know that someone in the world had worse troubles than her own. (p. 16)
- [AS181] Land rose mountainously to either side, the train spindled a river whose name he didn't know, fields and rivers much the same everywhere. (p. 18)
- [AS182] Tears shone like pearls on her pale cheeks, and the ironed handkerchief from his pocket was there before she could pull hers from the muff, which she accepted as one was entitled to do in the land of mourning, so that if nothing else happened he'd kiss the memory of her cheeks on soft cotton as long as the imprint lasted. (p. 18)
- [AS183], [AS184] One of them would already be working on the chap who had jumped from the train near Derby – if it had happened – which he was about to mention but was glad he didn't.
- [AS185] Moving to her side was a better place to console, seeing as how she needed him, but the goodness of his heart brought on more weeping, which wasn't the ticket at all. (p. 19)
- [AS186] He fetched out a clean one, blessing his mother who had ironed it so well. (p. 21)
- [AS187], [AS188], [AS1889] The train squaked alongside the platform at Pontypool Road station, and he reached for her bag, noting how much livelier and more attractive she was after what they had done, back in the world of the much desired where he hoped she would stay, because a woman can look beautiful at any age as long as loving spunk is pumped into her which goes straight to the eyes and makes them glitter with the come-on of a peahen everybody likes to see. (p. 22)
- [AS190] Glad to be by himself, he sat opposite a man and woman who fixed him as if knowing he couldn't be of the area. (p. 24)
- [AS191] The man was probably a farmer, and the bedraggled woman was one you might see on a winter's day trudging towards the workhouse. (p. 24)
- [AS192] George didn't find it easy to keep up with Ernest who noted the post office. (p. 27)
- [AS193] His shins caught a large iron bucket which, going by the sink, was for use should anyone feel a call in the night. (p. 28)
- [AS194] Another man with uptilted bottle was getting rid of the beer quite nicely, while a third who was lighting his pipe by the fireplace asked what Ernest interpreted to be: 'What might you want?' (p. 28)
- [AS195], [AS196] George sometimes disliked the sort of person his brother had turned into, who at times seemed reckless and needed watching. (p. 29)
- [AS197] It also calmed those horsed that balked at being pushed between the shafts when the wark was finished. (p. 31)
- [AS198] A horse who's had that done to it feels pain just like a person, so it's harder for other smiths to shoe and the horse might injure them in its distress. (p. 31)
- [AS199] Sometimes the horn of the sole was so hard and thick it needed softening with heat, though not in this case, which saved a bit of trouble. (p. 31)
- [AS200] Some daft ha'porths who were as mean as hell with their pennies arranged for a smith to make so many shoes a year, but they got taken in, because the smith might put heavier shoes on the horse hoping they'd last longer and save him making so many. (p. 31)

William Trevor, The Children of Dymmouth

- [WT201] At the foot of grey-born cliffs a belt of shingle gave way to sand on which generations of Dymmouth's children had run and played, and built castles with moats and flag-poles. (p. 7)
- [WT202] Plastic lampshades were scheduled to be manufactured soon on a site that had once been known as Long Dog's Field. (p. 7)
- [WT203], [WT204], [WT205] The houses of the well-to-do, solitary and set in generous gardens, were followed in order of such esteem by semi-detached villas that stood like twins in Dymmouth's tree-lined avenues and crescents. After which came dwellings that had a look of economy about them, reflecting the burden of rent or mortgage. (p. 8)
- [WT206] So close to the river that they were regularly flooded by it were the cottages of Boughs Lane which people said were a disgrace. (p. 8)
- [WT207] Lavinia Featherston, who had been herself a child of Dymmouth, remembered when the green ornamental lamp-posts were all of a sudden huge no longer and when the grey-brown cliffs appeared to have been re-cut to size. (p. 9)
- [WT208] The rectory she lived in now, an ivy-clad building set among ragged lawns, had been a mysterious and forbidding house to her as a child, partly hidden from the road by a stone wall and a row of macrocarpa trees. (p. 9)
- [WT209] It was a figure known in Dymmouth only as Old Ape, who had come a day early for his weekly scraps. (p. 11)
- [WT210] The scraps were meant to be for hens he kept, but everyone in Dymmouth knew he didn't possess hens and that he ate the scraps himself. (p. 11)
- [WT211] When he came to the rectory he was also given a plate of meat and vegetables, provided he arrived at six o'clock on the specified day, which was Thursday. (p. 11)
- [WT212] He was an impressive figure on this bicycle, rather lanky, his hair prematurely grey, his face seemed ascetic until cheered by a smile that occurred whenever he greeted anyone. (p. 12)
- [WT213], [WT214] He thought about his wife as he chatted to old, disturbed Miss Trimm, who had a cold, and to little Sharon Lines, how was on a kidney machine. (p. 12)
- [WT215] They had a lot to be thankful for but it was hard to comfort a woman who'd lost a child and couldn't have another. (p. 12)
- [WT216], [WT217] He rode down Fore Street, where holiday-makers who had taken advantage of the pre-Easter rates looked as though they regretted it as they loitered in the rain. (p. 12)
- [WT218] Others read the list of forthcoming attractions outside the Essoldo Cinema where The Battle of Britain was at present showing. (p. 12)
- [WT219] The men who performed this work were of a muscular, weathered appearance, with faded scarves tied round their throats, some with brass rings on their fingers. (p. 12)

[WT220] Like the garish caravans and pin-tables and the swarthy women who assisted them, they seemed to belong to the past. (p. 12)

[WT221] Commander Abigail strutted along it towards the steps that led to the beach, with his bathing-trunks rolled up in a towel. (p. 13)

[WT222] The slight, carefully clad figure of Miss Lavant moved slowly in the opposite direction, beneath a red umbrella that caught occasionally in the wind. (p. 13)

[WT223] He was a boy who was given to making jokes, a habit that caused him sometimes to seem eccentric. (p. 13)

[WT224] His mother was a good-looking woman with brassy hair who sold women's clothes in a shop called Cha-Cha Fashions, his sister was six or seven years older than Timothy, good-looking also, employed as a petrol-pump attendant on the forecourt of the Smiling Service Filling Station. (p. 14)

[WT225] Timothy watched the dark figure of the clergyman pedaling away, thinking to himself that strictly speaking the clergyman was a bit of a fool the way he let himself be taken advantage of. (p. 15)

[WT226], [WT227] He wandered into the yard of the fish-packing station, to the shed where freshly caught fish was sold to anyone who wanted it. (p. 16)

[WT228] 'Cheers,' he said to a couple of old-age pensioners who were tottering along together, clinging to one another on a slippery pavement, but they didn't reply. (p. 16)

[WT229] He paused beside three nuns who were examining a shop window full of garden tools while waiting for a bus. (p. 16)

[WT230], [WT231] The talent competition had become an annual event, Mrs Dass continuing to accept the onus of judgement and Mr Dass entering into the spirit of things by seeing to the erection and lighting of a stage in the tea marquee that was borrowed annually through the Stead-Carters, who had influence in the tenting world. (p. 17)

[WT232] It had first of all occurred in a dream he was having about his early childhood, and had then been repeated quite a number of times before he could get downstairs. (p. 17)

[WT233] Miss Wilkinson, who taught English in the Comprehensive school, had done Lady Macbeth and Miss Havisham and was down to do the Lady of Shalott this year. (p. 18)

[WT234] It's funny the way they wouldn't give you a cup of tea. (p. 20)

[WT235] Mr Dass moved from the position he'd taken up by the fire. (p. 20)

[WT236] It was his opinion that Mrs Dass was a load of rubbish the way she affected herself, lying there like a dead white slug when there was nothing the matter with her. (p. 21)

[WT237] He inquired about the work he was doing now and Mr Dass was vague in his reply. (p. 20)

[WT238] He thought about the act he'd devised for the Spot the Talent competition. (p. 22)

[WT239] He thought of going down to the Youth Centre, but all there'd be at the Youth Centre would be people playing ping-pong and talking about sex. (p. 22)

[WT240], [WT241] Nobody paid much attention to O'Hennessy, who liked to be known by his Christian name, which was Brehon. (p. 23)

[WT242] Nobody understood a word he was talking about. (p. 23)

[WT243] Timothy Gedge, like all the others, had considered O'Hennessy to be touched in the head, but then O'Hennessy said something that made him less certain about that. (p. 23)

[WT244] Seeking to discover an absorbing interest, which might even become an avenue to a fuller life, he bought a model aero plane kit, but unfortunately he found the construction work difficult. (p. 24)

[WT245] The eight children in Timothy Gedge's group laughed uproariously when he dressed up as Queen Elizabeth I in a red wig and garment that had a lank white ruff at his neck. (p. 24)

[WT246] He enjoyed the feel of the wig on his head and the different feeling the long voluminous dress gave him, turning him into another person. (p. 24)

[WT247] It was the only occasion he had ever enjoyed at Dymouth comprehensive and it was crowned by his discovery that without any difficulty whatsoever he could adopt a falsetto voice. (p. 25)

[WT248] That night he'd lain awake in bed, imagining a future that was different in every way from a future in the sandpaper factory. (p. 25)

[WT249] In bed at night he thought about this, and continued to do so during geography lessons and tedious mathematics lessons, staring ahead of him in a manner that was complained of as vacant. (p. 26)

[WT250] At half past eleven that morning Timothy Gedge had found the solution he was looking for: he decided to base his comic act on the deaths of Miss Munday, Mrs Burnham and Miss Lofty, the Brides in the Bath, the victims of George Joseph Smith. (p. 26)

DIRECT SPEECH

David Hewson, Native Rites

[DH251] Oh, these are only the usual estuarial annoyances you get on the BBS these days! (p. 5)

[DH252] That must be the worst hick accent I have ever heard. (p. 5)

[DH253] I hope it wasn't that stupid stuff you guys do on November the fifth. (p. 6)

[DH254] You know I'll pay for anyone you want to see in London. (p. 6)

[DH255] All the same, a tame talented doctor on your doorstep isn't something you should ignore. (p. 78)

[DH256] The Christian church couldn't stomach that idea, of course, so instead we have the feast of the Archangel Michael. Who was a pretty fearsome chap in his own right, but that's another story. (p. 13)

[DH257], [DH258] The autumnal equinox is the point at which day ceases to be longer than night, when the god of darkness moves into supremacy over the god of light. (p. 13)

[DH259] At least that's one set of little wrigglers you don't need to worry about. (p. 19)

[DH260] One reason I'm in this fix is I'm too choosy. (p. 20)

[DH261] I do not wish to speak with you this side of lunch, Miles. Which you will be cooking for yourself.

