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**Restrictive and Non-restrictive Noun Postmodification in Newspaper  
Discourse**

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### Zásady pro vypracování

Cílem práce je analýza postmodifikace anglické jmenné fráze, a to především s ohledem na konstrukce omezovací a neomezovací. Po úvodní obecné charakteristice struktury jmenné fráze se teoretická část bude věnovat především detailnímu popisu omezovacích a neomezovacích typů postmodifikací, tj. přístavkových i vztahných. Na základě vymezení typických rysů žurnalistického stylu bude stanovena hypotéza použití výše uvedených jazykových prostředků v novinových článcích. V praktické části autor nejprve charakterizuje jazykový korpus a metodiku jeho vytvoření. Nalezené výskyty bude kategorizovat dle kritérií uvedených v teoretické části. Po zpracování kvantitativní a kvalitativní analýzy bude svá zjištění interpretovat se záměrem posoudit vliv těchto jazykových prostředků na celkový efekt daného textu a zhodnotení jejich stylové funkčnosti.

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## **ANNOTATION**

The paper focuses on the use of both phrasal and clausal noun postmodifiers, primarily from the semantic point of view, in the discourse of both American and British broadsheet newspapers. In the first part of this thesis, the theoretical framework concerning noun phrases, postmodifiers and newspaper discourse is introduced. In the practical part, the corpus-based analysis of postmodifiers is carried out, while the attention is devoted to the overall distribution of postmodifiers, their structure, usage and discrepancies of their use within individual articles.

## **KEYWORDS:**

noun phrase, postmodification, semantics, relative clauses, apposition, newspaper

## **ANOTACE**

Tato práce se zaměřuje na užití frázových a větných postmodifikátorů, především s ohledem na jejich sémantiku, v diskurzu Amerických a Britských seriózních novin. V první části práce je představen teoretický rámec týkající se jmenné fráze, postmodifikace a novinového diskurzu. V praktické části jsou pak postmodifikátory analyzovány v rámci vytvořeného korpusu, přičemž je pozornost směřována jednak na celkovou četnost postmodifikačních struktur, tak na rozdíly v jejich distribuci napříč jednotlivými články. V obou případech jsou pak tyto konstrukce okomentovány i s ohledem na jejich funkci.

## **KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA:**

jmenná fráze, postmodifikace, sémantika, vztažné věty, přístavky, noviny

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## **Introduction**

The aim of the thesis is to study both phrasal and clausal postmodification of noun phrases in newspaper discourse, primarily from the semantic point of view. With regard to the structure, the paper is divided into the theoretical and practical part.

In the first part, the theoretical underpinning concerning noun phrases, postmodifiers and newspaper discourse is introduced, and so the theoretical part is subdivided accordingly into three main chapters. In the first chapter, syntactic functions and constituents of a noun phrase representing a central element of our study are commented upon. The second chapter aims at various types of postmodification, predominantly appositive structures and relative clauses, both of which are further subdivided with respect to the restrictiveness. Apart from the restrictiveness, the finiteness is also discussed based on the theoretical background provided by various distinguished linguists. In the last chapter, the newspaper discourse is presented along with its typical language features relevant to our case study.

The practical part initially focuses on quantitative measurements and the overall distribution of postmodifiers in selected articles. Then the individual structural types are studied and examined with respect to their form and usage. The last chapter devotes attention to discrepancies in the usage of studied postmodifiers within individual articles.

# 1. Noun Phrase and its Constituents

As the main focus of the thesis is to investigate the postmodification of **noun phrases** (NP) from the viewpoint of semantics, the noun phrase itself has to be defined. A noun phrase may have various syntactic functions. The most common being subject and object. However, its function as a complement or adverbial is frequent too (Quirk et al. 1985, 245). Biber et al. claim that **NP** is the essential part of a sentence structure, consisting of a lexical word that functions as **head** and can be either alone or accompanied by **determiners** and **modifiers**. Noun phrases can be headed by common nouns, proper nouns, pronouns or nominalized adjectives; hence they can be divided accordingly into two major types: noun-headed, also called nominals, and pronoun-headed (Biber et al. 1999, 96–97). While **noun-headed** (1) phrases must be preceded by a determiner, **pronoun-headed** (2) phrases do not (Biber et al. 1999, 574). In the following scheme, the non-obligatory complementation is indicated by brackets.

1. **determiner + (premodifier) + head noun+ (postmodifier)**
2. **(determiner) + (premodifier) + head pronoun+ (postmodifier)**

Quirk et al. (1985, 245) uses the terms: **basic** noun phrase, comprising both types, for phrases headed by closed classes and preceded by determinative elements, and **complex** for those pre or postmodified by adjectives, prepositional phrases or clauses. Regarding the other noun phrase constituents, Quirk et al. (1985, 1238) distinguish:

- 1) **Determinative** constituents further divided into three groups: **pre-determiners** (*both, all*), **central determiners** (*an, the, this*) and **post-determiners** (*many, few*)
- 2) **Premodification** which involves all items preceding the head except for determiners. The typical being adjectives (*some expensive furniture*), adjective phrases, adverbs and nouns, yet participles (*a retired headmaster, a swimming pool*), gerunds and genitives (*his parents' house*) are also common.
- 3) **Post-modification** which comprises all items following the head and can consist of a prepositional phrase (*the car outside the station*), an adverb phrase (*the road back*), an adjective (*a play popular, somebody bigger, a mistake typical of beginners*), a noun (*the truth of her statement*) or, as it will be further discussed in this thesis, finite and non-finite clauses and appositive structures.

Slightly different terminology is used by Huddleston (1993, 232), who divides the phrase constituents into two groups as he distinguishes between **pre-head dependents** and **post-head dependents**. Pre-head dependents are subdivided into determiners and premodifiers, both of

which are perceived similarly by Quirk. Unlike Quirk, Huddleston recognizes further divisions of post-head items as he differentiates between **postmodifiers** and **complements** and explains the difference by contrasting the meaning of complement and modifier: “From a semantic point of view, complements generally correspond to arguments of semantic predicate expressed in the head noun, while modifiers generally give properties of what is denoted by lead.” (Huddleston 1993, 233)

This concept corresponds with the difference between relative clauses, functioning as modifiers, and appositive clauses, functioning as complements. Therefore, it will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

## 2. Postmodification of Noun Phrases

In this chapter, the types of noun postmodification are discussed. With regard to the aim of this thesis, the main focus is posed on clausal postmodification in the form of relative and appositive clauses, yet apposition is also discussed due to the matter of restrictiveness.

As stated in the previous chapter, postmodification is realized by the items following the head. Quirk uses the term postmodifiers for all items occurring after the head, whereas Huddleston uses the term post-head dependents further divided into postmodifiers, complements and peripheral dependents. (Huddleston 1993, 282)

Except for the clausal modification, postmodification can be realized by three types of phrases i.e. prepositional, adjective and adverb. These will be now described in more detail.

**Prepositional phrases** are, according to Biber, “by far the most common type of postmodification in all registers.” (Biber et al. 1999, 634) Quirk et al. (1985, 1275) share the idea, adding that the occurrence of prepositional phrases is three or fourth times more common than either finite or non-finite clausal postmodification. Although PPs can be introduced by a full range of prepositions (*in, with, on, to etc.*) and even complex prepositions (*in case of*), the most common preposition included in PPs is *of* (Biber et al. 1999, 635). The preposition *of* can introduce either a PP as in the *people of Rome*, but it can also carry rather an appositional function such as *the city of Rome*, wherein the *of*-phrase does not function as a regular postmodifier. Nevertheless, PPs can be restrictive or non-restrictive in both non-appositional and appositional relationships (Quirk et al. 1985, 1285).

Since only the post-posed adjectives correspond with the matter of postmodification, the more frequent attributive position will not be dealt with any further.

Quirk, similarly to Biber et al., (2002, 519), divides **adjective phrases** into three main categories. The first comprises indefinite pronouns functioning as heads of NPs. Those noun phrase heads consist of indefinite pronouns *-body, -one, -thing*, and the adverb *where*, plus one or two *wh*-forms (*what else, who next etc.*), which can be modified postpositively. The second category includes fixed expressions, for example, *attorney general* or the *president-elect*, and contrarily to the first category, those cannot be further postmodified. The third category incorporates adjectives, which may occur in both attributive and postpositive position, with the alteration in meaning such as *visible, concerned, involved etc.* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1294–1295).

Dušková states that the function of adverb or **adverb phrase** as a modifier or attribute is relatively rare (Dušková et al. 2006, 156). This is supported by Quirk, who approaches it as a minor type of postmodification as well. According to Quirk, post-posed adverbs primarily denote **time** or **place** (1), yet even noun phrases indicating size, age etc., functioning as adverbials, are categorized into adverbial phrases. Quirk also points out the adverb can also be considered a preposition with omitted complement. As in (2), which can be paraphrased: *The people who were sitting behind*. (Quirk 1985 et al., 1293) For this reason, Huddleston does not assume an adverb phrase as a separate type of phrase, but he treats it together with prepositional phrases (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 445-446). Quirk argues that the majority of examples can be explained as adverbials, thus those prepositional should be perceived as modelled from the adverbial ones. Nevertheless, he mentions that in some instances (3) there is no other alternative to a prepositional phrase.

(1) The road back is dense with traffic. (Quirk 1985 et al., 1293)

(2) The people behind were talking all the time. (Quirk 1985 et al., 1293)

(3) The votes for far outnumbered those against. (Quirk 1985 et al., 1293)

According to Quirk, clausal postmodification is realized either by relative or appositive clauses (Quirk et al. 1985, 1244). Those clauses, along with apposition, are commented upon separately since their semantics is essential for the aim of this thesis.

## 2.1. Restrictive and Non-restrictive Noun Postmodification

According to Quirk, there is a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive modification from the semantic point of view. The modification can be either clausal, realized by relative or appositive clauses, or phrasal, frequently represented by prepositional phrases or noun-phrase in apposition (3, 4). **Restrictive** modification, commonly used without commas, occurs when “the reference of the head can be identified only through the modification that has been supplied.” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1239) In other words, if modification is compulsory to find the referent, it cannot be left out from the sentence. The **non-restrictive** modification, on the other hand, does not underpin the identification of the noun phrase referent, for it can be seen as unique, or it could have been identified in the preceding context. In this case, comma usage is required. Those features of restrictiveness can be seen in the examples given by Dušková. The **restrictive** postmodification in (6) means that the speaker has more than two friends, yet just two of them write to him on a regular basis. On the other hand, the **non-restrictive** modification

(7) does not delimit the number of friends, so the speaker has only two friends, both of whom write to him regularly. (Dušková et al. 2006, 615)

(4) Mr. Campbell, a lawyer, was here last night.

(5) Mr. Campbell the lawyer was here last night.

(6) I have two friends who write to me regularly.

(7) I have two friends, who write to me regularly.

What Quirk and majority of other linguists call restrictive and non-restrictive modification, Huddleston labels as **integrated** and **supplementary**, respectively. Although both authors share similar ideas concerning the two types, Huddleston and Pullum point out that not only does the **integrated** type restrict the denotation of its antecedent, as Quirk does, but also that the modification supplied is an integral part of the message transmitted. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1034-1035) To elucidate this, they use the example below:

(8) The boys who defaced the statue were expelled.

In this example, they claim that the group of *boys who defaced the statue* is smaller than the set of boys, and so consider the information expressed in the relative clause an integral part, for it “delimits the set of boys under discussion.” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1035) Dušková et al. perceive it similarly, as it can be seen in example 6.

For the purposes of this paper, Quirk’s terminology is followed, hence the terms restrictive and non-restrictive are used.

## 2.2. Postmodification by Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, according to Biber et al. (1999, 608), comprise three significant constituents. As their primary function is to postmodify a noun or a noun phrase, the **head noun**, also called antecedent, is considered a central element of a relative clause and can be realized by different means, as already mentioned in chapter 1.

The second constituent is the **relativizer** introducing the relative clause. Relativizers are realized by relative pronouns (*who, whom, which, that, whose*) or relative adverbs (*where, when and why*). Nevertheless, according to Dušková et al. (2006, 615), relativizers can be omitted

especially when relative clauses are juxtaposed. Omitted relativizers are referred to as zero relativizers. Additionally, the relativizers serve the function of subordinators, and they also have a syntactic function (subject, object, adverbial etc.) in the dependent (relative) clause. It is the syntactic function that distinguishes them from appositive (content) clauses; wherein the subordinator does not take the role of any sentence element (Dušková et al. 2006, 615, Quirk 1973, 378). Quirk also points out that relativizers show concord agreement with their antecedents. Therefore, remarks on the choice of relativizer should be pinpointed.

### ***The choice of relativizer***

Biber et al. (1998, 609) note that the choice of relativizer is influenced by various factors such as register, animacy of the head noun, restrictiveness and, to some extent, even the gap grammatically alters the relativizer. Tendencies related to the usage of relativizers in restrictive and non-restrictive clauses are commented on later, within the context of those clauses. Similarly, the possible syntactic functions of the gap, and by extension, their impact on the choice of relativizer, are discussed with relation to the matter of restrictiveness.

### ***Animate vs inanimate antecedent***

Following Quirk et al. (1985, 1245) the relative pronoun *who* is used primarily when referring to an animate head noun (*the people who...*, *Joan who...*). On the contrary, pronoun *which* refers to inanimate head nouns (*London which...*, *unicorn which...*). However, it may occur along with an animate head if the relative functions as a complement having the semantic role of characterization attribute (*He imagined himself to be an artist, which he was not*). Additionally, Dušková et al. (2006, 619) point out, we can use *which* when we refer to babies, but we have to use *who* when referring to children. For this reason, it might be concluded that *who* implies a higher level of mental development (Quirk et al. 1985, 1245). Collective nouns occur as both animate and inanimate head nouns depending on whether they have plural or singular concord. When they have plural concord, they perform as animate (*The committee who were...*) and when singular, they are treated as inanimate (*The committee which was responsible for this decision*). Animate nouns include not only human beings but also all the creatures which are perceived or believed to have human-like behavior, such as speech. Similarly, pets, because of the close relationship with their owner, can be referred to as animate. (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, 378)

### ***That vs wh-pronouns***

*That*, as compared to *wh*-pronouns, does not have gender marking; consequently, it can refer to both animate and inanimate head nouns. Additionally, there is no objective form (*whom*) nor genitive (*whose*). (Quirk 1985, 1245) Biber (1999, 613) states that *that* is frequently used with animate antecedents, especially in spoken conversation, adding that for particular head nouns referring to humans *that* occurs almost as commonly as *who*. Furthermore, Huddleston claims that *that* is used only in finite clauses, whereas *wh*-pronouns may occur in both finite and non-finite structures. (Huddleston 1993, 398)

Since relative clauses lack a constituent corresponding in meaning to the head noun, the location of this missing constituent is called **gap** (Biber et al. 1999, 608). In example (9) Biber demonstrates that the relativizer *that* refers to the antecedent *earrings*. Because the sentence can be paraphrased as *Mama wore the diamond earrings*, wherein the *earrings* occur in the object position, the gap adopts the position, and so it is referred to as the object gap. Jacobs supports his idea, adding that the relative clauses cannot stand on their own due to the missing element. Stemming from this fact, he claims that relative clauses and their antecedents are less dependent than complement clauses in this respect. (Jacobs 1995, 305)

(9) The diamond earrings that Mama wore.

With regard to the form, Quirk distinguishes three types of relative clauses: **nominal**, **sentential** and **adnominal**. The nominal relative clause (10) contains its antecedent, so the *wh*-word functions as both the antecedent and the relativizer. In sentential relative clauses (11) the antecedent is in the form of the main clause as in (*They are fond of snakes and lizards*). The only type which serves the function of a noun phrase postmodifier is the adnominal relative clause (12) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1244-1245).

(10) What surprises me is that they are fond of snakes and lizards.

(11) They are fond of snakes and lizards, which surprises me.

(12) The news which we saw in the papers this morning was well received.

Huddleston divides relative clauses into two formal types, namely **wh relatives** which contain (*who*, *which*, *whom* etc.) and **non-wh** relatives furtherly divided into **that relatives** and **bare relatives**. Additionally, as already mentioned in 2.1., he distinguishes four relational types: **Integrated**, **Supplementary**, **Fused** and **Cleft**. The integrated and the supplementary type corresponds with Quirk's adnominal categorization, varying in the restrictiveness, as mentioned in chapter 2.1. Fused type, on the other hand, shares syntactic features with nominal relatives. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1034-1035)



In this paper, Quirk's terminology is followed, and the focus is posed only on adnominal relative clauses as they are the only type postmodifying a noun phrase.

### 2.2.1. Restrictive Relative Clauses

As stated in chapter 2.1., restrictive modification is necessary to identify the referent, and consequently, omitting such modification is not possible. Additionally, the restrictive clause creates one intonation unit with the antecedent, so it is separated neither by punctuation in written language nor indicated by pauses or intonation in spoken language (Dušková et al. 2006, 616). According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, 380), relativizer *that* frequently occurs because it can be used for both animate and inanimate reference. However, *who* is preferred to *that* when the head noun is animate and subject of the sentence. He also claims that in a restrictive relative clause, there is an option to use zero relativizer. Biber also comments on the distribution of *that*, comparing AmE and BrE and claiming that the restrictive *that* is twice as frequent in AmE press than it is in BrE press. (Biber 1999, 608) According to Grafmiller's findings, stylistics also affects the choice of relativizer since it seems there is a tendency to prefer wh-element (*which*) over *that* in more formal texts (Grafmiller et al. 2017, 44).

#### *Syntactic roles of gaps*

As stated in the previous chapter, the syntactic role of the gap has to be taken into consideration pertaining to the choice of relativizer. Biber recognizes two types of relative gaps, namely **subject** and **non-subject** gap (Biber et al. 1999, 608).

With regard to restrictive relative clauses, there are six elements that can be gapped; subject, object, complement, prepositional complement, determiner and adverbial. According to Biber (1999, 621), **subject** gaps are more common than non-subject gaps within the relative clauses, especially in news and academic prose; he claims that 75% of relative clauses have subject gaps. In that case, the relative pronoun *who* or *that* is used with an animate antecedent (*They are delighted with the **person** who/that has been appointed*). However, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1055) note that with animate (personal) head nouns, relativizer *who* is favored over *that* when it occurs in the subject position, adding that *that* cannot be omitted under those circumstances, for it indicates the start of the relative clause.

By contrast, the omission of *that* is possible with **object** gaps. Within object gaps, zero relativizer can be used (*I accepted the **advice** ( ) my neighbor gave me*) (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1055). Furthermore, there is a possibility to express objective case by *whom*, which is a preferable form to *who* in formal written English. Nevertheless, according to Quirk (1985,

1250), *that* as well as *zero* relativizer prevail in informal and spoken language. In this respect, Huddleston adds that with inanimate antecedents such as *all, everything or anything* relativizer *that* is favored over *wh*-element (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1054). With regard to non-personal antecedents, the reference can be realized by *which, that, or zero* relativizer (*They are delighted with the book which/that/( ) she has written.*)

When a relative pronoun functions as a **prepositional complement**, the relative pronouns *who, whom, that* are used with personal head nouns. Within the *Wh*-elements, the preposition can be fronted (the person to whom he spoke.) Huddleston notes that the relativizer *that* does not allow the preposition to be fronted, which he uses as a supportive argument for his alternative perception of *that*, which he considers the same subordinating conjunction to be found within content clauses. (Huddleston 1993, 397)

According to Biber et al. (1999, 624), there are four structural types of relative clauses with **adverbial** gap. Firstly, the relativizer *which* can follow the preposition that indicates the adverbial element in a sentence (*the apartments in which no one lives*). The second possibility is the structure with *that*, in which the relativizer can be omitted, and the preposition postponed (*the one that old James used to live in*). The next alternative is to omit the preposition altogether and consequently get rid of any surface marker of the adverbial gap (*the day that he left*). The final option is to use adverbial pronouns *where, when, why* depending on what type of adverbial is needed. Nonetheless, there is no relative adverb to be used when referring to manner adverbials.

The relative pronoun can also have the function of **subject complement**, and as already mentioned in the passage dealing with animacy, *which* can be used in this case for both personal and non-personal head nouns.

The last syntactic function of the gap to be mentioned is the function of possessive **determiner**. For those purposes, *whose* can be used with both animate and inanimate head noun. However, *whose* is frequently substituted by *of which*, when the antecedent is non-personal, which may arise from the fact that it is presumed that *whose* is the genitive form of *who*. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1249) Biber also comments on the distribution of *that*, comparing AmE and BrE and claiming that the restrictive *that* is twice as frequent in AmE press as in BrE press.