- [DH262] It's just bout everything Norman happens to sell over the bar of the Green Man. (p. 34)
- [DH263] Next thing I know is you're crawling through on all fours creaming bloody murder about there being somebody inside. (p. 36)
- [DH264] All that matters is it worked. (p. 37)
- [DH265] You saw the state Miles was in. (p. 38)
- [DH266], [DH267], [DH268] That would put me on, say, half a mill basic, plus bonuses and options that ought to take me well over the mill mark. Which, in case you don't recall, is more that double the pittance I earn at the moment. (p. 44)
- [DH269] If he can't solve that particular riddle we'll find someone who can. (p. 46)
- [DH270] All the men want to do is play with their toys. (p. 47)
- [DH271] That's one of the reasons I was starting to panic, I imagine. (p. 50)
- [DH272] I've got a better deal than most women who've lived in this cottage. (p. 50)
- [DH273] He got a woman comes up from Wye. (p. 51)
- [DH274] The next thing I remember is Miles standing by the side of the bed looking as if I was about to die. (p. 54)
- [DH275] It makes sense to me to believe that if you with to conceive, a frame of mind that revolves around procreation, perhaps a touch obsessively, is no bad thing. (p. 55)
- [DH276] Regular exercise is all you need. (p. 56)
- [DH277] We have a taboo that says we shouldn't talk about these things. (p. 57)
- [DH278] The only reason life expectancy has risen at all is because we now know how to make people die more slowly. (p. 57)
- [DH279] It must be the same map we've had since pre-Celtic times, in all probability. (p. 59)
- [DH280] Halloween is important because it's the time when darkness comes to rule the northern hemisphere. (p. 59)
- [DH281] It fixed the date as March the twenty-fifth, when most years it comes in around March the twenty-first. (p. 59)
- [DH282] And we have the autumnal equinox, which is the basis of Michaelmas, although the dates once again tend to slip a little. (p. 59)
- [DH283] Never mind that every stupid tabloid newspaper is full of so-called astrology columns that would have got their editors burned at the stake not more than three hundred years ago. (p. 60)
- [DH284] All I'm suggesting is that you bear these ideas in mind. (p. 60)
- [DH285] Then comes Halloween, you know, and Beltane too, which, as I said, is May day. (p. 60)
- [DH286] Does it look like the sort of thing you get left on the plate after a decent sucking pig though. (p. 62)
- [DH287] Also, you want to be getting out them foreign weeds you got everywhere. (p. 65)
- [DH288] But he'd only be some poof who'd baffle you with science then leave the likes of us to do the fuss anyway. (p. 66)
- [DH289] Ask someone who does. (p. 68)
- [DH290] And I saw it all from a different side to you, where there weren't any flames to begin with. (p. 69)
- [DH291] It wasn't something you killed someone for. (p. 71)
- [DH292] She'll stick her sharp little noise into things that don't concern her. (p. 73)
- [DH293] I'd rather spend a Saturday night chasing ram raiders down town than get mixed up with you lot. Which is doubtless why they gave me it. (p. 77)
- [DH294] They are trying the same stunts on us we're trying to pull on them. (p. 81)
- [DH295] The computer works twenty-four hours a day, unmanned during the night. Which is why they need the likes of me to pop in from time to time. (p. 91)
- [DH296] They are the bits that are left. (p. 92)
- [DH297] After they've sold the hides for leather, the tallow to the drugs people to make that stuff you put on your pretty face. (p. 92)
- [DH298] In the main they are solicitors with wives who think curing red mite on their blasted chickens is the most important thing on earth. (p. 109)
- [DH299] Sara's out, working out how she's going to afford to run all this and a kid on the money you pay her. (p. 105)
- [DH300] It's just a little ritual we have to go through. (p. 106)
- Peter Shaffer, The Gift of the Gordon**
- [PS301] Our bleating parliament can watch something like this, and not legislate death at once for those who did it. (p. 1)
- [PS302] It's possibly the most moving thing I ever heard. (p. 1)
- [PS303] I have a request, which I offer very much in fear and trembling. (p. 2)
- [PS304] All I ask is a chance to be allowed to explain myself in person. (p. 2)
- [PS305] Well I doubt very much if you entertain feelings of overwhelming love for a man who totally abandoned you before you were born. (p. 4)
- [PS306] I've always imagined people who live here have revenge on the brain. (p. 6)
- [PS307], [PS308] Everything I am, everything I do, is because of him. (p. 6)
- [PS309], [PS310] Last year, when my dissertation was published, that was the first time I ever got in touch with him in my whole life! (p. 6)
- [PS311] Listen, I'm a Mid-West academic who stands every day before students in a place totally removed from proper theatre. (p. 6)
- [PS312] That's all I want! (p. 8)
- [PS313] Like you, I'd written a dissertation people liked. (p. 11)
- [PS314] I was trying to work it up into a proper book; that meant spending most of my life in the library. Which is where I met Edward, and I mean really met. (p. 11)
- [PS315] I'd interrupted him to correct a mistake he'd made. (p. 13)
- [PS316] The only mistake Shakespeare makes is to forget the ghost at the end. (p. 15)
- [PS317] Hamlet reaches a point where he says, 'Let be.' (p. 15)
- [PS318], [PS319] I tell you, if it was someone I loved who was killed, I would need to honour life by killing the killer. (p. 16)

- [PS320] It'll be on my tombstone: Here lies Edward Damson who lived his whole life in extremism!
- [PS321] This is a person, one senses, who brings pain. (p. 19)
- [PS322] A person of my standing would make the bed of a little nigsy who calls herself princess! (p. 19)
- [PS323] Well, you tell yours from me I'm the least irresponsible man he will ever meet! (p. 20)
- [PS324] They came away astounded, seeing themselves, perhaps for the first, and their world – which they'd always thought ordinary – lit with the fire of transformation! (p. 21)
- [PS325] The eyes concentrated in a way I'd never seen. (p. 21)
- [PS326] Each time we made love after that he looked the same. (p. 21)
- [PS327] Unfortunately she lacks the appropriate money, also, no doubt, the effrontery, which I have – I'm told in deplorable measure – to ask you for it. (p. 23)
- [PS328] I am prepared to admit you may possess qualities I do not perceive. (p. 23)
- [PS329] I would not wish her to spend any part of her life with those who would waste it. (p. 23)
- [PS330] This house does not welcome idleness, Mr Damson, which is what I see in you. (p. 24)
- [PS331] You are the most despicable man I've ever met! (p. 24)
- [PS332] We'd visit the famous Lion Gate under which Agamemnon passed to his murder in that bath. (p. 25)
- [PS333] It was the only time I met his mother. (p. 31)
- [PS334] That's just the stupidest thing I ever heard. (p. 34)
- [PS335] That's all I see. (p. 36)
- [PS336] It is something no one else has never seen. (p. 36)
- [PS337] At this moment, like most would be Heroes in Greek legends, he has made an exceedingly foolish vow which he cannot possibly fulfil. (p. 38)
- [PS338] In this scene he begs the help of Athena, the cleverest Goddess in the sky, given to extricating passionate men from impossible situations – provided she is properly begged. Which involves first calling out all her names in the right order. (op, 38)
- [PS339] Kill every terrorist we capture, instantly, in proper rage! (p. 38)
- [PS340] She lives on the Island of Immobility, which cannot be found, by land or sea! (p. 38)
- [PS341] Set it in the centre of my shield, where it can never harm again. (p. 39)
- [PS342] After her death the blood that cures was gathered up and given to Aesculapius. (p. 40)
- [PS343] This is the age-old fight which under Cromwell smashed almost every statue made in England over five hundred years. (p. 41)
- [PS344] It has a hollow wooden handle where you can store the blades. (p. 42)
- [PS345] I'm sorry, but this is really the stuff you should treasure. (p. 42)
- [PS346] What fitter punishment could be for a man who made war on pictures – to have all pictures taken away from him for ever? (p. 44)
- [PS347] On the first night, when we finally got it produces – and that took for ever – the audience simply stood up in a body. (p. 47)
- [PS348] Cromwell was one of the greatest Englishmen who ever lived. (p. 52)
- [PS349] Well, you can tell that to the Irish he slaughtered in thousands. (p. 52)
- [PS350] Tell it to their descendants who are now slaughtering because of what he did. (p. 52)
- Nick Hornby, How to be Good**
- [NH351] That was the first thing I asked (p. 2)
- [NH352] You want a divorce. I don't. Which means that unless you can prove that I've been cruel or neglectful or what have you, you have to move out and then after five years of living somewhere else you can have one. (p. 14)
- [NH353] First off you've got to find someone who wants to adulter you. (p. 15)
- [NH354] I hate living with someone who's so unhappy. (p. 15)
- [NH355] If I'd known that I'd be the sort of woman who was going to end up sitting with married friends and moaning about my single status I would have shot myself. (p. 17)
- [NH356] You know the thing you didn't hear?
- [NH357] No, you see that was the message I was trying to convey by not returning your calls. (p. 22)
- [NH358] I'll go when you've given me a time when we can meet. (p. 23)
- [NH359] But please go, and let me see someone who has something wrong with them. (p. 24)
- [NH360], [NH361] Do you ever do that thing where you lie in bed and you can't sleep so you end up wiring out recent conversations you've had? (p. 24)
- [NH362] You should get the person you had the conversation with to come round and read their part out loud. (p. 25)
- [NH363] You know the last time we went out for pizza? (p. 25)
- [NH364] Is that all you've got to say? (p. 27)
- [NH365] They had some of those fish fingers that climb under the grill on their own and cook themselves. (p. 29)
- [NH366] Nobody we know does things. (p. 33)
- [NH367] You can run away from everyone who doesn't thoroughly approve of you every second of the day. (p. 33)
- [NH368] Do I look like someone who's been crippled? (p. 35)
- [NH369] Don't even think about it, just say the first thing that comes into your head. (p. 44)
- [NH370] Are you telling me I'm the one that has to go? (p. 48)
- [NH371] It was a prejudice I hadn't examined properly. (p. 57)
- [NH372] My husband has just given away everything we own. (p. 58)
- [NH373] It's so sad that the only explanation you can come up with for all this is that I'm about to die. (p. 66)
- [NH374] The first thing I thought afterwards was that I had to do everything differently. (p. 70)
- [NH375] All I know is I want to live a better life. (p. 72)
- [NH376] You do give off the air of someone who has undergone a religious conversion. (p. 77)

- [NH377] We despise our politicians for doing nothing, and think that this is somehow enough to show we care, and meanwhile we live in centrally heated houses that are too big for us. (p. 79)
- [NH378] We spend thirteen pounds on compact discs which we already own in a different format. (p. 79)
- [NH379] We buy films for our children that they've already seen at the cinema and never watch again. (p. 80)
- [NH380] I think everything you think. (p. 80)
- [NH381] It was an explanation for why I didn't come. (p. 90)
- [NH382] We're interpreting the words we know I used. (p. 90)
- [NH383] I'm sorry if I'm speaking out of turn here, but you two really don't strike me as a couple who stand much chance of a happy and successful relationship together. (p. 90)
- [NH384] I've always thought they could see stuff that we can't. (p. 95)
- [NH385] She got it the first time she saw him. (p. 96)
- [NH386] Because all I saw was the eyebrows, not the ... the ... aura. (p. 96)
- [NH387] When you have your own flat, you can sleep on nails for all I care. (p. 97)
- [NH388] The other thing that GoodNews was – well, we both were – worried about was where he's going to heal people. (p. 97)
- [NH389] Funnily enough, we've got an empty healing room that we never use. (p. 98)
- [NH390] You don't hold with a lot of things that a lot of people don't have a problem with. (p. 100)
- [NH391] I try to survive without things that not everybody has. (p. 101)
- [NH392] How were the pills I gave you last time? (p. 104)
- [NH393] The stereotype of a football fan is someone who gets drunk and breaks bottles over people's heads. (p. 116)
- [NH394], [NH395] And I know it's a stereotype, and I know lots of people who to Arsenal who aren't like that. (p. 116)
- [NH396] Because I want to change the way people think. (p. 116)
- [NH397] And I can't change the way people think if I think like everybody else, can I?
- [NH398] Hey, all these old ladies are coming in to see me gabbling about somebody with hot hands who's a friend of yours. (p. 117)
- [NH399] I'm sure the world's full of people who can do a better job than we don, but we can't let the patients know that, or it's finished. (p. 118)
- [NH400] He's basically been pinching anything that wasn't nailed down. (p. 120)
- David Lodge, Thinks ...**
- [NH401] You mean the guys who would stampede a whole herd of buffalo over a cliff to get themselves steak for dinner? (p. 26)
- [NH402] I'm quoting a speech made by Chief Seattle in the mid-nineteenth century, when the American Government wanted to buy his tribe's land. (p. 26)
- [NH403] That's the only part of the beach you can build a sandcastle. (p. 34)
- [NH404] In a sense, yes, that's all there is that we can observe. (p. 37)
- [NH405] You can do PET scans and MRI scans nowadays that show different parts of the brain lighting up like a pinball ... (p. 37)
- [NH406] If translated is the word, which it probably isn't. (p. 37)
- [NH407] These are the kind of questions I'm interested in. (p. 37)
- [NH408] They believe that consciousness is an irreducible self-evident fact about the world that can't be explained in other terms. (p. 37)
- [NH409] You mean, you're trying to design a computer that thinks like a human being? (p. 38)
- [NH410] You're trying to design a computer that has hangovers and falls in love and suffers bereavement? (p. 38)
- [NH411] But I don't see any inherent impossibility in designing and programming a robot that could get into a symbiotic relationship with another robot and would exhibit symptoms of distress if the other robot were put out of commission. (p. 38)
- [NH412] Or we may develop computers that are carbon-based, like biological organisms, instead of silicon-based ones. (p. 38)
- [NH413] The nearest thing we've got to Frankenstein's laboratory is Max Karingthy's mural. (p. 39)
- [NH414] And give you a cup of the best machine-made coffee you've ever had. (p. 39)
- [NH415] It's the only exercise I get. (p. 39)
- [NH416] Everything you need for your holiday is inside the fence. (p. 40)
- [NH417] I was quite happy at Cal Tech, but this seemed like an offer I couldn't refuse, running my own show, in a purpose-built prize-winning building. (p. 41)
- [NH418], [NH419] But after dark, when the lights are on, you can see everything that's going on inside in the building from outside, symbolizing the explanatory power of scientific research. (p. 41)
- [NH420] If everyone had had those bubbles over their heads that you get in kids' comics, with 'Thinks ...' inside them. (p. 42)
- [NH421] But all they really find out is what has gone on in the writer's head. (p. 42)
- [NH422] Folk psychology is a term we use in the trade. (p. 43)
- [NH423] But if Kate Croy were a real human being, your cognitive science could tell us nothing about her that we'd want to know. (p. 43)
- [NH424] The programs are all set a problem to solve and the ones that do best are allowed to reproduce themselves for the next test. (p. 46)
- [NH425] You need people who understand the fundamental problems and possibilities of those things, not just the applications. (p. 48)
- [NH426] They've shown interest in some of our work, and of course publicity is the last thing they want. (p. 48)
- [NH427] When one of the guys who discovered this first described it at a scientific conference, some old prof came up afterwards and practically assaulted him, he thought the idea was so ridiculous. (p. 50)
- [NH428], [NH429] Apparently, when vampire bats come back from a night out, the ones that struck lucky will sometimes share their takeaway dinners with ones who didn't. (p. 50)