### 2.2.2. Non-restrictive Relative Clauses

As mentioned in 2.1, the non-restrictive structure does not identify the reference of the head, yet it carries rather additional information about its antecedent. Fabb (1990, 57) finds the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in that the non-restrictive clauses do not serve the function of a modifier, as restrictive do, pointing out NRRs, in fact, lack any syntactic relation to its antecedent. Therefore, there is no need for any other stipulations, with regard to the matter of restrictiveness, to distinguish between them. Jacobs (1993, 310 -312) uses the term appositive relative clauses instead of non-restrictive, pointing out that non-restrictive relative clauses form a separate intonation unit. In this respect, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1059) add that in written language commas, dashes or parentheses indicate non-restrictiveness. Quirk et al. (1985, 1258) also liken the relationship between the antecedent and its NRs to the one of coordination, with or without conjunction, or adverbial subordination. According to Biber's (1999, 622) findings, non-restrictive relative clauses are commonly used in a journalistic style, covering 30 percent of all relative clauses in news reports.

Contrary to RRs, NRRs are more limited in the choice of relativizer. Although the *wh* pronouns may occur without any restriction, *zero* relativizer cannot be used, and *that* is very rare. (*I looked to Mary's sad face, **that** I had once so passionately loved*). (Quirk et al.1985, 1258) In this respect, Jacobs (1993, 311) disagrees with Quirk, saying the only possible relativizers introducing the NRRs are *wh* phrases. The choice of relativizer within NRRs also subjects to the influence of gender concord and the gap. When the gap is in the **subject** position, *who* or *which* is used with respect to animacy of the head noun. However, in the object position, there seems to be the tendency to prefer *whom* to *who* in NRRs containing personal antecedent. *Which* appears on both subject and object positions when referring to a non-personal antecedent. Nevertheless, it may also refer to a personal head noun when functioning as **complement** (*She wants-low calorie food, which this vegetable curry certainly is.*), and by extension as the **determiner** (*He came in 1960, in which year, there was...*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1259).

Fabb (1990, 75-76) perceives it differently as he claims that there is no syntactic relation between the relativizer and antecedent, for he concluded that: "NRs are not syntactically part of the same sentence as its antecedent."

### 2.2.3. Finiteness of Relative Clauses

Like any other clauses, relative clauses can also be divided into two groups with regard to their finiteness. Although the finiteness does not closely correspond with the aims presented in the analytical part of this paper, it will be briefly commented on because the previous chapters primarily deal with finite clauses.

According to Biber et al. (1999, 632), finite clauses occur in contexts in which there is a need to express tense, modality and aspect, for, as Quirk et al., point out, the explicitness of finite clauses is higher. Jacobs (1993, 304) notes that finite RRs are, unlike other types of finite clauses, unable to stand on their own due to the missing constituent – gap. Non-finite clauses are frequently used for the ability to be both economical and informative. (Biber 1999, 632)

With regard to the form, all the non-finite clause types can be realized within the context of relative clauses. That is to say, non-finite relative clauses can be realized by *ing* and *ed participles* or *infinitives* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1263). The semantics again has to be taken into account, so RRs and NRRs are discussed separately.

In restrictive relative clauses, **Ing-** participle is the most common type and is limited only to those clauses, whose finite form contains the relativizer in the subject position (*The man who is working behind the desk – the man working behind the desk*). Dušková et al. point out that the *ing* participle is favored over the finite structure, especially with stative verbs, which are otherwise unable to express progressive meaning. **Ed-**clauses are similarly limited only to subject gap position. Although the *ed*-clauses are non-finite, they may indicate the progressive aspect (Dušková et al., 2006,583). **Infinitive** clauses are not limited just to subject gaps, yet the object, adverbial gaps are also accessible.

Non-restrictive relative clauses can be realized, similarly to restrictive clauses, by *ing*-participle (13), *ed*-participle (15) and infinitives (15). Nevertheless, unlike restrictive relative clauses, the only gapped element possible among non-restrictive infinitive clauses is the subject.

(13) The apple tree, swaying gently in the breeze, was a reminder of old times. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1270)

(14) The substance, discovered almost by accident, has revolutionized medicine. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1270)

(15) This scholar, to be found daily in the British Museum, has devoted his life to the history of science. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1270)

## 2.3. Postmodification by Appositive Structures

So far, the postmodification by relative clauses has been discussed. This chapter deals with appositive structures, which can be, similarly to relative clauses, divided with respect to their restrictiveness. Nevertheless, in this case, the postmodification is realized by both phrases and clauses. Therefore, in this chapter, the appositive structures are divided accordingly. Initially, the focus is posed on the semantics of apposition itself. Afterwards, the appositive clauses, along with their finiteness, are discussed.

### 2.3.1. Apposition

Quirk claims that the units of apposition, which he calls appositives, are identical in the reference, or at least the reference of one appositive must be contained in the other one (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973, 276). Matthews (1992, 225) perceives the apposition similarly, saying the references of noun phrases in apposition must be understood as identical. For this reason, it might be difficult to identify the head (defined appositive) and the defining appositive. Biber et al. (1999, 638) add that “the order of head noun phrase and appositive noun phrase could normally be reversed to produce an equally grammatical construction.” Dušková et al. (2006,498) support his idea, stating that the appositives share the same syntactic function. However, it must be stressed out that the same syntactic function is the feature only strict apposition possesses. Majority of linguists, including Biber, Dušková or Quirk, approach apposition as a special type of coordination. In this respect, Matthews (1992, 224) goes even further, claiming that not only is it difficult to distinguish between apposition and coordination but, in some cases, even between apposition and complementation. According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, 277), the apposition is usually a relation of two units, most frequently noun phrases. However, even apposition consisting of more than two elements (16) is possible (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, 277).

(16) They returned to their **birthplace**, their place of residence, the country of which they were citizens.

Appositives may occur in various **syntactic positions**. The most typical being the **subject** (17) and **object** (18), for the majority of appositions are noun phrases. Nonetheless, appositions may also function as **adverbials** (19) or **complements**. (Dušková et al. 2006, 498)

(17) **Joe Biden**<sup>1</sup>, a state-college graduate who was once the poorest... (Corpus A1)

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<sup>1</sup> The relation of first name and surname may also be perceived as apposition.

(18) May I bring my **friend John**? (Dušková et al. 2006, 499)

(19) Shakespeare died **on 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1616**, on his fifty-third birthday. (Dušková et al. 2006, 499)

As indicated in the scheme arranged by Quirk et al. (1985, 1305), there are several types of apposition, varying in both syntactical and semantical features.

|            | <b>TYPE</b>     | <b>APPOSITIVES</b>         |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| APPOSITION | FULL            | either omissible           |
|            | PARTIAL         | only one omissible         |
|            | STRICT          | same syntactic class       |
|            | WEAK            | different syntactic class  |
|            | NON-RESTRICTIVE | different information unit |
|            | RESTRICTIVE     | same information unit      |

Nevertheless, for the purpose of this paper, only the matter of restrictiveness and particularly the noun phrase in apposition is dealt with further and referred to as apposition in the analytical part.

### 2.3.1.1. Restrictive Apposition

In restrictive apposition, the link between appositives is so tight that the appositives form one intonation and information unit. Therefore, no punctuation is used. (Dušková et al. 2006, 499).

According to Dušková et al. (2006, 499), the most frequent type structural type of apposition is the **noun phrase**. Quirk claims that there are three varieties of noun phrases in apposition. The first, most common form, is the one in which the first appositive, preceded by a definite determiner, is more general and the second specifies it (*the famous critic Paul Jones*). The second type, he mentions, has rather opposite characteristics, for, in this case, the second appositive is more general and so preceded by a determiner (*Paul Jones the critic*). The third form is the same as the first one, yet in this case, the determiner is omitted. (*Critic Paul Jones*). This form of apposition frequently occurs especially in AmE. (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, 282). Dušková et al. (2006, 499) add that for titles with personal names (*Queen Victoria, President Kennedy*) there is no need to use an article.

The second type of restrictive apposition is the **of-phrase** in apposition. Following Quirk et al. (1985, 1284) the difference between the of-phrase in apposition and postmodifying prepositional phrase can be elucidated through comparison of (*The city of Rome*), which can be paraphrased as *Rome is the city*, and (*The people of Rome*), in which such interpretation is not possible. Therefore, the latter example is a prepositional phrase.

The of-phrase apposition may take different forms. The first being the one including names of cities, states, months etc. (*the month of August*, *the state of Washington*). The second form, adopted from French, is specific in that the head noun, semantically independent element, becomes syntactically dependent, and vice versa. Thus, *a giant of a man* can be paraphrased as *a man is a giant* (Dušková et al. 2006,501). Quirk adds one other form of of-phrase in apposition in which the of-phrase communicates the content of the head noun as in *the news of the teams victory*. The last-mentioned type of apposition notably resembles clausal apposition in which *of* is substituted by *that* (20). (Quirk et al. 1985,1284)

|                      |   |  |
|----------------------|---|--|
| (20) <i>The news</i> | { | <p style="margin: 0;"><i>that the team had won</i></p> <p style="margin: 0;"><i>of the team having won</i></p> |
|----------------------|---|--|

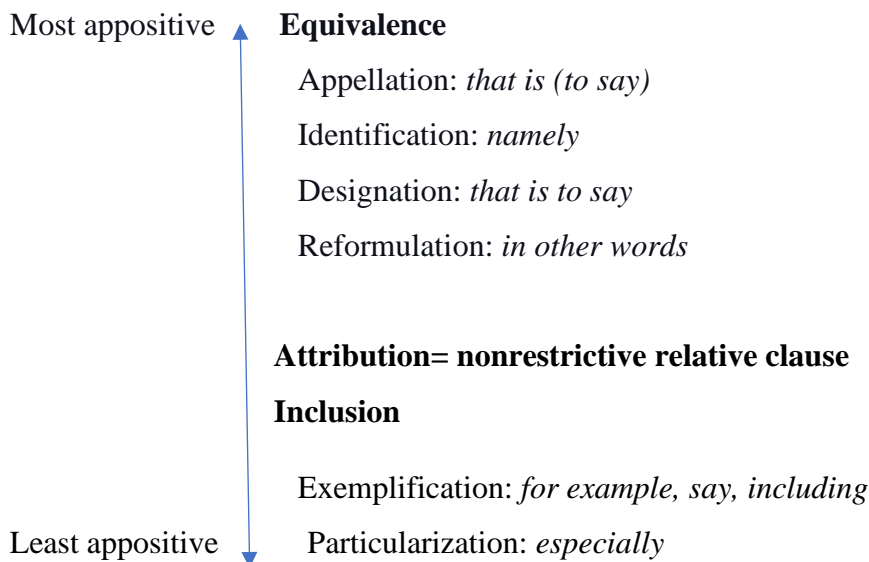
According to Dušková et al. (2006,502), the choice of members in the apposition is not limited only to nouns. Pronouns or numerals may serve the function of appositives as well (*You two will be relieved at noon*, *She herself signed the receipt*).

### 2.3.1.2. Non-restrictive Apposition

Unlike the restrictive apposition, in non-restrictive apposition, the link between the appositives is rather loose; hence, in writing, the relation must be indicated by commas. (Dušková et al. 2006, 498) Quirk approaches it similarly when he claims that the two appositive units in non-restrictive apposition “contribute relatively independent information.” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1304). According to Dušková et al. (2006, 504), non-restrictive apposition may be realized not only by nouns and noun-phrases but also by pronouns or prepositional phrases. In this respect, Quirk disagrees, stating that only nouns and noun-phrases can occur in the non-restrictive appositional relationship, for the other word classes “make the concept of apposition too weak.” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1308)

From the semantic point of view, Dušková et al., similarly to Quirk, categorize the non-restrictive apposition with regard to the closeness of appositives. That is to say, from the most to the least appositive appositions. Dušková divides the non-restrictive apposition into two main types: equivalence and exemplification (Dušková et al. 2006,503). Quirk, on the other hand,

divides the non-restrictive apposition into three main categories. Those categories and their subcategories, along with typical indicators, can be seen in the scheme below. (Quirk et al. 1985,1308)



Since the additional categories of non-restrictive apposition are not investigated in the practical part, the particular subtypes of non-restrictive apposition are not discussed any further.

### 2.3.2. Appositive Clauses

Appositive clauses, sometimes labeled as content or complement clauses (Huddleston), notably resemble restrictive relative clauses. Contrary to relative clauses (21), in which *that* can be used in restrictive clauses only, the particle *that* may occur in both restrictive (22) and rather rare non-restrictive (23) appositive clauses, for it does not function as a clausal element but as conjunction (Quirk et al. 1985, 1260). Therefore, the structures of those two types are different. Appositive clauses display the whole content of the head noun, which means that it is possible to leave out either of the element without changing the reference. Whereas the function of a relative clause is just to “identify the reference of the head or to add some descriptive information about the antecedent” (Biber 1999, 644–645); thus, the head cannot be omitted. Nonetheless, Dušková et al. claim that even in appositive clauses, one element is more general or superior to the other, so understanding the context or the situation is nearly mandatory. (Dušková et al. 2006,499) Additionally, appositive clauses, unlike relative clauses, may stand on their own, for they do not contain gap. (Biber et al. 1999, 645)



(21) **The news** that appeared in the papers this morning was well received. (Quirk 1985, 1244)

(22) **The news** that the team had won calls for a celebration. (Quirk 1985, 1244)

(23) **His last wish**, viz. that his collection should be donated to the city museum, was respected. (Dušková et al. 2006, 600)

### 2.3.2.1. Restrictive Appositive Clauses

From the semantic point of view, restrictive appositive clauses, similarly to apposition, form one intonation unit. For they express the content of heads, the choice of nouns, which may function as heads, is limited to abstract nouns (*fact, idea etc.*) or those derived from verbs or adjectives (*suggestion, announcement etc.*) (Dušková et al. 2006,600). According to Quirk et al. (1985,1261), nominalized verbs followed by *that*-clause contain either putative should or a mandative subjunctive (24).

(24) There was **a recommendation** that she (should) be promoted. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1261)

Biber, similarly to Dušková et al., labels appositive clauses as noun complement clauses. For this reason, he distinguishes two major types: *that*-clauses, representing finite structures, and *to*-infinitive clauses, representing non-finite structures. (Biber et al. 1999, 645; Dušková et al. 2006,600)

**That clauses** headed by general nouns<sup>2</sup> such as *the fact, the idea* are common in the restrictive appositive clauses. Biber et al. (1999, 645) state that the complementizer *that* is not omissible. However, according to Hindarto and Andrianto's findings, *that* can be omitted under certain circumstances. They claim that the less formal the register is, the more likely is *that* omission to be found. Regarding the research conducted, they claim that the most frequent head nouns taking zero *that* clause, are *clue, sign, doubt, proof* (Hidarto and Andrianto 2015, 19). Additionally, especially nouns referring to certainty carry the definite article. However, with other nouns (23) even indefinite article may be used. (Quirk et al. 1985,1261)

(25) **A message** that he would be late arrived by special delivery.

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<sup>2</sup> According to corpus findings the most common head nouns taking *that*-clauses in newspaper discourse are *fact, hope, doubt, suggestion* followed by *claim, impression, report*. (Biber et al. 1999,649)

Contrary to relative clause postmodification, in which heads can occur in plural, plural heads are very rare within the appositive clauses, and with words such as belief, fact, possibility, *etc.* are often considered unacceptable. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1261)

Additionally, there are minor clausal types, which can adopt appositive features. The first type, which has two subcategories, is **wh-interrogative clause** in the form of noun+wh-clause (26). The first subcategory comprises the preposition *of* followed by *wh*-clause (27), the second then, is in form *as to* + *wh*-clause, most commonly starting with *wh*-element *whether* (28). (Biber et al. 1999, 645-646)

(26) We always come back to the same **question** why the devil won't he show himself.

(27) But **the question** of who will pay the multi-million dollar bill is unanswered.

(28) Masters and men were deeply divided over the substantive **issue** as to whether women should be employed at all.

### 2.3.2.2. Non-restrictive Appositive Clauses

Non-restrictive appositive clauses, similarly to relative clauses, provide the head with additional information, which is not essential. Therefore, “the apposition is set apart from its head by a distinct intonational contour.” (Jansen 2008, 119)

As already mentioned, the conjunction *that* may be used in non-restrictive appositive clauses. This makes them easily distinguishable from relative clauses, for in relative clauses *that* can occur in restrictive clauses only (Quirk et al. 1985, 1262). In addition, Dušková et al. (2006,600) state that the non-restrictive relationship within appositive clauses arises especially when it is possible to connect the head noun with the clause using items such as *viz.*, *ie.*, *namely* (22). However, she adds that appositive clauses are generally discussed within the concept of apposition, for the appositive clauses can be perceived as built on non-restrictive apposition (Duškova et al. 2006, 600).

Non-restrictive appositive clauses are less frequent than restrictive. Nevertheless, it seems that the main domain, in which they occur frequently, is academic prose. (Biber et al. 1999, 646)

### 2.3.2.3. Finiteness of Appositive Clauses

Similarly to relative clauses, appositive clauses may take either finite or non-finite form; however, within non-finite appositive clauses, only infinitive and *ing*-clauses may occur. (Biber et al. 1999,645)

**To-infinitive** clauses are common in press, which stems from the fact that the most frequent head nouns taking infinitive clauses refer to human goals and actions such as *chance*, *plan*, *attempt*, *effort* or *ability* (Biber et al. 1999, 653). According to Quirk et al. (1985,1271), both restrictive and non-restrictive infinitive clauses “leave the subject of the infinitive clause to be inferred from the context (29), unless there is a prepositionally introduced subject (30). “

(29) This last **appeal**, to come and visit him, was never sent. (Quirk et al. 1985,1271)

(30) This last **appeal** (to us/for us) to come and visit him, was never sent. (Quirk et al. 1985,1271)

Quirk also points out that some restrictive infinitive clauses can have their finite counterparts in *that*-clauses, containing putative *should* or subjunctive. The rest of the clauses, which cannot be rephrased into *that*-clauses (31), have an alternative construction with a prepositional phrase (32) (Quirk et al. 1985,1272)

(31) Any **attempt** to leave early is against regulations.

(32) Any **attempt** at leaving early is against regulations.

The typical function of **ing-clauses** is a complement of a preposition (*the problem of learning English*). Nonetheless, non-finite appositive clauses may also take *ing-* form (33) (Quirk et al. 1985,1272). According to the corpus findings, Biber et al. (1999, 647) observed, *ing-* appositive clauses are of a relatively rare occurrence across all registers.

(33) We can offer you a **career** counselling delinquents.

### 3. Newspaper Discourse

The aim of this paper is to analyze restrictive and non-restrictive postmodification in a corpus comprising newspaper articles only. Therefore, newspaper discourse, along with its typical features, is introduced and described in this chapter.

Although the newspaper discourse is a quite broad term comprising many forms, it can be said that the primary function of newspapers is to inform the reader. Crystal and Davy claim that newspapers “present a certain number of facts in as interesting manner as possible.” (Crystal and Davy 1997, 173). Biber adds that news reports are expected not to imply any suggestion, but they should describe events objectively (Biber and Conrad 2019,112). Nonetheless, the events reported in the news have to “cross a certain threshold” before being published in newspapers. For this threshold, Monika Bednarek and many others use term *news values*. News values can be described as the criteria or rules used by editors and other news workers to determine what is newsworthy. (Bednarek and Caple 2012, 40).

Bell distinguishes three classes of news values: values in the news text, values in the news process and values in news actors and events (Bell 1991, 155). The last-mentioned corresponds with Bednarek’s perception of news values as she states that news values include negativity, timeliness, personalization, impact and other values that relate to the actors and the events as reported in the press. Nevertheless, she adds that other factors such as news writing objectives or market factors also play an essential role in forming the newspaper discourse. (Bednarek and Caple 2012, 41). Concerning market factors, Reah (2003, 9) points out that competition and commercial success is of high importance for the producer since the newspapers exist within a free market system. Consequently, the editors responsible for news selection are forced to violate the rules of impersonality and objectivity to make news more attractive for the reader or reflect political or ideological beliefs of the producer. Following Crystal and Davy, the readers should be aware of the fact that they are given a selection of news and facts, which choice is not random and can be manufactured to influence reader’s perception of the subject matter. This is typical primarily for articles dealing with politics or religion, wherein the “attitudes of writer tend to creep in.” (Crystal Davy 1997,189) For this reason, Fowler prefers terms beliefs, values or theories over facts since he claims that the language in news is not neutral despite all efforts put in by journalists and editors in order to report unbiased facts objectively (Fowler 2007, 1).

Reah points out that apart from news articles, newspapers also contain advertisements, analyses or entertainment sections, adding that the distribution of these contents is related to the type of the newspaper (Reah 2003, 2).

Reah, similarly to Bell, distinguishes three types of newspapers: broadsheet newspapers, middle-range tabloids and tabloids. The distribution of news articles is higher in broadsheets regarded as more creditable since the sources of information used there, are believed to be reliable. Bell, basing on Juncker's (1989) findings, points out that those types differ in their audience's social status. Whereas broadsheet newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *Independent* or middle-range tabloids, e.g. *Daily Mail* are read primarily by the upper and middle class, tabloids like the *Sun* target mainly the working class. (Bell 1991,109) According to Van Dijk, the social status reflects the level of education and general knowledge; therefore, the reader base of particular qualities is presupposed to prefer newspapers matching their values or beliefs (Van Dijk 1988, 75). In this respect, Fowler adds that: "The real reader will continue to buy the newspaper with which s/he is comfortable, keeping the circulation up; sales figures are of immense importance to newspapers because they determine advertising revenue." (Fowler 2007,232)

Consequently, differences in style arise. (Bell, 1991, 109). Broadsheets use more formal language than tabloids, avoiding particular features such as graphetic contrast, quintessential for tabloids. (Crystal and Davy 1997, 176–177).