- [NH430] It looks like altruism at first glance, but a lucky bat will only share its blood with another bat with which it has a reciprocal arrangement should circumstances be reversed, so it's really a form of enlightened self-interest. (p. 50)
- [NH431] He has a kind of rule book containing logical procedures that enable him to answer them in Chinese. (p. 52)
- [NH432], [NH433] He argues that the man can't be conscious of the information he's processing, and inasmuch as he's acting like a computer program, neither can a computer program be conscious of the information it's processing. (p. 52)
- [NH434] Because, even in a thought experiment, it's impossible to conceive a computer program that would work as this one is supposed to work. (p. 52)
- [NH435] I don't suppose the guy who dreamed up the experiment knew that. (p. 52)
- [NH436] She knows absolutely everything there is to know about colour in scientific terms. (p. 53)
- [NH437] Then one day she's allowed out of the room, and the first thing she see is, say, a red rose. (p. 53)
- [NH438], [NH439] If Mary knew absolutely everything there is to know about colour – which is much, much more than we knew at the moment – maybe she'd be able to simulate the experience of red in her brain. (p. 53)
- [NH440] It's been said that anyone who claims to understand quantum mechanics is either mad of lying. (p. 55)
- [NH441] But if you want to make a robot that really feels grief ... (p. 68)
- [NH442] All these funerals you on television after terrorist bombs, earthquakes, and so on, give me creeps. (p. 69)
- [NH443] I mean, when you compare it with jealousy – which is equally disabling, equally unpleasant, but has an obvious function. (p. 69)
- [NH444] Don't be shy, it won't be the first time I seen you with no clothes on. (p. 75)
- [NH445] We have a cottage in the country about half an hour away, near Stow, which we use at weekends. (p. 75)
- [NH446] If consciousness is information processing, then perhaps anything that processes information, in however humble way, should be described as conscious. (p. 97)
- [NH447] It's one of the things we do with our spare brain capacity. (p. 99)
- [NH448] Primitive man was like a guy who's been given a state-of-the-art computer and just uses it to do simple arithmetic. (p. 101)
- [NH449] But you admit that we have thoughts that are private, secret, know only to ourselves. (p. 102)
- [NH450] People who are keen on it tend to be kindly disposed towards oriental religion. (p. 102)
- Joanne Harris, Coastliners**
- [JH451] News and gossip are all we have. (p. 35)
- [JH452] We had not seen anything like it since that time Aristide Bastoneet caught a fish with a head at both ends. (p. 35)
- [JH453] People who know him understand. (p. 36)
- [JH454] I need to dig a well, and put in some proper plumbing, but it's comfortable, it's solid and it cost me the price of few things I couldn't find or make for myself. (p. 45)
- [JH455] This is the worst time you could have chosen. (p. 54)
- [JH456] My sister Marie-Laure died of the influenza the winter I was born. (p. 57)
- [JH457] Once, Aristide thought he'd found La Marinette, you know, the year he lost his leg. (p. 58)
- [JH458] You have to learn to see things the way he does. (p. 63)
- [JH459], [JH460] Foolish, isn't it, the way we delude ourselves, the barbs we leave in each other. (p. 74)
- [JH461] Hospital facilities, a mainland doctor, big rooms; and he could see his friends any time he liked. (p. 75)
- [JH462] And he has plans for Les Salants that don't include any of us. (p. 91)
- [JH463] Anything Xavier wants, he gets. (p. 92)
- [JH464] The minute the Guenoles lost their boat, their boy lost his chance with her. (p. 92)
- [JH465] This talk of responsibility – that's all it comes to in the end. (p. 98)
- [JH466] She's the luck of Les Salants, it's not some beach that might have been here thirty years ago. (p. 103)
- [JH467] The festival of Sainte-Marine was the only thing we did as a community. (p. 104)
- [JH468] It was the only time we ever tried to pull together. (p. 104)
- [JH469] You were the one who mentioned defences, not me! (p. 105)
- [JH470] He'll just have to live with it, that's all, the way the rest of us did. (p. 105)
- [JH471] It's the way things are. (p. 123)
- [JH472] You should tell her to ask me next time she wants to go into La Houssiniere. (p. 128)
- [JH473] It floods every time there's a high tide. (p. 132)
- [JH474] I found something I thought he might be interested in. (p. 137)
- [JH475] He knew he was stealing the sand from La Jetee, which should have been protecting us. (p. 138)
- [JH476] It isn't perfect, it isn't easy but that's the way it is. (p. 139)
- [JH477], [JH478] She'll end up losing him – and knowing my Mercedes, that'll be the moment she realizes he was the one she wanted all along. (p. 143)
- [JH479] I heard it myself the day Olivier drowned. (p. 150)
- [JH480] I found it the day I found you at La Bouche. (p. 163)
- [JH481] I never really thanked you, either, for everything you did for my father. (p. 173)
- [JH482] I remember a time when you two were good for something more than just talk! (p. 176)
- [JH483] Is this really all you've ever wanted? (p. 184)
- [JH484] The last time we came it was a disgrace. (p. 188)
- [JH485] We helped her all we could. (p. 192)
- [JH486] But it's the last thing poor Papa needs. (p. 197)
- [JH487] Working alone all we do is steal the wind from each other. (p. 204)
- [JH488] I've seen the way Ghislain Guenole looks at you, and some of these others. (p. 205)
- [JH489] You don't snap at people they way you used to. (p. 205)
- [JH490] Xavier, did they say anything that might help you recognize them? (p. 223)

- [JH491] But it's always the same in the end – talk's all it comes down to. (p. 225)
 [JH492] Most of us have a patch of land that can be used for camping. (p. 228)
 [JH493] Xavier's all I have left of my poor Olivier's blood. (p. 235)
 [JH494] Can you go onto the beach any time you want to? (p. 238)
 [JH495] You'd be surprised at the things we get to hear about. (p. 239)
 [JH496] He might have savings you don't know about. (p. 242)
 [JH497] You've done everything you could. (p. 242)
 [JH498] All he cares about is playing house with Adrienne and those boys. (p. 242)
 [JH499] He pretends he doesn't know I've been in touch with Philippe; he thinks the only reason Philippe would want to come back after all these years is because he's after money. (p. 243)
 [JH500] It's nice to have something they want, for a change, heh? (p. 266)

ACADEMIC WRITING

Andrew Bennett, *Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*

- [AB501] Thematically, it establishes the poem to be about the first disobedience of Adam and Eve which 'brought death into the world, and all our woe.' (p. 2)
 [AB502] It assures us that this is the first time that such a project has been attempted. (p. 2)
 [AB503] It is about the way that poems are conventionally thought to begin – in inspiration. (p.2)
 [AB504] In this respect, the muse that Milton's poem addresses and invokes is a second-hand muse. (p. 2)
 [AB505] Virginia Woolf's Orlando opens with a sentence that equivocated by appearing not to do so. (p. 4)
 [AB506] It is the sort of sentence from which novel might never recover. (p. 5)
 [AB507] As we have begun to see, one of the ways in which a literary text multiplies its beginning is through the deployment of peritexts. (p. 5)
 [AB508] 'The Waste Land' names the strange 'land' that Eliot's poem creates. (p. 5)
 [AB509] The kinds of effects of intertextuality that this opening explores are in fact fundamental to literary texts more generally. (p. 6)
 [AB510] A poem, novel or play that does not in some sense relate to previous texts is literally unimaginable. (p. 6)
 [AB511] How much more difficult it would be to discover the origins of the thought which impels the text. (p. 7)
 [AB512] Professors – who are usually old people, very seldom children, though not infrequently an undecidable mixture of the two – include Roland Barthes. (p. 7)
 [AB513] The book is about those uncertain origins – the author, the reader and the text – none of which can ever be taken for granted. (p. 8)
 [AB514] In Percy Bysshe Shelley's famous sonnet 'Ozymandias' (1818) the narrator speaks of meeting a traveller who reports having seen a vast shattered statue strewn across the desert. (p. 9)
 [AB515] All that remains of the King of Kings and of his works are a few broken fragments. (p. 9)
 [AB516] And, rather differently, the word 'read' appears in line six, referring to the way that the sculptor understood the 'passions' of Ozymandias and was able to immortalize them in stone. (p. 9)
 [AB517] One of the things that we might do with this poem is to think about these acts of reading. (p. 10)
 [AB518], [AB519] It is not only a poem which can be read, it is also a poem which tells an allegory or subtextual story about reading. (p. 10)
 [AB520] Who is this traveller who reads the inscription? (p. 10)
 [AB521] Who is the 'I' who listens to, or 'reads' the story? (p. 10)
 [AB522], [AB523] New criticism involved a way of reading that emphasized form – the importance of considering 'the words on the page' – rather than factors such as the life of the author and his or her intentions, or the historical and ideological context in which the text was produced. (p. 11)
 [AB524] The line can be read as an example of 'hubris' or excessive pride on the part of Ozymandias, who is thus shown to be absurd. (p. 12)
 [AB525] Questions of the literary text and its meaning(s) cannot be disengaged from the role that the reader takes. (p. 12)
 [AB526], [AB527] Critics such as Norman Holland and David Bleich are interested in investigating ways in which particular individuals respond to texts, and with exploring ways in which such responses can be related to those individuals' identity themes, to their personal psychic dispositions – the individual character of their desires, needs, experiences, resistances and so on. (p. 12)
 [AB528] We might suppose that a reader whose irregular potty-training has resulted in a pathological hatred of authority-figures will delight in the ironic treatment of the King of Kings in Shelley's poem. (p. 13)
 [AB529] This is precisely the danger that other critics have seen in this kind of criticism: such a reliance on the autonomy of the reader's thoughts and feelings seems to lead to a state of delusion epitomized by Ozymandias's hollow words. (p. 13)
 [AB530] Iser elaborates ways in which the work of reading involves an interaction between elements of the text and the act of reading itself. (p. 13)
 [AB531] He explores ways in which the text is concretized – given shape or meaning in the act of reading. (p. 13)
 [AB532] The text produces certain blanks or gaps that the reader must attempt to complete: the reader 'is drawn into the events and made to supply what is meant from what is not said.' (p. 13)
 [AB533] The sculptor's reading is both a copy, a faithful representation, and a reading which makes it ridiculous. (p. 13)
 [AB534] By contrast, a reader who, like the traveller, reads the inscription surrounded by the 'lone and level sands', by the absence of those works, their non-survival, can only read them ironically. (p. 14)
 [AB535] We might extrapolate from this to think about the way in which any rereading produces a certain relation of power. (p. 15)

- [AB536] Judith Fetterley has argued that female readers of classic US fiction have been immasculated, by which she means that they have traditionally been taught to read as men. (p. 15)
- [AB537] Finally, a poststructuralist or deconstructive reading of 'Ozymandias' might, in addition to these concerns, trace the dispersal or dissolution of the reader's identity in the act of reading and affirm the sense of a radical otherness which undermines all claims to interpretive mastery. (p. 16)
- [AB538] It seeks to highlight ways in which every reading and every text is unpredictable. (p. 16)
- [AB539] This is not something that is made clear in the first sentence. (p. 20)
- [AB540] All we can presume at this point is that we are reading that particular kind of text called a novel and that it has been written by J. D. Salinger. (p. 20)
- [AB541] The literary game that is set in motion by this opening sentence has to do with the relationship between fiction and truth on the one hand, and with the strange relationship between an author, a narrator and a reader, on the other. (p. 20)
- [AB542], [AB543] All we have, they argued, are the words on the page – which may indicate intention but can never finally prove it. (p. 22)
- [AB544] Rather than say that the author is in control of the language that he or she uses, we might consider the idea that the language is as much in control of the author. (p. 22)
- [AB545] In this respect, language can be thought of as a kind of system within which any writer must take a designated place: the system and rules of language inevitably dictate the possibilities of what someone can say. (p. 22)
- [AB546] In a sense the problem here is evident simply from the two words which frame the above quotation: 'Barthes writes'. (p. 23)
- [AB547] In this respect Barthes's essay has to be seen in its cultural and historical context, as providing a simplified but valuable articulation of a variety of intellectual positions that have emerged over the past few decades, in France and elsewhere. (p. 23)
- [AB548] The acknowledgement that the death of the author is written into every word she or he publishes is evident in copyright law. (p. 26)
- [AB549] We could suggest that the greatest literary texts are indeed those in which the author seems most ghostly. (p. 26)
- [AB550] One need think only, for example, of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the plays of Shakespeare, Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* or of course J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, to realize that in a sense they tell us nothing about their authors, even if they are texts in which we feel their elusive and strange presence in an especially powerful way. (p. 26)
- David Brazil, A Grammar of Speech**
- [DB551] To put the matter slightly differently: if we know how people manage to tell, we know how they do all those other things they do by telling. (p. 5)
- [DB552] Our present interest is in describing the linguistic mechanisms – those mechanisms we refer to collectively as 'grammar' – that he has available for his use in doing all these things. (p. 5)
- [DB553] We have already recognized that anyone who tries to describe the organization of natural languages is confronted at the outset by two seemingly contradictory considerations. (p. 5)
- [DB554], [DB555] We can think of anyone who is engaged in, for instance, reporting a sequence of events, or making an enquiry of another party, as being concerned primarily with such matters as what needs to be told or asked at the point in time when the report or enquiry occurs and with how best to manipulate the available linguistic resources to tell or ask it. (p. 6)
- [DB556] For each occasion on which we speak, there are certain requirements we must seek to satisfy. (p. 7)
- [DB557] It was retold to someone who hadn't yet heard it, shortly after the teller had heard it from someone else. (p. 8)
- [DB558], [DB559], [DB560] The opening of the narrative to which we shall make frequent reference in this book can be represented as a number of constituents, which coalesce to form larger constituents, which in turn unite with others to form larger ones still, and so on, using either of these conventions. (p. 10)
- [DB561], [DB562] In other words, thinking in terms of grammatical relationships commits us to recognizing abstract relationships, which depend for their understanding upon our being familiar with the total system of which they are said to be apart (Chomsky 1968). (p. 11)
- [DB563] Bloomfield, who introduced this term, says: (p. 11)
- [DB564] The findings then provide a convenient base from which we can go on to take in other possibilities. (p. 12)
- [DB565] The importance of the point does, in fact, go well beyond those utterances that have a clearly phatic or social function. (p. 12)
- [DB566], [DB567] A distinction is often made between speech which actually results in a transfer of information (I tell you the time) and speech which serves rather to oil the wheels of social intercourse (I ask you how you are, or invite you to agree that it is unseasonably warm for February). (p. 13)
- [DB568] Essentially, are the participants in a situation and in a relationship where offering such a warning is an appropriate thing to do? (p. 14)
- [DB569] They must nevertheless proceed for the most part as if they had such knowledge; and we can say that the narrative about the Little Old Lady would have been in no way different for us if the person to whom it was being told just happened to have heard it first-hand from the friend but was too polite to say so! (p. 14)
- [DB570] But this judgement is unlikely to recognize the whole truth: such a tale might well have been intended to warn listeners against giving lifts to strangers; or in the context of a convivial evening, its purpose might have been to entertain them; or, if it were one of those competitive events in which each person tries to go one better than the other, its purpose might have been to outdo them, of 'cap' another's offering. (p. 17)
- [DB571], [DB572] The particular kind of discourse that Sinclair and Coulthard had in mind when devising this model was that which teachers and pupils jointly constructs in the pursuance of a certain kind of classroom lesson. (p. 17)
- [DB573] It is rather a matter of taking due note of the complexity of circumstances in which the tale is told. (p. 18)
- [DB574], [DB575], [DB576] We will take it, for the time being at least, that if we describe the mechanisms speakers use in telling, we shall have thereby described the mechanisms they require for all those other purposes they pursue by telling. (p. 18)

- [DB577] Such a mechanism, or finite state grammar, can be described informally as follows: after the first element of a sentence has been chosen and produced, it sets up a state in which only certain ways forward are possible; the subsequent element sets up another set of constraints upon what can come next, and so on. (p. 20)
- [DB578] It represents a stretch of language which results from piecemeal or incremental composition. (p. 20)
- [DB579], [DB580] We need neither reject Chomsky's contention outright, nor enter into the largely philosophical argument on which it is based, in order to indulge the right we have claimed to make a contrary supposition.
- [DB581] Writing such a grammar would involve us in arranging all the words of the language in classes such as verbs, nouns, and pronouns, and discovering rules which would determine what might come after what in the increment-by-increment presentation of a sentence. (p. 21)
- [DB582] We can, moreover, think of the rules that govern that manipulation as being rules for telling or asking things. (p. 21)
- [DB583] We can think of the rules that govern that manipulation as being rules for telling or asking things. (p. 21)
- [DB584] We can then go on to ask whether an alternative approach can provide an account of relationships which more nearly reflects a language user's common sense apprehension of what is happening when we speak. (p. 22)
- [DB585] Thus, poor and John might be classified as adjective and noun respectively because of the places they occupy relative to each other and to the other constituents of the sentence. (p. 22)
- [DB586], [DB587] A glance at the various attempts that have been made to give conceptual substance to notions like 'the subject of ...' and 'the predicate of ...' in teaching grammars and elsewhere makes it clear that Chomsky is right in saying that relationships like these can only be explained by making reference to the formalism that identifies them. (p. 23)
- [DB588] The work on immediate constituency analysis that was carried out in the 1930s. (p. 24)
- [DB589], [DB590] The various sentence grammar that are currently available differ in the way they identify the constituents. (p. 25)
- [DB591] Neither is it necessary to assume that the knowledge of the language system which such analysis claims to make explicit is actually implicit in what users do. (p. 26)
- [DB592] All immediate constituency approaches, and all those that have developed from them, imply the existence of classes of constituents and some kind of relationship between them. (p. 26)
- [DB593] It will offer one possible explanation of how speakers manage to do what they think it needful to do linguistically in all the multifarious situations in which they are called upon to operate as communicators. (p. 26)
- [DB594] If the outcome can they be analysed, using the methods of the sentence grammarian, that is an additional fact about it; but such analysis arises from an after-the-event examination of a sample of language which is no longer serving a here-and-now purpose in any communicative activity. (p. 27)
- [DB595] We can use this constructed example to introduce a notion we will call 'communicative need'. (p. 28)
- [DB596] Since our concern is with purpose-driven language, and since we are supposing that this operates on an essentially increment-by-increment basis, we shall have to show that in the circumstances we visualize for the production of used language, a finite state grammar is a possibility. (p. 28)
- [DB597] The circumstances in which this tale was told and recorded are relevant to our present concerns. (p. 28)
- [DB598] We will say no more for the moment about the adequacy of this anecdote as data upon which to base generalizations. (p. 29)
- [DB599], [DB600] Yet it is self-evident that those configurations of words that the grammarian calls sentences are, in some inescapable sense, part of the communicative activity that the discourse analyst commonly attends to. (p. 30)
- Bernard Richardson, Business Planning**
- [BR601] In this mode the decision-making proceeds via small steps which are expected only partially to achieve goals. (p. 1)
- [BR602], [BR603] Enterprises which achieve effectiveness across the planning board have the total planning approach which holds all the aces in the strategic success game. (p. 7)
- [BR604] Turbulent environments throw up many new opportunities which need to be spotted and grabbed when they arise. (p. 7)
- [BR605] Strategy and management strategy are terms which appear regularly throughout this book. (p. 7)
- [BR606], [BR607] The success with which this basic strategy of effective adaptation is achieved depends upon the contributions made by all those sets of plans, decisions and actions which lead to the development of an effective strategy. (p. 7)
- [BR608] Organizations are groups of people who co-ordinate their activities in pursuit of a common purpose. (p. 7)
- [BR609] The result is a few simple and global objectives that provide little direction. (p. 9)
- [BR610], [BR611] It meant that the Today organization had missed out on the dance to capture customers who were interested in the paper initially but who lost interest after the early euphoria of the launch died away. (p. 9)
- [BR612] It is perhaps small wonder that strategists who continue to exercise skill in their jobs often command a high premium in the form of expensive organizational inducements. (p. 9)
- [BR613] Jonathan spends a lot of money on converting former derelict grain warehouses into a hotel in Leeds which is the first of its kind in Britain. (p. 10)
- [BR614] The expansionist times of the 1950s and 1960s gave rise to strategic developments which emphasized growth and diversification. (p. 10)
- [BR615], [BR616] Notices which are displayed on business premises and which attempt to take away buyers' implied rights are illegal. (p. 10)
- [BR617], [BR618] They isolate the important variables which have caused something to happen and which therefore are likely to cause similar things to happen in the future. (p. 11)
- [BR619], [BR620] Theories which prescribe 'hard and fast' solutions and which claim to have universal applicability are not pertinent to the practice of management strategy. (p. 11)
- [BR621], [BR622] Certainly the effectiveness with which business planning is performed in an era which promises the prospect of increasing uncertainty, more intense competition is expectable. (p. 11)
- [BR623] The chairman said the group, which owns Hull's Royal Hotel, intended to take advantage of the glut of properties on the market by making further acquisitions. (p. 15)

[BR624] Mr Wix, who has experienced both sides of the coin the past ten years, said: (p 15)

[BR625], [BR626] They should identify those things which are distinctively good about the organization and which set the organization apart from its competitors. (p. 19)

[BR627], [BR628] Strategic analysis can generate tremendous insight into the factors which underpin present success/failure levels and into the organizational changes which make greatest sense in the context of the anticipated future. (p. 19)

[BR629] This question refers to the extent to which organizations are restricted from moving into new areas of organization. (p. 19)