### **3.1. The Style of Newspaper Reporting**

As already mentioned, the style of newspaper reporting adopted distinctive features stemming from both the audience and producers' spatial constraints and preferences. The style is often referred to as *Journalese*; however, Crystal and Davy consider this term vague for it does not reflect all the linguistic perspectives involved, yet it instead describes the style people feel is typical for the news. Additionally, they suggest that the newspapers are generally eclectic, even from the stylistic point of view, so it would be hasty and ill-conceived to make any generalization, adding "there is not just one but a number of *journalese*." (Crystal and Davy 1997, 173) In this respect, Bell claims that apart from design and typography, the popular and quality newspapers differ in the language used either. One of the reasons of this is that similarly to face to face conversation, in which "the speakers design their speech for the hearers", in newspapers the writers adjust the language according to the audience. (Bell 1998, 105-106). Additionally, as stated above, the ideology of the producer also resonates within *Journalese*.

Van Dijk points out that there are spatial constraints that lead to condensed language. Consequently, nominalization is very frequent in news (Van Dijk 1988,76). In newspaper reporting, verbs and adjectives are commonly nominalized because, in comparison with finite structures, nominalizations are less explicit and so more suitable for journalists. Richardson states that apart from spatial constraints, nominalization can remove; it also allows the authors to conceal some aspect of the event that is embarrassing or ideologically unacceptable. (Richardson 2007, 241)

Noun phrases have, according to Bednarek and Caple, three main functions in newspaper writing. They may indicate time (*Tuesday's deadline, this summer*), label news actors and sources (*chairman of the state*) or include evaluation (*the struggling resort*). To provide the reader with additional information, noun-phrases are often pre- or postmodified. Van Dijk points out that “to avoid repetition, sentences are packed with much information in relative clauses” (Van Dijk 1988,76). For these purposes, even the apposition is frequently used; Biber claims that the appositive relationship in newspaper discourse is almost always non-restrictive. On the contrary, Dušková argues that the restrictive apposition is common, especially if a title is followed by a personal name.

## **4. Analysis**

The main aim of this thesis is to map out the occurrences of restrictive and non-restrictive postmodifiers, namely appositive structures and relative clauses, in selected newspaper articles. The analysis is primarily devoted to clausal postmodifiers; however, the apposition due to the matter of restrictiveness is also analyzed.

Firstly, the qualitative measurement is presented, and the prevalence of postmodifiers is commented on. Secondly, the paper assesses separately phrasal and clausal postmodifications along with their patterns of use. Finally, the distribution of postmodifiers within the framework of individual articles is discussed as well as the possible discrepancy related to different writing styles or English varieties.

### **4.1. Corpus and methodology**

The corpus consists of 4 articles, two of which are selected from American broadsheet newspapers Washington Post and New York Times, the other two are taken from British broadsheet newspapers Independent and The Guardian. The total word count of both British and American articles is roughly even (1550 + 1125, 1570 + 1150), and all the articles deal with politics and share similar subject matter related to the presidential election in the USA. Apart from this, no other criteria were applied.

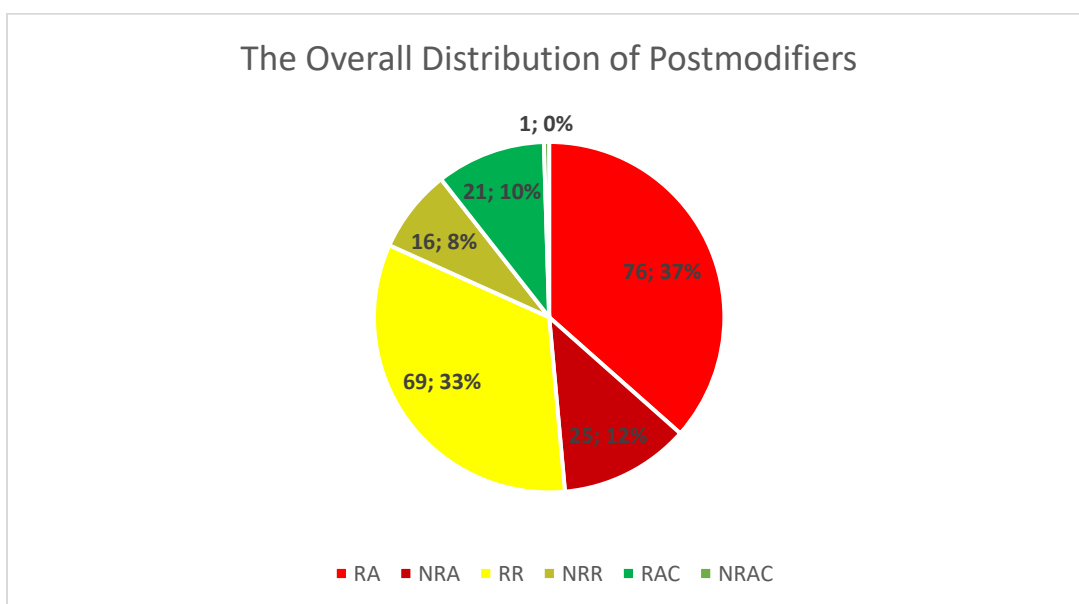
The selected articles are labeled with characters (A-D), all the occurrences are numbered and identified in the brackets to be found immediately after the postmodifier (C2, RA). The postmodifying structures are underlined, and their heads are in bold. In cases wherein the postmodifying structure is not headed by the most proximate head, its head is indicated by index (<sup>D5</sup>). The list of abbreviations and the analyzed articles are attached in Appendix 1.

## 4.2. Overall Occurrence of Postmodifiers

Due to the heavy nominalization in the news, the postmodification, both phrasal and clausal, is frequent. This might be intensified by the fact that all the articles dealt with politics, therefore especially noun-phrase in apposition in the form of a title/position and the name is often repeated. Commonly the appositions are further postmodified by other appositions and sometimes even by relative clauses as can be seen in the example taken from article A, which also demonstrates the complexity and length of the sentences used in the news.

***President-elect**<sup>A1</sup> **Joe Biden**<sup>A2</sup> (A1,RA), a state-college graduate who was once the poorest man in the U.S. Senate, (A2,NRA, PM-A3,RRF) is facing accusations of elitism from Republicans after defeating a billionaire incumbent with an Ivy League degree — a sign of how the politics of populism have been upended (A4,RACF) and redefined by President Trump. (A5, RA)*

The sentence contains three phrasal and two clausal postmodifiers. *President-elect*, functioning as the head of the restrictive apposition, which is postmodified by the personal name *Joe Biden* functioning as the head to the non-restrictive apposition *a state-college graduate* further modified by the restrictive relative clause. In this case, the appositions function as heads of the following postmodifiers. However, they also occur within other clausal postmodifiers, as in the restrictive appositive clause A5, where the apposition occurs in the subject position. Additionally, all the articles (A, B, C, D) start with a sentence containing at least one clausal postmodifier in the form of either relative or appositive clause.

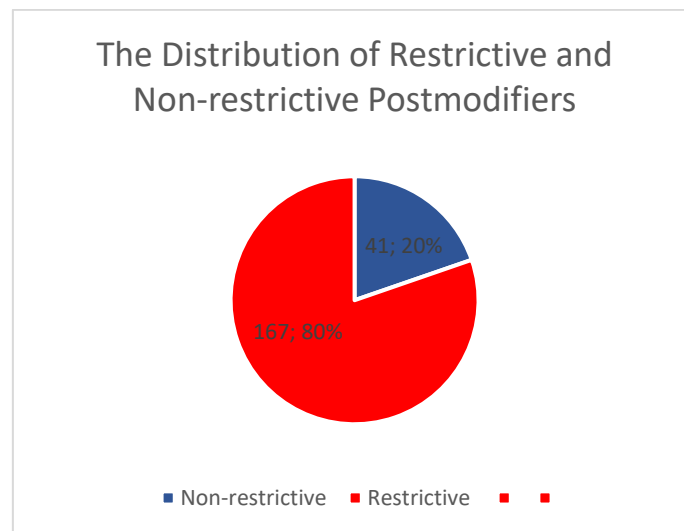


**Figure 1.** The overall distribution of postmodifiers.



As figure 1. shows, the most prevailing structure within the corpus is the apposition with a total of 101 occurrences, forming 49% of all postmodifiers. The apposition is followed by relative clauses being of a slightly lower distribution with 85 (i.e. 41%) occurrences. The least common structures are the appositive clauses, represented by 22 (i.e. 10%) instances. The low distribution of appositive clauses stems from the fact that only a limited number of nouns can head them. The graph also indicates that the distribution of phrasal and clausal postmodification is almost identical (49% to 51%), despite no other phrasal postmodifiers than appositions are studied.

The absolute number of occurrences is 208, out of which 167 (i.e. 80%) cases are restrictive, and only 41 (i.e. 20%) are non-restrictive.



**Figure 2.** Restrictive vs Non-restrictive

Concerning structures in the restrictive relationship, appositions with 76 occurrences represent a quarter of all restrictive postmodifiers. Relative clauses, dominant clausal postmodifiers, are of almost identical distribution with 69 instances. Presumably, the appositive clauses with 21 instances are less common than relative clauses. (see figure 3. in Appendix 2)

Out of the 41 occurrences of non-restrictive postmodifiers, 25 (i.e. 61%) are appositions followed by relative clauses with 16 (i.e. 37%) instances. Within the corpus, there is only one appositive clause, which is again connected to the limited number of nouns capable of serving the head function. Additionally, the non-restrictive postmodification is not essential to identify the head, and generally, it provides the reader with additional information. Therefore, the authors, facing the spatial constraints, tend to omit the non-restrictive postmodifiers or at least they want to keep them as condensed as possible, using, in this respect, more convenient tools such as prepositional phrases or appositions.

### 4.3. Apposition

Apposition with a total of 101 (i.e. 49%) occurrences can be considered the most prevalent postmodifier in the corpus. As stated in the theoretical part, the apposition typically has either more general or specific meaning compared to its head. This is true for the majority of the examples identified as apposition in the corpus. The most frequent appositive relationship is the title *Mr/Ms* followed by a personal name. Out of the 76 cases of restrictive apposition, more than half (45) take on this form, which is caused by the omnipresent repetition of personal names typical for the newspaper discourse. Not only does this affect the findings within the apposition, but it also resonates within the overall distribution of restrictive postmodifiers and their heads.