[BR630] Ever-changing new technology also combine to produce the need for organizing systems and structures very different from those which were effective only 15 or so, years ago. (p. 19)

[BR631] The chapter introduces some of the models and techniques which management strategy has made available for use in the corporate planning process. (p. 19)

[BR632] Corporate planning is often modelled as a step-by-step process which starts with strategic analysis and then moves on to the generalization, evaluation and choice of strategic development. (p. 19)

[BR633] Another critical decision is that which establishes the type of product or service. (p. 20)

[BR634], [BR635] They tend also to throw up major shock events which can hit the organization without warning and which require effective and spontaneous reaction. (p. 21)

[BR636], [BR637] People are unique, complex and changing, as are the organizations they comprise and with which they transact. (p. 21)

[BR638] This is because it generates a better information environment from which the strategist might make more informed decisions. (p. 22)

[BR639] He/she creates a situation where a coherent strategy can emerge based on better, more up-to-date information, and on the commitment of staff. (p. 23)

[BR640] They depended heavily on the United States and Japanese trade, which has been wiped out in 1991 by the Gulf War. (p. 24)

[BR641] We at Marks & Spencer co-operate with the British Institute of Management from which we mutually benefit. (p. 24)

[BR642] Strong and enlightened management is essential for economic success on which the health of the nation depends. (p. 24)

[BR643] In price competitive markets where existing players seek more incremental strategic changes to consolidate and develop their present market position, new emphasis on quality can facilitate successful competitive differentiation. (p. 25)

[BR644] Organizations interact with a variety of stakeholders all of whom come to the organization in pursuit of their own desired outcomes. (p. 25)

[BR645] Perhaps the single most important way in which control can be exercised by the corporate centre is the following. (p. 26)

[BR646] Some organizations might still operate in conditions where change is slow and the environment easily understood. (p. 27)

[BR647] Mr Watanabe, who had reached a conceptual dead end, went to Europe to lead the team to create a luxurious mini model. (p. 27)

[BR648], [BR649] Environments which are turbulent, dynamic and unpredictable present bigger planning problems than do those which change only slowly and predictably. (p. 27)

[BR650] The first step was to design a tall model that would challenge the common sense of Detroit. (p. 31)

Michael J. Baker, Marketing

[MB651] On first acquaintance with a new subject most of us like to be given a definition which summarizes its subject matter as succinctly as possible. (p. 4)

[MB652], [MB653] The proliferation of definitions was the subject of an article entitled 'What Exactly is Marketing' in which Keith Crosier reviewed over fifty definitions which he classified into three major groups. (p. 5)

[MB654], [MB655] However, one cannot argue with Crosier's final group of definitions, which seem agreed only on the point that marketing is a complex and confusing phenomenon that combines both the philosophy of business and its practice. (p. 6)

[MB656] According to Professor Johan Arndt, who was one of the early marketing theorists, marketing thought is developing in precisely the same way as other disciplines, from simple imperatives, 'satisfy your customers', to more complicated notions such as consumer behaviour analysis, to even more complex, ambiguous and sometimes contradictory formulations. (p. 6)

[MB657] In 1969 Philip Kotler and Sidney Levy published an article 'Broadening the Concept of Marketing' (Journal of Marketing) which argued that marketing techniques 'were used and should be used by all organizations needing favourable responses from internal interest groups'. (p. 7)

[MB658] The third phase, which Arndt calls 'New Institutionalism', is seen as containing three distinct strands – the notion of marketing as exchange, the transaction cost economics approach, and the political economy approach. (p. 7)

[MB659] The population explosion will soon reach a point where demand will once again outstrip supply, at least in the areas of basic necessities. (p. 8)

[MB660] Until a general theory is evolved the practitioners' and academics' view of the subject tends to be coloured by an emphasis of the discipline from which they came to marketing. (p. 8)

[MB661] This is certainly true of this book which is biased towards economics but, it is hoped, for reasons other than that the author was trained as an economist. (p. 8)

[MB662], [MB663] Many economists would add that it is a truism which has been in currency since Adam Smith wrote his Wealth of Nations in 1776, in which he states that: (p. 8)

[MB664] Essentially an economy is a system by which people earn a living and their standard of living is generally accepted as a reliable indication of the efficiency of the economy. (p. 8)

[MB665] Paul Samuelson states succinctly the three fundamental problems which an economy must grapple with in his standard text Economics – an Introductory Analysis, 13th revised edition. (p. 8)

[MB666] Those who have accepted the marketing concept believe the real solution may be expressed something like this: (p. 8)

[MB667] The latter viewpoint is the one adopted for the purpose of this book in the belief that although all of us are members of large groupings, be they national, ethnic or religious, we are more at home in dealing with smaller sub-groups the operation of which it is easier to evaluate and comprehend. (p. 9)

[MB668], [MB669] The answer is to be found in economic history, in which the evolution of economics may be studied, and no apologies are offered for the summary which follows. (p. 9)

[MB670] The objective underlying the inclusion of this summary is the need to put marketing in perspective – to try and explain why it is only in this century that marketing has emerged as a significant concept which is quickly converting many of its tenets. (p. 9)

[MB671], [MB672] If one examines the development of an advanced industrial economy such as our own, one can clearly distinguish a number of stages through which it has passed, each of which represents a step forward as compared with the preceding stage. (p. 9)

[MB673] From the Norman Conquest to the mid-fourteenth century England's economy was organized on a feudal basis in which the Manor represented the major economic unit of production and consumption. (p. 9)

[MB674] The Manorial system was based on an ideal of self-sufficiency under which each self-contained community endeavoured to meet all production and consumption. (p. 9)

[MB675] This demand encouraged the Manorial lords to free the serfs from the feudal duties in order that the lords might repossess the land they occupied and rear sheep on it. (p. 10)

[MB676] Craft industry leads to specialization in the production of particular goods, units of which can then be sold, enabling the craftsman to satisfy his needs by purchasing the output of other specialist producers. (p. 10)

[MB677] The next stage of economic development is usually exemplified by Adam Smith's account of the pin-making industry, where an enormous increase in output followed job simplification with the same input of factors of production, excluding raw materials. (p. 10)

[MB678], [MB679], [MB680] In 1850 Britain's exports amounted to nearly 40 per cent of all international trade, which, when it is realized that, by definition, the maximum any single nation could achieve is 50 per cent, is an extremely impressive performance and one which has never been surpassed since. (p. 11)

[MB681], [MB682] The period when this change occurred coincided with the early stages of the industrial revolution, which was to give impetus to the growth of a factory economy, job specialization and mass production techniques. (p. 11)

[MB683] This in turn required the construction of factories in which a number of machines and operatives could be assembled, while the simplification of process meant that unskilled labour could be readily trained to perform simple operations. (p. 11)

[MB684] The increase in knowledge of the nature and causes of disease in itself would have been of marginal value had not methods of large-scale production permitted the manufacture of the physical goods required in the creation of adequate sewerage and drainage schemes, and created the wealth with which to pay for them. (p. 11)

[MB685] Initially, the newly emergent industrial nation must pass through the development of basic industries such as iron and steel, which provide the raw materials of manufacturing industry, followed by the development of the latter along with lines of communication, and channels of distribution. (p. 12)

[MB686] In the meantime, however, the original industrial nations are not standing still but are channelling their skill and knowledge in the production of more sophisticated products which the newer industrial nations are eager, and able, to buy. (p. 12)

[MB687] As a result of this economic development an increasing number of people are earning incomes which enable them to translate their latent demand for consumption goods into an effective demand. (p. 12)

[MB688] However, the market, both nationally and internationally, has changed radically for, despite this growth in demand, increased productivity has resulted in a level of supply which is more sufficient to cater for effective demand in any specific area. (p. 12)

[MB689] It is under these conditions that supply becomes directly controlled by demand, as opposed to demand accepting that which is supplied. (p. 12)

[MB690], [MB691], [MB692] The situation with which we are faced, therefore, is one in which consumer demand dictates that which will be produced. (p. 12)

[MB693] With the rise in real income which accompanied increased productivity and economic growth the proportion of expenditure absorbed by essential purchases is considerably reduced, despite changes in the nature of the demand for these essentials. (p. 15)

[MB694] The 'potted history' of the stages through which an advanced economy passes does scant justice to the subject and further reading is essential to a proper and objective understanding of it. (p. 15)

[MB695] As stated initially, the intention underlying its inclusion was to give some perspective to the development of economics to the point at which a need for a new economic concept emerged. (p. 15)

[MB696], [MB697] These views are then contrasted with those of a number of other writers who claim that the production era never existed and that the importance of sales and marketing orientations were realized and the practice applied at a time when this supposed era would still have been in its infancy. (p. 17)

[MB698] This may be immediately discernible, as in the case when automation is introduced, or less directly so, when a computer is installed to permit the solution of complex problems hitherto considered insoluble. (p. 17)

[MB699], [MB700] This paper is well worth reading for the additional perspectives it offers on the evolution of marketing, many of which will be addressed in the development of this text. (p. 17)

Joanna Channell, Vague Language

[JC701] I will do this by giving some examples of texts which most people would think of as being 'good' language use, and concerned with serious topics. (p. 1)

[JC702] The expressions picked out in italics are some of those I would identify as vague. (p. 1)

[JC703] It is important to appreciate that one of the ways they demonstrate their competence is through their use of a degree of vagueness which is right for the purpose of their writing. (p. 3)

[JC704] One way in which both speakers and writers tailor their language is by varying the precision and vagueness, and it is this type of variation which is the central interest of this book. (p. 5)

[JC705] This makes vagueness like many other linguistic phenomena, which pass unnoticed until an investigating linguist argues that they are worthy of description.

[JC706] An example is metaphor, which appeared to be an esoteric side issue until the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* {Lakoff and Johnson 1980}. (p. 4)

[JC707] Secondly, the list of types of expression and words which appeared to be able to be used vaguely grew ever longer. (p. 5)

[JC708] This idea has also been reflected by Wittgenstein (1953) who suggests that words are like blurred photographs and adds: (p. 6)

[JC709] This inevitably leads to vagueness which is 'in some ways regrettable, but it is the price we have to pay for having a means of social communication flexible enough to cope with the infinite variety of our experiences'. (p. 6)

[JC710] Definitely, as we shall see from analyzing some samples of conversations where people seem to be not quite sure of what they are talking about. (p. 7)

[JC711] That is to say, c. and d. are facts about the world and people in it, which in turn are reflected by, even necessitate, the capacity of language to express vagueness, that is a. and b., among other factors. (p. 7)

[JC712], [JC713] His argument is that vagueness is not a concept which applies to language, but rather to the ideas which language expresses. (p. 8)

[JC714] It is obviously difficult to separate out language from the ideas it expresses, but it seems to me that claiming that it is our ideas which are vague, rather than our language, is another way of attempting to make the analysis of language less complicated, by shifting the problem away from linguistics and psychology. (p. 8)

[JC715] The idea that the structure of ideas is vague in no way precludes the language system also incorporating vagueness, but in a sense, discussing the structure of ideas goes beyond the proper province of this book, which is to explain how it is that vagueness is part of language. (p. 8)

[JC716] The existence of the words and expressions they note, and their prevalence in their recordings, lend support to the contention that vagueness is both intrinsic, and important, in the language system of English. (p. 9)

[JC717] He attempts to quantify the frequency of the approximation devices he looked at. (p. 10)

[JC718], [JC719], [JC720] Truth-conditional semantics, which aims to describe the meaning of sentences in terms of the conditions which must pertain for them to be 'true', classically operates with three truth values: true, false, and lacking a truth value (sentences which lack a truth value are such things as orders – Pick that book up! Or questions – Would you like to go to the cinema?). (p. 10)

[JC721] She reported experiments which showed that perceptual categories such as colour and shape have internal structure. (p. 10)

[JC722], [JC723] Lakoff proposed what he called 'fuzzy semantics' in which, however, the semantic representations which are arrived at in any given case are exact. (p. 1)