As all the articles deal with politics, a general noun-phrase, often a common noun expressing a political position, is postmodified by a personal name - proper noun (*Trump, Joe Biden*,). It is the most common type of restrictive apposition, which is often preceded by a definite determiner, yet especially in American English, the definite determiner can be deleted. Concerning the titles, the article is always omitted, as illustrated in examples C1 and A44. Additionally, some titles appear in an abbreviated form. (see A15, A30)

*Former **Vice President** Joe Biden (C1, RA) has defeated Donald Trump and will become the 46<sup>th</sup> president of the United States*

*Biden has said he would take a tough stance against China, and he has attacked Trump for praising Chinese **President** Xi Jinping (A44, RA)*

With regard to the minor types of apposition, the of-phrase in apposition is also analyzed and included in the quantitative measurement. In the corpus, the of-phrase refers to geographical locations. As mentioned in chapter 2., *state of Delaware* can be rephrased as *Delaware is the state*, and so, identified as the apposition.

*In a speech on Friday evening in his home **state** of Delaware, (C13, RA)*

*We are the **United States** of America. (C9, RA)*

Similarly to the restrictive apposition, the non-restrictive apposition occurs in the form of a title followed by a personal name or vice versa (D4). The latter mentioned is typical for the news, especially when referring to people or authorities; the average reader may not know well. In A11, for instance, the author anticipated that the reader might raise the question: “Who is Amy

Walker” and so he decided to answer the question in apposition. This helps readers to orient themselves in the text and possibly in the issues discussed in the article.

... said **Amy Walter**, *national editor of the nonpartisan Cook Political Report*. (A11, NRA)

*This as the US electoral college will vote on Monday to confirm Biden’s resounding victory, alongside his Democratic vice president-elect, Kamala Harris.* (D4, NRA)

In the vast majority of non-restrictive apposition, the comma is used to separate the head noun from its appositive NP; however, in some cases, the non-restrictive relationship is indicated by brackets, which may indicate the grade of importance. (see A27, A30) That is to say, the least important information, such as a political party, is mentioned in brackets.

The last form of non-restrictive apposition can be seen in example A39, where a verbal constituent *including* is used. Although there can be other possible interpretations of this phrase, such as a condensed relative clause, the word *including*, as mentioned in sub-chapter 2.3.1.2, indicates exemplification, and so it is identified accordingly.

#### 4.4. Relative Clauses

This chapter deals with relative clauses and their distribution within the clausal postmodifiers. To provide a general overview of analyzed clausal postmodifiers, the occurrences, along with the proportion they represent, are presented in table 1. The initial and main focus is posed on the restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Furthermore, the choice of relativizer, finiteness and the syntactic role of gaps are discussed.

|            |                 | FINITE    | NONFINITE | TOTAL (RATIO)   |
|------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| RELATIVE   | RESTRICTIVE     | 51        | 18        | 69 (64%)        |
|            | NON-RESTRICTIVE | 12        | 4         | 16 (15%)        |
|            | <b>TOTAL</b>    | <b>63</b> | <b>22</b> | <b>85 (79%)</b> |
| APPOSITIVE | RESTRICTIVE     | 8         | 13        | 21 (20%)        |
|            | NON-RESTRICTIVE | 1         | 0         | 1 (1%)          |
|            | <b>TOTAL</b>    | <b>9</b>  | <b>13</b> | <b>22 (21%)</b> |

Table 1. Distribution of clausal postmodifiers.

As indicated in the table above, restrictive relative clauses (69 instances) and non-restrictive relative clauses (16 instances) create 79% of analyzed clausal postmodifiers. The results also suggest that the majority of both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are finite clauses as they form 73% of relative clauses.

Regarding the restrictiveness, restrictive clauses prevail as they form 81% of analyzed relative clauses, which coincides with Biber's findings, as he states that non-restrictive relative clauses cover up to 30% of relative clauses in the press. (see Chapter 2.2.2.)

#### 4.4.1. Non-restrictive Relative Clauses

The non-restrictive relative clauses provide the reader with additional information which, when left out, does not affect the understanding of the sentence (B50, D23). However, in some cases, the information contained may be important for the reader, as in D8 and D9.

*More than 120 Republican members of the House of Representatives wrote an amicus brief to the supreme court last week in support of the <sup>CI</sup>lawsuit<sup>D7</sup> brought by <sup>PI</sup>Texas<sup>D8</sup>, (D7, RRNF; SG) which had been joined by Trump and aimed to overturn Biden's victory in four key swing <sup>CI</sup>states<sup>D9</sup>, which the court on Friday night abruptly refused to consider. (D8, NRRF; OG + D9, NRRF; OG)*

The modification D8 is essential for the reader since it provides him with additional information crucial for understanding the context, similarly to D9, wherein probably the most important message of the sentence is communicated through the non-restrictive relative clause. This may imply that the authors do not always use punctuation according to the importance of the message conveyed, yet sometimes they use punctuation to split long, complex sentences without any other intention.

The majority of non-restrictive relative clauses are headed by common nouns 63%. However, the proportion of proper nouns is considerable within non-restrictive clauses 38%, since the non-restrictive clauses often provide additional information about authorities. With regard to animacy, most of the clauses are headed by inanimate nouns, which is also displayed in the choice of relativizer.

Out of 12 finite non-restrictive relative clauses, eight clauses contain relativizer *which* (A46, A53, B50, C12, C35, D8, D9, D23, D31, D33), and two clauses (D21, D31) relativizer *where*. Only two clauses are headed by animate nouns (A29, D26) both of which are proper nouns referring to persons (*Hawley, Letia James*). As seen in Table 2. below, non-restrictive relative clauses can utilize no other relativizer than *wh-* element.

|      | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL (RATIO) |
|------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| WH   | 23          | 12              | 35 (57%)      |
| THAT | 22          | 0               | 22 (36%)      |
| BARE | 5           | 0               | 5 (7%)        |

*Table 2. The choice of relativizer*

The choice of relativizer is also affected by the syntactic role of the gap. In both sentences, including relativizer *where*, the gap functions as adverbial, whereas in clauses headed by proper nouns, relativizer *who* occurs in the subject position. In the rest of the finite non-restrictive relative clauses using *which*, the gapped element is either subject or object, which corresponds with findings introduced by Biber (1999) in the theoretical part. In more than half of non-restrictive relative clauses, gap occurs in the subject position, which is altered by the occurrence of non-finite *ing-* and *ed-* clauses, in which the only possible element to be gapped is subject. The overall distribution of types of gaps can be seen in Appendix 2, Table 4.

#### 4.4.2. Restrictive Relative Clauses

As indicated in table 1. the restrictive relative clauses form a majority of relative clauses (81%). Restrictive relative clauses provide the reader with essential information, and they also have the ability to delimit their heads, as in Example A10. Therefore, such a postmodification cannot be omitted with respect to communicative achievement.

*While Trump's populism often manifested in style rather than substance, he was able to appeal to a unique <sup>CI</sup> coalition of voters that politicians from both parties are now aiming to capture in a post-Trump era. (A10, RRF; OG)*

In A10, the restrictive relative clause has a delimiting and identifying function. It should be stressed out that the restrictive clause conveys, according to the context, the most relevant information for the reader, highlighting the time-reference and that both parties participate. Additionally, the authors sometimes favor clausal postmodification over a phrasal one, for it allows them to express the topicality of those issues (A6, D36, C48). Also, depending on author's style, the restrictive relative clause can substitute the proper noun to avoid repetition, as in A8. This is supported by Van Dijk (1988), who states that the nouns in newspaper discourse are packed with postmodifiers to avoid repetition. (For more, see Chapter 3.)

*Trump leaves the White House and is replaced by a <sup>CA</sup> man who has called himself "Middle Class Joe." (A8, RRF; SG)*

In this sentence, the author prefers to use the indefinite noun, postmodified by a relative clause, instead of repeating Biden, which allows him to provide the reader with the nickname, yet, also to refer to former events. Additionally, the usage of an indefinite article implies the author's intention to emphasize the generality of man, underpinning the importance of the relative clause.

Due to the fact that restrictive relative clauses are essential to identify the referent, except for three instances (A19, A52, C19), all of them are headed by common nouns, representing 88% of all types of heads (Appendix 2, Figure 5.).

*Rubio's missive was echoed by a handful of other GOP <sup>CA</sup> senators, including <sup>PR</sup> some<sup>A19</sup> who also have been floated as potential presidential candidates in 2024. (A18, NRA, PM- A19,*

*After Trump campaigned by saying Biden wanted to shut down the nation's economy — <sup>PR</sup>something that would disproportionately harm low-income workers (A52, RRF; SG)*

*I will work hard for <sup>PR</sup>those who didn't vote for me." (C19, RRF; SG)*

The first two exceptions are indefinite pronouns. In the first sentence A19, the pronoun *some* is also in non-restrictive apposition, and since it is indefinite, there is a need for further identification. It seems that the author does not want to mention names explicitly, and for this reason, he gives a hint, which an informed reader probably unravel. In A52, on the other hand, the indefinite pronoun refers to the previous clause, so the relative clause provides rather additional information about Trump's perception of the measure Biden made. The third sentence is headed by a demonstrative pronoun accompanied by a relative clause having a delimiting function.

Within restrictive relative clauses, the most common relativizer is *that* since it refers to both animate and inanimate antecedents (C2, D15); however, in selected articles, it primarily refers to inanimate common concrete nouns (*impulse, states, office*). Since with inanimate antecedents *which*, being of a low distribution in our corpus, imply a higher degree of formality, the prevalence of *that* may confirm the theory that the authors adjust the language they use according to the readers and that the language in the news reflects the spoken language in which *that* is the most common relativizer. Out of 23 occurrences of *that*, in 19 clauses, the subject gap appears. Concerning *Wh-* elements, the most frequent relativizer is *who*, referring to animate antecedents. Similarly, to non-restrictive relative clauses, in all 15 sentences containing

*who*, the gapped element is subject, which may be supported by Huddleston’s claim that relativizer *who* is favored over *that* when the gap is in the subject position. As suggested on the basis of Huddleston’s finding (Chapter. 2.2.1), the omission of relativizer is possible and frequent, especially with object gaps. Therefore, when it comes to the distribution of the zero relativizers, all occurrences (C6, C7, C31, C47, A55) have gapped object and are headed by common inanimate nouns (*way, theme*), which needs further identification and delimitation. Similarly, to non-restrictive relative clauses, in sentences with relativizer *where* the gapped element is always adverbial, and the head noun refers to the location (*counties, states*).

|       | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL (RATIO) |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| THAT  | 23          | 0               | 23 (37%)      |
| WHO   | 15          | 2               | 17 (27%)      |
| WHICH | 4           | 8               | 12 (20%)      |
| ZERO  | 5           | 0               | 5 (8%)        |
| WHERE | 3           | 2               | 5 (8%)        |

Table 3. Distribution of relativizers

Regarding the syntactic roles of gap, in the restrictive relative clauses, the subject gap occurs predominantly, representing 77 % of gaps which again coincides with the ratio proposed by Biber. The prevalence of subject gaps in the corpus can stem from a relatively high distribution of non-finite clauses, primarily *ing-* and *ed-* participle clauses, which finite counterparts contain gap exclusively on the subject position. Object gaps creating 14% of gaps within restrictive relative clauses are rare as well as adverbial gaps with the proportion of 6 occurrences (i.e. 9%). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the relativizer *where* coexists with adverbial gap only. However, the usage of *which* is also possible as in A47, A48, wherein the adverbial function is implied by preposition *in*. The occurrences of the gaps, along with the proportion they represent, are indicated in Table 4.