[JC724] Ullmann's reason a. (the generic character of words) was discussed in the concluding speculative chapter of Fodor (1977) which raises a number of issues connected with vagueness without explicitly explaining them in such terms. (p. 12)

[JC725], [JC726] The causal theory of meaning, which she discusses, makes specific provision for vagueness in the sense that it attributes it to lack of knowledge about which things are of the same kind: (p. 12)

[JC727] One example is the sort of conversations which typically take place between parents and their teenage offspring, such as the following: (p. 13)

[JC728] Fowler and Kress (1979: 30ff) explained how imperatives involve massive deletion of elements which are supplied by the addressee 'from his knowledge of the non-linguistic context in which the speech act occurs'. (p. 13)

[JC729] A more conclusive result was obtained in the communication tasks in which the percentage of successful communications (i.e. being able to identify a wine by its description) was never significantly above chance. (p. 14)

[JC730] While, as Lehrer says, these results raise more questions than they answer, they do demonstrate fairly adequately that communication between participants on a topic on which they expect to share quite a lot of knowledge, is in fact rather poor. (p. 14)

[JC731], [JC732] An important point which Lehrer makes about vague and precise use, and one which will be taken up in Chapter 8, is the following: (p. 15)

[JC733] Her speculative conclusion asks a question to which this study contributes part of the answer: (p. 15)

[JC734] They are saying that vagueness is quite appropriate to the setting in which they found it. (p. 16)

[JC735] Here, speakers choose words which are always, and unabashedly vague, such as thingummy and whatsit. (p. 18)

[JC736] This is, I think, qualitatively different from additive vagueness or choice of vague words in the sense that these are cases of things whose identity is unspecified in the sentence concerned. (p. 19)

[JC737] The second exclusion is that I shall not pursue the line of argument which says that all language use is vague. (p. 19)

[JC738] The meanings hearers arrive at may be quite other than those intended by speakers. (p. 25)

[JC739] I assume a 'grammar' in which the three components traditionally recognized (syntax, semantics, phonology) can be separated for the purposes of description and theory-building. (p. 26)

[JC740] In accounting for linguistic behaviour, this grammar would work together with the mechanisms of speech production, and with the system of rules which guide the speaker's use of language (pragmatics). (p. 26)

[JC741] At the phonological level, the area I draw on in this study is intonation. (p. 27)

[JC742] Intonation is relevant in that some vague expressions, which are structurally ambiguous between a vague and an exact reading, are differentiated by means of intonation differences. (p. 27)

[JC743] Intonation also delimits the length of strings to which vagueness markers refer. (p. 27)

[JC744] 'Natural' will describe characteristics of English which are attested by naturally-occurring data, and by more than one example. (p. 28)

- [JC745], [JC746] Here are mine: within semantics are described those aspects of meaning which are unchanging across different occasions of utterance of a particular string or word-sense; within pragmatics are characterized those aspects of meaning which are changeable across contexts. (p. 29)
- [JC747] In this way semantic constructs are fleshless skeletons, the evidence for whose existence and form can only be obtained from their fleshed-out manifestation (i.e. speech behaviour), since, as often observed, language only has meanings by virtue of its use. (p. 29)
- [JC748] When this is done, in theory, all and only those factors which are identified as the conditions necessary for the sentence involved to be true are said to be the semantics of that sentence. (p. 30)
- [JC749] A separate question is whether a statement of the truth-conditions of a sentence is all that is required for its semantics; that is, the adequacy of the theory of truth-conditional semantics. (p. 30)
- [JC750] A problem which has bothered many writers interested in semantics is what sort of representations to use. (p. 30)

JOURNALISTIC WRITING

The Sun

- [Sun751] The driver of a train which jumped the rails and demolished a station yesterday had been boozing just hours before going on duty. (p. 1)
- [Sun 752] Barnes, a keen angler and pool and darts player, went to the White Lion pub in Dover, Kent, in the afternoon where he downed the pints of beer. (p. 1)
- [Sun753], [Sun754], [Sun755] A member of the Radio Authority which stripped LBC of its licence had a financial link with the bank which backed the station that got the franchise, a Sun investigation has revealed. (p. 2)
- [Sun756] Media consultant Richard Hooper, 53, is a member of the six-strong panel at the authority which voted on the franchise battle. (p. 2)
- [Sun757] He also works for a committee of leading merchant bank Guinness Mahon which organized the £ million finance for the rival bid by London News Radio. (p. 2)
- [Sun758] But the fact that Mr Hooper had a financial link with the bank which backed the successful bidders has caused comment and concern within the broadcasting industry. (p. 2)
- [Sun759] He refused to comment when asked if it was right that Mr Hooper should work for Guinness Mahon at the same time as serving on the authority which awarded the new licences. (p. 2)
- [Sun760] Mr Hooper, who worked for British Telecom for eight years, has left his job at the PA Consulting Group to become a freelance media and communications specialist. (p. 2)
- [Sun761] But the biggest storm will be over child benefit, costing 5.7 billion a year, which the Conservatives pledged to preserve for all in their 1992 year manifest. (p. 2)
- [Sun762] Seven major unions are set to scupper Mr Smith's plan to abolish the all-powerful block vote by which unions control party policy. (p. 2)
- [Sun763] Now the car dealer – who was given Polly in exchange for a Golf GTi – is claiming the cash under his household goods insurance. (p. 3)
- [Sun764] Bob, who now has a new parrot called Max, said last night: (p. 3)
- [Sun765], [Sun766] Polly was killed in a fight with Bob's German Shepherd dog Flaxton, who became jealous of all the attention she got. (p. 3)
- [Sun767] Brickie Alan Bateman, 35, wants someone to knit him a jumper from hair he combed off pet alsatian Lancia at his Swansea home. (p. 3)
- [Sun768] Jobless Stephens, who played music on her bedroom tape deck, said: (p. 3)
- [Sun769] Two hero firemen died yesterday in a massive blaze which tore through a poultry factory. (p. 4)
- [Sun770] The blaze broke out at the giant Sun Valley poultry works in Hereford, which turns out hundreds of thousands of chickens and turkeys each week. (p. 4)
- [Sun771] But two weeks ago warders began ordering girls, many of whom regularly turned up in short skirts and no knickers, to get off their men's laps. (p. 4)
- [Sun772] Secretary Julie – whose boyfriend Michael Judge, 23, is serving 18 months for car theft – told how frustrated she was. (p. 4)
- [Sun773] The women would file into the huge hall where about 10 prisoners were waiting, praying they would get a seat away from a prison officers. (p. 4)
- [Sun774] An inquiry into the riot will be headed by Judge Stephen Tunim, who blasted Wymott in a report ten months ago. (p. 5)
- [Sun775] Prison Service Director-General Derek Lewis, who toured the wrecked jail, said: (p. 5)
- [Sun776] Wymott prison in Lancashire, where rioters tried to burn the place down, is more like a holiday camp than a jail. (p. 6)
- [Sun777] We should lock the rioters up in the wreckage they have caused. (p. 6)
- [Sun778] Nigel, 28, who kicks off his two-month, 24-game match against the Russian in London today, won all eleven games in one hour and 37 minutes – but not without a few hairy moments. (p. 6)
- [Sun779] Two black footprints were scorched into the earth where he stood as the current flashed through his body. (p. 7)
- [Sun780] John, 30, who has run up 80 miles since joining The Sun's roadshow in his home city of Birmingham, tried his luck in Milton Keynes, Bucks. (p. 7)
- [Sun781] Angry Tory MPs yesterday lashed meddlers who put Britain on trial for shooting dead three IRA bombers in Gibraltar five years ago. (p. 8)
- [Sun782] Glynis, who took over as lollipop lady four weeks ago, said: (p. 8)
- [Sun783] Julia, who had hospital treatment for leg cuts, said: (p. 9)
- [Sun784] The roundabout where the crash happened was installed a month ago after residents petitioned for better road safety. (p. 9)

- [Sun785] The luckiest people in the crash were two vagrants who usually sleep on the station benches, a fire brigade spokesman said. (p. 11)
- [Sun786] It should have been 25 mph through the station which is approached down a slope. (p. 11)
- [Sun787] Antonella, 27, who can't drive, will be his first pupil. (p. 11)
- [Sun788], [Sun789] John won with Sun Strip Lesley and Gary, which matched one of the three strips we published yesterday. (p. 130)
- [Sun790] We will tell you of the SAS sergeant who had run out of ammunition and faced certain death in the midst of a gun battle during the Gulf War. (p. 15)
- [Sun791] Then you can marvel at the bravery of the corporal who marched 200 miles through the hostile Iraqi desert without food or water to reach safety. (p. 15)
- [Sun792] Tragic Rebecca Cousin shot herself dead after failing to get her GCSE grade she needed, an inquest heard yesterday. (p. 15)
- [Sun793] Marie, whose boyfriend Michael Boylos is a big music star in their native Sweden, adds: (p. 17)
- [Sun794] Whoopi Goldberg, who starred as a psychic in Ghost, has turned down 400,000 to advertise America's Psychic TV Channel. (p. 17)
- [Sun795] Bill, who hit No 1 in 1991 with 3am Eternal, spent 50,000 advertising the award in newspapers, including the Sun.
- [Sun796] Jakki, 25, who regularly grills me for gossip on her lunchtime show, says an older friend got her hooked on Bowie. (p. 17)
- [Sun797] The band, who reached the top five with their comeback hit Ordinary World, were to have played before 70,000 fans in Britain alone. (p. 17)
- [Sun798] Yesterday he was devastated as the bank called off their seven-date British tour, which was due to start tonight at Sheffield. (p. 17)
- [Sun799] Fans are being advised to keep their tickets for the shows which will be staged early next year. (p. 17)
- [Sun800] Simon, who was struck dumb, is having injections to treat acute swelling of his vocal cords. (p. 17)
- The Guardian**
- [Guard801] The plan under consideration, which echoes elements of David Blunkett's proposal last year for secret anti-terrorist courts, could also involve the use of security-vetted 'special advocates' as legal representatives of those detained. (p. 1)
- [Guard802] They would not be able to disclose the nature of the evidence under which their clients were held before being charged. (p. 1)
- [Guard803] The proposal puts flesh on the point outlined by Tony Blair last Friday, when he said that part of the new anti-terror package would include a new court procedure. (p. 1)
- [Guard804] In France, where an inquisitorial system is used, an examining magistrate hears evidence from witnesses and suspects, orders searches and authorizes warrants, before deciding if there is a valid case. (p. 1)
- [Guard805] The approach was recommended by Lord Newton's committee of privy councilors in December 2003 as an alternative to Belmarsh detentions in cases where a conventional trial was not possible. (p. 1)
- [Guard806] First to appear in front of Senior District Judge Timothy Workman was Muktar Said-Ibrahim, 27, from Stoke Newington, north London, who is alleged to have tried to blow up the No 26 bus in Hackney. (p. 1)
- [Guard807] Said-Ibrahim, who has a British passport after fleeing from Eritrea, spoke only to answers 'yes' when asked to confirm his name, address and date of birth. (p. 1)
- [Guard808] Next in the dock was Manto Klaku Asiedu, 32, who is accused of conspiracy to murder and conspiracy to endanger life by using explosives. (p. 1)
- [Guard809] Ramzi Muhammad, 23, from Kensington, west London, who is alleged to have tried to blow up a tube train near Oval station on July 21, was read the same four charges as Said-Ibrahim. (p. 1)
- [Guard810] Yasin Hassan Omar, 24, from New Southgate, north London, who is suspected of trying to detonate a device on a tube train near Warren Street, looked calm as the same four charges were put to him, and nodded when asked if he understood them. (p. 1)
- [Guard811] All four men are accused of plotting the failed July 21 bombings with Hussein Osman, who is alleged to have tried to blow up a tube train near Shepherd's Bush. (p. 1)
- [Guard812] Six other people had already been remanded in custody on charges of failing to disclose information which could have helped police investigating the failed July attacks. (p. 1)
- [Guard813] Its action brought closer the prospect of a showdown with the US, which wants to see Iran referred to the UN security council and economic sanctions imposed. (p. 1)
- [Guard814] The restarting of uranium conversion in the southern city of Isfahan was criticized by the Foreign Office, which described events yesterday as being of deep concern. (p. 1)
- [Guard815] The bear that did this is quite dangerous because he's killing for killing's sake, not because he wants to eat meat. (p. 1)
- [Guard816] The investigators said Alexander Yakovlev, who has also resigned, sought a bribe. (p. 2)
- [Guard817] The report's findings will be welcomed by US Congressmen, who have been campaigning against Mr Annan and the UN. (p. 2)
- [Guard818] They had already drafted a weak resolution for today's IAEA meeting, giving the Iranians another chance before the Europeans would support taking the dispute to the UN security council in New York which could opt for punitive sanctions against Iran. (p. 2)
- [Guard819] Kojo Annan worked for a Swiss company that won one of the Iraq contracts. (p. 2)
- [Guard820] The problem is that the details of the dismantling and the dangers in handling of the plutonium, uranium and other wastes are outlined on computer software that will become outdated in a decade. (p. 2)
- [Guard821] So they have used something called permanent paper, which is as close to papyrus as it can get. (p. 2)

- [Guard822] The first batch of documents sets out details of the intermediate level radioactive waste arising from decommissioning the Wind scale reactor in Cumbria, which will be completed next year. (p. 2)
- [Guard823] David Gray, who led the project, said: (p. 2)
- [Guard824] John Prescott, who is standing in for Tony Blair while the prime minister is on holiday, had just chaired a No 10 meeting on the security situation yesterday when he decided to get some air. (p. 2)
- [Guard825] The family, who are thought to be from London and were believed to have been heading for Covent Garden when they met Mr Prescott, were then escorted back out to the street by him. (p. 2)
- [Guard826] He punched a protester who had made the mistake of throwing an egg at him during a visit to Rhyl in north Wales. (p. 2)
- [Guard827], [Guard828] Alsop, whose appointment to the top job at the Baltimore Symphony in the US has just been announced, has become an inspiration to many young women fitting their way to concert hall podiums – and also seems to have won over the retired colonels on the south coast who used to prefer their Brahms done only by chaps. (p. 3)
- [Guard829] Which all suggests that, despite considerable progress, women have still a long way to go to be accepted in the very conservative world of the penguin suit. (p. 3)
- [Guard830] Women who train to be conductors are really brave – they need a thicker skin than men. (p. 3)
- [Guard831], [Guard832] Alsop is the most collegiate and least dictatorial conductor he has ever met, which makes her problems in Baltimore difficult to understand. (p. 3)
- [Guard833] She says she has faced some sexist sniffiness in Israel, where she is assistant conductor with the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra. (p. 3)
- [Guard834] Marit Stridlund, who studies at the Royal Northern College of Music and assisted with a production of Verdi's Falstaff in Aberdeen last week, also admits to having bumped into the odd musical dinosaur. (p. 3)
- [Guard835] They are interested only in a conductor who does a good job. (p. 3)
- [Guard836] ... said Baldur Bronnimann, a visiting tutor in conducting at the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester, where at most 20 % successful applicants are women. (p. 3)
- [Guard837] That comes more naturally to a larger percentage of men than it does to women, who are more likely to question themselves. (p. 3)
- [Guard838] A protégé of Leonard Bernstein, she conducted many British orchestras before having been appointed to the top job in Boumemouth in 202, where she revived the orchestra's fortunes. (p. 3)
- [Guard839] She began conducting when her mother told her she should try it after she complained that no one in the chamber groups in which she played seemed to have any performance ideas. (p. 3)
- [Guard840] Mr Bostock said that heavy parasitic infection could often be worst on moors with a large population, which had made the situation worse. (p. 3)
- [Guard841] The devastation has been described as spectacularly greater than last year, when similar warnings about a poor season proved premature, and a record number of grouse were shot. (p. 3)
- [Guard842] Labour MPs are concerned that Tony Blair's sweeping 12-point plan for tackling the threat posed by Islamist terrorism may hinder the very goals he seeks to achieve. (p. 4)
- [Guard843] The warnings came at a time when the British intelligence services had concluded that there was no imminent attack planned. (p. 4)
- [Guard844] The 20-page report, parts of which were published in the daily paper Le Figaro, was presented soon after British intelligence chiefs had lowered the al-Qaida threat to substantial from severe – general. (p. 4)
- [Guard845] UK security sources have consistently denied that they received any specific threat on which it was possible to act before July. (p. 4)
- [Guard846] Mr Aswad stayed in Bly for a month before going back to Seattle, after which his whereabouts are unknown. (p. 4)
- [Guard847] Asked whether he would agree to being extradited to the US, Mr Aswad, who grew up in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, said: (p. 4)
- [Guard848] Mrs Cook's personal remarks come after the political tributes which have poured in across the world. (p. 5)
- [Guard849] Mr Cook collapsed on Ben Stack, in Sutherland, where he was walking with his wife. (p. 5)
- [Guard850] A spokesman for the procurator fiscal's office, which investigates sudden deaths in Scotland, said results of a postmortem examination at Raigmore hospital, Inverness, were not expected until today. (p. 5)
- The Independent**
- [Ind851] Seven days later his body was found by a villager, who led police and friends of Mr Lees to the spot. (p. 1)
- [Ind852] Wilde had been not only a brilliant entertainer but a dedicated poet who in the end had fulfilled the world's most solemn expectations. (p. 1)
- [Ind853] If the negotiators believed that the unionists can be bought off by a useless assembly that has no freedom to determine how it orders its own affairs they were bravely mistaken. (p. 1)
- [Ind854] The ceremony began with an enactment by Dame Judi and Michael Dennison of the play's handbag scene, in which John Worthing explains to the formidable Lady Bracknell how he came to be found in a black handbag in Victoria Station. (p. 1)
- [Ind855] In the days when the colonial government ruled without much reference to public opinion Mrs Tu and Mr Syeto both occurred the wrath of the establishment. (p. 3)
- [Ind856], [Ind857] Other parents pointed out that many schools may have to reconsider the support they give to children who have learning difficulties. (p. 3)
- [Ind858] Euro tunnel will allow customers who buy a £ 49 day return ticket for travel between now and the end of April to get a £ 49 discount off any standard price return journey. (p. 4)
- [Ind859] They want to finalize the framework document they hope to publish by the end of the month. (p. 4)
- [Ind860] That was the woman she had described as the Joan of Arc of Veal. (p. 4)
- [Ind861] It remains a mystery whether they died of the diseases we were expecting them to die of. (p. 4)

[Ind862], [Ind863] The man has now suffered the penalties of his career, and may well be allowed to pass from that platform of publicity which he loved into that limbo of disrepute and forgetfulness which is his due. (p. 4)

[Ind864] ... said in an interview that children who exhibit attention deficit disorder at six may be saved from a career of criminality. (p. 4)

[Ind865] However, Euro-sceptic Tory MPs who have lost the whip stepped up their campaign. (p. 4)

[Ind866] The decision is made carefully with the parents and other specialists who would have to be responsible for the child's future. (p. 4)

[Ind867], [Ind868] The actress was among 1,000 people who gathered in the cathedral to say farewell to a woman who overnight became a martyr to the animal rights movement. (p. 4)

[Ind869] Despite the anti-Fascist protest which greeted his arrival at Heathrow airport yesterday, and the promise of further disruptions, the group carried on with the negotiations. (p. 4)

[Ind870] British performers won Oscar nominations in all but one of the key Academy Award categories last night in a year that was dominated by the stunning success of Forrest Gump. (p. 5)

[Ind871] Speaking at a briefing before a television current affairs programme in which he tells of the dilemma, Dr Nicholson said: (p. 5)

[Ind872] They commented on the environment in which they lived. (p. 5)

[Ind873] Oxfordshire, which has to cut about £ 23.5 m from its budget this year, about half of it from education, has been in the forefront of the fight against cuts. (p. 4)

[Ind874] The chairman of governors at Weatley Park School, where governors have voted to set a deficit budget this year, appealed to the assembly. (p. 4)

[Ind875] Willie Ross, David Trimble, and the Rev Martin Smyth – who had been briefed by Mr Major – refused to say anything about the meeting. (p. 5)

[Ind876] The DAB, which is more urban based, will not put up candidates to oppose them. (p. 5)

[Ind877] Euro tunnel, which has the concession on the tunnel until 2052 and operates the Shuttle services, has repeated its pledge not to be involved in a price war. (p. 6)

[Ind878] In Hollywood, the spotlight fell firmly on Forrest Gump which won 13 dominations. (p. 6)

[Ind879] Ms Phipps and her mother Nancy, 68 – who has been jailed for animal right activities – were the heart and soul of Coventry's animal rights movement. (p. 6)

[Ind880] Mr Phipps, 31, who died under the wheels of a cattle truck two weeks ago, would have disliked the fuss. (p. 6)

[Ind881] She had identified a more numerous group of twins who have co-morbidity of attention-deficit disorder with adolescent conduct disorder. (p. 6)

[Ind882] The hard work that has taken place over the last 20 years is now being taken on by mainstream society. (p. 6)

[Ind883] The Labour group on Oxfordshire's hung council wants to set a budget that will break the Government's cash limits. (p. 7)

[Ind884] Crime and poverty would no longer be considered as the social and economic problems that they are but as curable illnesses caused by personal biological make-up. (p. 7)

[Ind885] Alan Clark, the former Tory Cabinet minister, put in an appearance which caused a hostile ripple among those unaware of his dislike of fox hunting and animal cruelty. (p. 7)

[Ind886], [Ind887], [Ind888] A separate study of 3,200 pairs of male twins who served in the US armed forces between 1965 – 1975, during the Vietnam era, has revealed similar differences between criminality persisting into adulthood, which appears to be genetically linked, and criminality which adolescents grow out of. (p. 7)

[Ind889] But this was not the same as deliberately ending a life, which was not permissible. (p. 7)

[Ind890] The low-budget The Madness of King George, whose star, Nigel Hawthorne was among those on the best actors list, was shot around the area. (p. 8)

[Ind891] Many analysts in the City predicted that it could pass its all-time low of DM 2.3147 – which it reached after the exchange mechanisms crisis in September 1992 – within the next few days. (p. 8)

[Ind892] The service is restricted to cars below 1.85 metres – which rules out the Land Rover Discovery and some Shoguns. (p. 8)

[Ind893] The rights to mark the National Gallery's paintings on CD have been bought by the US Microsoft company, which is believed to be eyeing the Louvre. (p. 10)

[Ind894], [Ind895] The unveiling was carried out by Mr Holland, who pressed a switch to illuminate the window over Tennyson's grave on which his grandfather's name has been inscribed. (p. 10)

[Ind896] Two American studies comparing identical twins, who share the same genes, with non-identical twins, have supported the results. (p. 10)

[Ind897] The Rev David Berryman, Ms Phipps' parish pries, who took yesterday's service, said: (p. 10)

[Ind898] Some parents turned up in slings to symbolize the effects of spending cuts, which the council says are the result of the action. (p. 10)

[Ind899] For example, the peak-time return, which applies for weekends in July and August and for the Spring Bank holiday, has been set at a lower price. (p. 10)

[Ind900] But it has moved away from the very simple fare structure announced last year, which had to be abandoned because of the tunnel's opening. (p. 10)

Weekly Paragraph

[WTel901] The decision prevented England from abandoning a tour that has been widely condemned. (p. 1)

[WTel902] Michael Vaughan, who had supported the journalists, said it was a relief to be back playing cricket. (p. 1)

[WTel903] Viktor Yanukovich, who is backed in the east, was prevented from taking office. (p. 1)

[WTel904] The accusation is contained in an e-mail written by Mrs Quinn, a copy of which has been obtained by The Sunday Telegraph. (p. 3)