*In the middle of a <sup>CI</sup>pandemic in which Democrats have been more willing to push stay-at-home orders and other mitigation measures, (A48, RRF; AG)*

| GAP         | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL    |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|
| SUBJECT     | 53          | 10              | 63 (74%) |
| OBJECT      | 10          | 4               | 14 (17%) |
| ADVERBIAL   | 6           | 2               | 8 (%)    |
| PREP. COMP. | 0           | 0               | 0        |

Table 4. Syntactic roles of gaps.

### 4.4.3. Finiteness of Relative Clauses

As suggested in paragraphs dealing with syntactic roles of gaps, the most frequent structure within non-finite relative clauses are *ing*- clauses representing 67% of non-finite structures, as indicated in Table 5. below.

|                | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL (RATIO) |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| ING-participle | 12          | 2               | 14 (67%)      |
| ED- participle | 4           | 2               | 6 (24%)       |
| Infinitive     | 2           | 0               | 2 (9%)        |

**Table 5.** Types of non-finite clauses

The prevalence of *ing*- clauses, especially in restrictive relative clauses, is supported by Dušková (chapter 3), who claims that typically with sentences containing stative verbs, the non-finite *-ing* clause is favored over its finite counterpart since there is a possibility to express progressivity, as demonstrated in example A21.

*<sup>CA</sup>contenders<sup>A21</sup> hoping to re-create Trump's success with White working-class voters in 2016 (A21, RRNF;SG) and his modest improvements with working-class minorities in 2020.*

With regard to *ed*- participles, all the non-finite sentences in this form, regardless of restrictiveness, have their finite counterparts in passive voice (B2, B8, B22, C3, C25, C49), and the gap occur in the subject position. As Dušková states, the advantage of *ed*-participles is that, despite being non-finite, they can imply progressivity (C49).

*... between his governing plans and <sup>PR</sup>those being executed by <sup>CA</sup>Mr Trump. (C48, RA in C49, RRNF; SG)*

Although infinitive clauses may contain both subject and object gaps, the two examples present in the corpus both have subject gaps (C40, C56)



## 4.5. Appositive Clauses

The last and least frequent analysed structure is an appositive clause covering only 10% of all studied postmodifying structures. The low distribution is caused by the limited number of head nouns that can be postmodified by appositive clauses. However, their distribution within clausal postmodifiers is reaching 21%, which is a relatively high ratio (Table 1.). The reason for this may be the fact that although only a limited number of heads can head appositive clauses. The head nouns referring to human actions (B4- *effort*, B23-*hope*, D1- *attempt* , D29- *decision*) are common in the news, especially in articles dealing with politics wherein human action is the main subject matter.

Concerning the restrictiveness, except for B39, all studied clauses in the sample corpus are restrictive.

### 4.5.1. Non-restrictive Appositive Clauses

Non-restrictive appositive clauses provide a reader with additional information, yet the information provided may still be important for the audience since it can refer backwards in the article and were the information not mentioned, the reader would feel confused and have to go back in the text (B39). Newspaper articles generally try to avoid this confusion and are supposed to be designed in a way that each paragraph is understandable separately.

*Unlike in other **states** where the Trump campaign has claimed, without producing any <sup>CI</sup> **evidence**, that widespread fraud led to <sup>CA</sup>**Mr. Biden's victories**, (B38, RA IN B39, NRACF) <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Trump's** (B40, RA) legal strategy in Wisconsin is predicated on an <sup>CI</sup> **effort to throw out hundreds of thousands of absentee ballots on what amounts to a technicality.***

The non-restrictive appositive clause B39 is included in a complex sentence containing three clausal and one phrasal postmodifier, which again supports the importance and frequency of noun postmodification in press mentioned in Chapter 3. The author uses the appositive clause to refer to former paragraphs dealing with the fraud. Also, the choice of the head noun may imply an effort to catch the attention of the audience since the head noun *evidence* strengthens the message conveyed, indicating disbelief.

### 4.5.2. Restrictive Appositive Clauses

As mentioned above, restrictive appositive clauses create 95% of appositive clauses. Stemming from the fact that they create one intonation contour with their heads, they cannot be omitted, and the information contained is essential for a reader.

Regarding the head nouns, the most frequent head noun licensing the appositive clause is *effort* with a total of 9 occurrences (B4, B27, B41, B54, C22, C23, D6, D28, D35). Despite the suggestion given in the theoretical part, in four samples, the head occurs in plural (D6, D29, D28, B27). To comment on the difference, we will compare sentences containing the same head.

*"The courts have been very, very clear in rejecting Trump's <sup>CI</sup>efforts to undo the 2020 election. (D28, RACNF)*

*<sup>CA</sup>President Trump's (B4, RA) <sup>CI</sup>effort to overturn the results of the election (B5, RACNF) continued to fall short.*

As can be seen, both sentences communicate almost identical information. The usage of the plural in D28, may indicate an emphasis on the number of various measures Trump has made, whereas, in B5, the author refers to the general action Trump has initiated. Another head noun of more than one occurrence is a *sign* (A4, C54).

*Mr Biden's (C52, RA) victory is a clear <sup>CI</sup>sign<sup>C54</sup> voters want a much different brand of leadership in Washington ...*

*— a <sup>CI</sup>sign of how the politics of populism have been upended (A4, RACF)*

Both sentences are finite yet exceptional. In C52, the complementizer *that* is omitted. Even though some grammarians claim that the omission of *that* is not allowed, such an omission is possible and frequent in less formal texts (chapter 2.3.2.1). Additionally, the head noun *sign* is one of the head nouns with which *zero that* clauses frequently occur, according to corpus findings provided by Hidarto and Andrianto (2015).

In example A4, another less common type of appositive clause appears. In this case, it is one of the possible structural variants of *wh*-interrogative complement clauses in which the preposition *of* is followed by *wh*-element *how* (chapter 2.3.2.1). The rest of the finite appositive clauses is in the form of *that*-clauses.

### 4.5.3. Finiteness of Appositive Clauses

As indicated in Table 1., unlike within relative clauses in appositive clauses, the non-finite structures prevail, forming 62 % of appositive clauses. With regard to the form, all the instances take the infinitive form, which is also affected by the fact that the majority of non-finite clauses is headed by noun *effort*, presumed to head primarily infinitive clauses, according to Biber. Infinitive clauses are common especially with heads referring to human goals or actions: *attempt* (D1), *decision* (D29), *effort* (B54), *penchant* (C55), *responsibility* (B60), *authority* (B59). Therefore, in articles dealing with politics, we can assume that such head nouns are common. Additionally, the non-finite clauses are more condensed, and so in cases where there is no need to indicate modality, tense or aspect, they are favored over their finite counterparts. Since the appositive clauses in the news are used predominantly to refer to human action in general, the finite clauses are less frequent, and in our corpus, used primarily with the past reference.

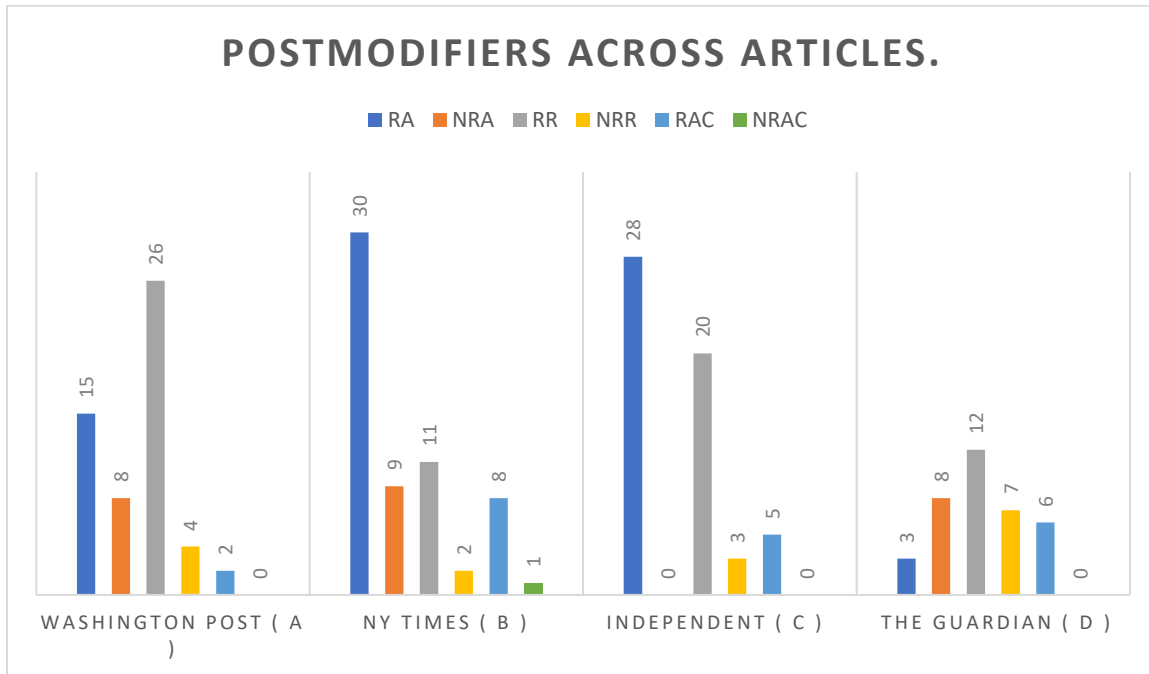
*hope*<sup>B23</sup> that he could somehow prevail in Wisconsin and Arizona, as well as  
<sup>PI</sup>Georgia. (B23, RACF)

<sup>CA</sup> *supporters* in Washington DC, who persist in bolstering his false<sup>CI</sup> *claims that the*  
election was "stolen" from him by fraud and conspiracy. (D2, RRF; SG +D3, RACF)

Example B23, shows that finite structures are preferred when both the modality and tense need to be expressed. The modal verb *could* indicates Trump's past ability to win the elections in Wisconsin and Arizona. In D3, the finite appositive clause is used not only because of the past reference but also the finite passive form allows the author to emphasize the reason and tools used for stealing the election. The word *stolen* in paratheses may indicate the author's intention to point out the absurdity of those claims.