[WTe1905], [WTe1906], [WTe1907] It was sent to a private laboratory and the results, which confirmed a match, were returned to Mrs Quinn, who read them out to Mrs Blankett, who is blind. (p. 3)

[WTe1908] The Home Secretary allegedly gave her two first-class rail tickets in August 2002 which are thought to have been assigned to him for his work as an MP. (p. 3)

[WTe1909] Mrs Quinn is seven months pregnant with her second child, which may also be Mr Blunkett's. (p. 3)

[WTe1910] Her e-mail, which was sent to a friend on Thursday last week, followed an apparent approach by a newspaper to Ms Casalme. (p. 3)

[WTe1911] She had been contacted about the passport application that David fast-tracked for her. (p. 3)

[WTe1912] She entered the country in late July on early August, 1999, with another British family who had been living in Jordan. (p. 3)

[WTe1913] Ms Casalme, who started work with Mrs Quinn in 2002, asked her to help her obtain permanent residency. (p. 3)

[WTe1914] Mrs Quinn rang Mr Blunkett, who allegedly told her: (p. 3)

[WTe1915] The lines survived the 'Beeching axe' of the 1960s, which resulted in services being withdrawn from a third of the network. (p. 4)

[WTe1916] Householders who are working longer hours and want a perfect home no longer have the time to do their own plastering, papering or building. (p. 4)

[WTe1917], [WTe1918], [WTe1919] The word that was needed to trigger the inquiry's statutory powers, is not a term one would associate with a tribunal that has sat for 434 days over four and a half years. (p. 4)

[WTe1920] The chances are that the judges will not be satisfied with Mr Clarke's conclusion, which amounts to saying that none of the soldiers can be proved beyond reasonable doubt to have committed murder or manslaughter. (p. 4)

[WTe1921] The £ 155 million Bloody Sunday inquiry has failed to answer one of the key questions it was asked nearly seven years ago. (p. 4)

[WTe1922] The soldiers seemed unable to explain why they killed or wounded 27 people who were not involved. (p. 4)

[WTe1923] The situation the soldiers faces was radically different to that of which the civilian evidence speaks. (p. 4)

[WTe1924] Paul Aburrell, the former butler to Diana, Princess of Wales, is to sell the home that was raided by police searching for items belonging to the late princess. (p. 4)

[WTe1925] The show is equally unsympathetic to Camilla Parker Bowles, who is cruelly portrayed as a dominatrix in jodhpurs laying into the Prince of Wales with a whip. (p. 5)

[WTe1926] The princess and Dodi Fayed, who are portrayed as saintly figures martyred by the British establishment, are shown dancing passionately together before their deaths. (p. 5)

[WTe1927] The first half of the show, according to those who saw it performed by Schaufuss's dance company in Jutland, starts with the 20-year old Diana as a girl about town. (p. 5)

[WTe1928], [WTe1929] He is the voice coach who made the tapes during the 16 months he worked to help the princess overcome her shyness and improve her public speaking. (p. 5)

[WTe1930] Often all that is needed is the right help at the right time for them to make the most of it. (p. 5)

[WTe1931] He blamed the child-centered education system which admits no failure. (p. 5)

[WTe1932] The Prince of Wales last week rounded on critics who accused him of believing people could not rise above their station. (p. 5)

[WTe1933] Harry twice visited Lobos, where he was supposed to have got drunk in discos. (p. 5)

[WTe1934] But Palo Olano, who owns another nightclub, said: (p. 5)

[WTe1935] Harry had bought a hat and a container used to make mate which is similar to green tea. (p. 5)

[WTe1936] A controversial technique that allows parents to create designer babies to save the life of a seriously ill child is being made available on the National Health Service. (p. 6)

[WTe1937] Opponents of the technique – which involves genetic screening of embryos conceived through in-vitro fertilisation – say it is an inappropriate use of taxpayers' money. (p. 6)

[WTe1938] Zain's parents, Shahana and Raj, who live in Leeds, won an appeal last year allowing them to create a donor sibling. (p. 6)

[WTe1939] Theobromine was found to almost a third more effective in preventing coughing than codeine which is considered the best available cough medicine. (p. 6)

[WTe1940] Dr Adlakha, who runs a practice in Birmingham, was filmed covertly by an undercover reporter. (p. 6)

[WTe1941], [WTe1942] Dr Saroj Adlakha is being investigated by the health trust that registers general practitioners in her area, and The General Medical Council, which governs the conduct of all doctors in Britain. (p. 6)

[WTe1943] The work suggests that one day it may be possible to test if a person has a tendency to be unfaithful, which correlates with a tendency to divorce. (p. 6)

[WTe1944] The British Dental Association was responding to a critical report by the National Audit Office which says that NHS dentistry will collapse unless rapid action is taken to clarify a new contract and persuade dentists to take more health service patients. (p. 6)

[WTe1945] They said the reforms might fail to deliver the promise of an NHS dentist for everyone who wanted one. (p. 6)

[WTe1946] Dentists will get the same level of pay they are currently getting. (p. 6)

[WTe1947] The Government has ordered a public art gallery to return a painting to the descendants of German Jews from whom the work was effectively stolen by the Nazis in 1936. (p. 7)

[WTe1948] Channel 4, which made a profit of £ 43 last year, would not say how much it wanted. (p. 7)

[WTe1949] Five-year old George Llewelyn Davies was particularly taken by Barrie, who was well-informed on topics such as cricket, fairies, murder, pirates, hanging and desert islands. (p. 7)

[WTe1950] The winners had to keep news of their victory, which they were told of in July, secret until now. (p. 50)

The Daily Telegraph

- [DTel951] Experts said the underwater tremor, which measured 8-9 on the Richter scale, may have had such a widespread impact because it occurred relatively close to the ocean surface. (p. 1)
- [DTel952] Katie Razzall, 31, who was on honey-moon in Tangalla, said: (p. 1)
- [DTel953] In Sri Lanka, much of whose east coast is controlled by the Tamil separatist movement, a Roman Catholic priest was killed. (p. 1)
- [DTel954] In Aceh province, Sumatra, which has been racked by separatist violence for many ears, there wre reports of bodies wedged in trees and a hotel being washed away. (p. 1)
- [DTel955] On Phi Phi Island, Thailand, where hundreds of holiday bungalows were destroyed, the resort owner said: (p. 5)
- [DTel956], [DTel957] He described the moment the triple swell of the tsunami engulfed the hotel he was staying in with his wife and son and another family. (p. 2)
- [DTel958] We came to a door which was locked and the water was coming. (p. 2)
- [DTel959] That was the one thing they could get on. (p. 2)
- [DTel960] The next thing he remembers is someone taking him to a church and then to the hospital, where he was treated for leg injuries and multiple lacerations. (p. 2)
- [DTel961] Mr Grughl was travelling with his daughter – whose name, along with his own telephone numbers, the trauma had wiped from Mr Grughl's memory. (p. 2)
- [DTel962] It had received hundreds of casualties with a wide range of injuries, some of which had required amputations. (p. 2)
- [DTel963] Witnesses said the sea on Phuket's west side, where resorts were full of European holidaymakers escaping the winter chill, retreated before three vast swells of water inundated buildings up to the second storey. (p. 2)
- [DTel964] She and Jonathan, who was travelling with his parents and three siblings, kept talking until they both swam back out through the window. (p. 2)
- [DTel965] the third time the swell was 20ft high and it destroyed everything that was left. (p. 2)
- [DTel966] A wall that Mrs Rossiter had climbed up collapsed underneath her. (p. 2)
- [DTel967] He had been left with nothing but the clothes he stood up in when the tsunami hit Ban Tao. (p. 3)
- [DTel968] With tears in his eyes, a hotel worker who accompanied them to the airport, said: (p. 3)
- [DTel969] Sir Angus became the first person to marry into the Royal Family and refuse a peerage when he married Princess Alexandra, who was then 12th in line to the throne. (p. 8)
- [DTel970] they settled in remote Trusthorpe, Lincs, where they thought they would be safe. (p. 8)
- [DTel971] The 39-year-old woman's body was discovered shortly by paramedics who were called to a house in Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford. (p. 8)
- [DTel972] This is a con put out by crooks trying to get hold of all the details they need to plunder your account. (p. 9)
- [DTel973] The driver, who was travelling south on the M1 northbound carriageway in Northamptonshire, continued after the first two collisions. (p. 9)
- [DTel974] This year's most popular programme – EastEnders – was watched by 12.3 million, compared to the 20 million-plus who saw the return of Only Fools and Horses three years ago. (p. 9)
- [DTel975] A pioneering keyhole operation that destroys cancer by freezing has been carried out for the first time on two British patients. (p. 10)
- [DTel976] this is believed to be the first time the technique has been used in combination with keyhole surgery. (p. 10)
- [DTel977] Mr Anderson, who trained in South Africa, has been investigating new techniques. (p. 10)
- [DTel978] The second factor is that we are living in a world of minimally invasive techniques which are becoming more appealing. (p. 10)
- [DTel979] Mr Anderson said some centres were using traditional open surgery, which makes a large wound and leaves a long scar in the neck. (p. 10)
- [DTel980] The technique is particularly useful for patients who have recurring kidney cancer and need repeated operations. (p. 10)
- [DTel981] The tourist industry in the area has been fuelled by a number of big operators like Kuoni, Hayes and Jarvis and First Choice, who have brought long-distance tourism within the reach of those with ordinary wallets. (p. 11)
- [DTel982] Its tourism is based on some unspoilt beaches where turquoise seas lap on white sands. (p. 11)
- [DTel983] Many of the temples are magnificent, even if they have found themselves dwarfed by the huge high-rise hotels which are dominating the skylines of some of the busier resorts. (p. 11)
- [DTel984], [DTel985] It also offers the younger tourist what the brochures describe as a lively nightlife, which can be a euphemism for scorers of tacky bars which dominate resorts like Patong Beach. (p. 11)
- [DTel986] Nevertheless their appeal is sufficient to attract thousands of backpackers and divers who come to marvel at the underwater life particularly at Ko Phi Phi, Ko Samui and Ko Lanta. (p. 11)
- [DTel987] Sri Lanka's tourist industry has picked up since the 202 ceasefire which brought comparative peace to the island, even though the occasional terrorist attack has made some areas hazardous. (p. 11)
- [DTel988] It cased giant waves that could be detected across the planet. (p. 11)
- [DTel989] Dr Booth said he was aware of a warning system in the Pacific but not in the Indian Ocean, where this colossal earthquake was born. (p. 11)
- [DTel990] The force of this energy, which researchers call the run-up, comes crashing down on the coast. (p. 11)
- [DTel991] They do not tend to result in giant breaking waves, like normal surf waves at the beach that curl over as they approach shore. (p. 11)
- [DTel992] The cause of yesterday's quake is understood to be the Indian Ocean floor, which is being pushed under Eurasia along a long fault line known as a subduction zone. (p. 11)
- [DTel993] In the nearby town of Galle, where the 16th century Dutch fort is home to a number of British expatriates, a curfew was imposed to deter gangs of looters. (p. 11)

[DTel994] On the east coast, which bore the brunt of the tidal wave, rescue efforts will be hampered by bad roads and an infrastructure devastated by 20 years of civil war. (p. 11)

[DTel995] Among the dead was a group of 40 children who were playing cricket on the beach when a giant wave swept them out to sea. (p. 11)

[DTel996], [DTel997] Many of those who escaped with their lives have been left destitute by the floods, which carried off their meagre possessions. (p. 11)

[DTel998] Fishermen, many of whom put to sea in rudimentary craft, were warned to stay on shore for at least the next two days. (p. 11)

[DTel999] Waves as high as four feet hit the low-lying capital and surrounding islands which being three feet above mean sea level are under constant threat of inundation. (p. 11)

[DTel1000] Fifteen children were among 32 people killed in Andhra Pradesh where several groups of worshippers had gone into the sea for a Hindu ritual. (p. 11)