## 4.6. Remarks on Postmodifiers in Selected Articles

So far, it was commented on the overall distribution of both clausal and phrasal postmodifiers in the corpus. This chapter is devoted to the discrepancy in the distribution of postmodifiers within individual articles, indicated in Figure 12.



**Figure 12.** Postmodifiers across articles

As figure 12. shows, each article has its distinctive features concerning the distribution of postmodifiers. Except for the article taken from The Guardian, the restrictive apposition is common in the rest of the articles. Restrictive apposition always takes the form of a common noun, followed by proper noun and vice versa. Higher distribution of restrictive apposition in NY Times (49%) and Independent (50%) is caused primarily by the repetition of titles *Mr*, *Ms*. Since the articles share similar subject matter, titles such as *president* and *vice-president* appear in all of them. For proportion represented by particular structural types in the framework of individual articles, see figures 8,9,10,11 in Appendix 2.

On the contrary, non-restrictive apposition does not occur in the article taken from Independent. The reason for this is that the author refers primarily to people an average reader knows, and so the non-restrictive apposition is not needed. The non-restrictive apposition in the Washington Post, NY Times and The Guardian predominantly provide information about the party (A16.B19, D5) or a reference to former political positions (D10). Additionally, it seems that the authors tend to use non-restrictive apposition when the title/position is more important for the message communicated than the actual name (D14). Nevertheless, it should be pointed out

that the perception of restrictiveness is highly individual and depend on author's writing style, which can be illustrated in example D4.

*This as the US electoral college will vote on Monday to confirm Biden's resounding victory, alongside his Democratic <sup>CI</sup> vice president-elect, Kamala Harris. (D4.NRA)*

In D4 the personal name *Kamala Harris* occurs in non-restrictive apposition although, as mentioned above, titles such as *president* and *vice president* are accompanied primarily by restrictive apposition. However, the author probably wants to emphasize that the new vice president is a democrat, using premodification in the form of an adjective, so the name is of minor importance.

Relative clauses represent a considerable number of postmodifiers in the analyzed articles. In articles A and D, the distribution of relative clauses even exceeds half of all studied postmodifiers. In this respect, it should be mentioned that clausal postmodification enables the author to change how information is perceived and express topicality and connection to former events. As already stated, the relative clauses have the delimiting function; this is the reason why they are common in the news. In articles A and D, authors often use the relative clauses to avoid mentioning the name or problem explicitly, for example, when the explicit reference consists of multiple members (A6, A19, D2, D13). Another reason why relative clauses in those two articles prevail stems from the writing style, and the topic discussed. In both articles, the authors frequently refer back to former events, which are essential for understanding the complex context; therefore, omission of this information would cause difficulty with comprehension. Both the articles provide readers with many quotations, claims and commentaries stated by various authorities, who need to be introduced to the reader.

With regard to the restrictiveness, in all selected articles, the restrictive relative clauses dominate in comparison to non-restrictive relative clauses. The highest predominance can be seen in articles A (73%) and C (92%). In both of the articles, the high distribution of relative clauses may be connected to the high proportion of quotations taken from politicians who tend to use relative clauses to imply their attitude and to emphasize selected facts (A39, A41, A55, C15, C19)

*"These are <sup>CA</sup> nominees<sup>A40+A41</sup> who have lived the American Dream and earned their credentials through hard work and determination,(A39, RRF; SG) including a Black*

<sup>CA</sup>woman<sup>A42</sup> who was educated in segregated schools and a Cuban <sup>CA</sup>American<sup>A43</sup> who came to this country as a refugee. (A40, NRA, PM-A41, RRF; SG + A42, RRF; SG)

In the example above, the relative clauses have identifying function, and the author, Biden's spokesman, uses the relative clauses to emphasize the fact that Biden's voter base consists of all kinds of people coming from different backgrounds, which is a counter-argument to accusations of elitism, supporting Biden's egalitarianism.

As indicated in figure 12., The Guardian is exceptional when it comes to the distribution of non-restrictive and restrictive postmodifiers since the proportion of non-restrictive relative clauses is again considerable. This discrepancy may reflect the complexity of the used sentences. The author uses long, complex sentences, and so he uses punctuation to segmentize the information (D8, D9, D23, D26). Nevertheless, this is again related to the individual writing style.

With regard to the language varieties, that is to say, American vs British English, we assumed that the distribution of the relativizer *that* should be twice as frequent in American newspapers, according to research carried out by Biber. Nonetheless, the distribution of the relativizer *that* is higher in articles selected from British papers. It must be stressed out that since the articles deal with the US political scene, and the authors often cite American authorities, the language discrepancies diminish. Additionally, the fact that the articles are from British broadsheets does not necessarily mean that the authors are British since those broadsheets have agencies in different countries. Although the spelling corresponds with British English, it may reflect the editor's work more than the writer.

As mentioned in the chapter dealing with appositive clauses, the most common head noun, licensing, appositive clauses is *effort*. The head noun *effort* occurs in the articles B, C and D. In other words, in articles with a high distribution of appositive clauses, which indicates that appositive clauses are more likely to be used in texts in which the main focus is set on human actions supposed to produce certain results. The word *effort* is used by authors especially when they refer to attempts which later turned out to be unsuccessful (B4, B54, C22, D28, D35), and in most of the cases performed by Trump. On the other hand, the low distribution of appositive clauses in article A, is connected to the protruding number of relative clauses, the highest of all the selected articles, which signalize that the author has different tendencies when and why to use clausal postmodification. This can be supported by the findings concerning the choice of relativizer. Out of 15 occurrences of the relativizer *who*, twelve appear in article A. Since the

relativizer *who* is used for a reference to animate antecedents, it shows that in article A, the proportion of animate nouns is high, and so the relative clauses are preferred to appositive clauses.

To conclude, the distribution of both restrictive and non-restrictive postmodifiers seems to be primarily subjected to individual writing styles and subject matter communicated in the article. Additionally, no discrepancy closely linked to different English varieties was observed.

## 5. Conclusion

This bachelor thesis focuses on both phrasal and clausal postmodification, which is of considerable importance and proportion in newspaper discourse. The scope of focus is narrowed down to appositive structures, and relative clauses whilst the main emphasis is laid on their semantics. After introducing the interdisciplinary framework acquired from distinguished linguists, the actual case study of four selected articles is carried out. To make the research more reliable, the four selected articles reflect the similar subject matter and are taken from both American and British broadsheet newspapers.

The results of the analysis show that both appositive structures and relative clauses are frequent in press as the heavy nominalization is a distinctive feature of its discourse. Regarding the semantic types of postmodifiers, restrictive postmodifiers prevail, representing 80% of all studied postmodifiers. The first reason for this may be the high distribution of apposition in the form of a title followed by a proper noun, which is common, especially in articles dealing with politics. Furthermore, the restrictive postmodifiers are essential for the identification of their referents and authors facing spatial constraints focus primarily on providing relevant information for which the restrictive relationship is preferred.

With regard to individual structural types, the apposition covers half of all studied structures and creates 45% of all restrictive postmodifiers. In the non-restrictive relationship, the proportion is even higher as the apposition represents 61% of non-restrictive modifiers. This may again arise from the limited space for news items since it seems that authors tend to omit non-restrictive postmodifiers or at least make them as condensed as possible. Therefore, the usage of apposition is logical in such situations.

Concerning the clausal postmodification, the relative clauses predominate as they form 41% of all postmodifiers and 73% of clausal postmodifiers. The vast majority of relative clauses (i.e. 81%) are restrictive, which coincides with the proportion suggested by Biber in the theoretical part (see Chapter 2.2.2.). Additionally, 97 % of restrictive relative clauses are headed by common nouns, which is a result of their delimiting and identifying function. Their function is also reflected in the proportion of finite clauses, which are favored over non-finite since within finite clauses, there is the possibility of expressing tense or modality. Regarding the choice of relativizer, the analysis indicates that the most common relativizer used with relative clauses is *that* with 23 occurrences (i.e. 37%) because it can refer to both animate and inanimate antecedents. On the contrary, in less frequent non-restrictive relative clauses, *which* is the most



common relativizer, for the non-restrictive reference is used primarily with inanimate antecedents. The choice of relativizer also reflects the syntactic function of gaps, which in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses predominantly occur in the subject position.

Appositive clauses cover only 10% of all studied postmodifiers since the number of nouns capable of heading them is limited. Nevertheless, the proportion with respect to clausal postmodifiers reaches 21%, which can be considered a relatively high ratio. This may reflect the fact that in newspaper discourse, especially within articles dealing with politics, nouns referring to human actions are used frequently. The most common noun used in three out of four articles is the word *effort*. With regard to the restrictiveness, 95% of all appositive clauses are restrictive, that is to say, communicating essential information for the reader. Conversely to relative clauses, 62% of appositive clauses occur in non-finite form. Finite structures are used when there is a need to express tense or modality, yet in the studied corpus, the majority of head nouns refer to human actions; thus, there is no need to do so. Additionally, the choice of such a head noun alters the perspective of how a reader perceives the information.

With regard to the possible discrepancies of the usage of postmodifiers, it seems that although some discrepancies occur in selected articles, they are subjected primarily to individual writing style and not to English varieties.

## Resumé

Práce se zabývá postmodifikací anglické jmenné fráze, a to především s ohledem na užití vymezovacích a nevymezovacích konstrukcí v novinovém diskurzu. Pro vlastní analýzu je korpus tvořen články, vyňatými jak z amerických, tak britských seriózních novin, v přibližně stejném rozsahu. Práce je standardně rozdělena na dvě části. Na část teoretickou a praktickou.

Teoretická část se soustředí nejprve na jmennou frázi, coby základní větný element, převážně pak na její syntaktické funkce a jednotlivé stavební prvky. Základním prvkem jmenné fráze je její řídicí člen, který může být realizován obecným podstatným jménem, vlastním jménem, nebo zájmenem. Dále jsou zmíněny i ostatní součásti jmenné fráze, jako determinátory a premodifikátory, nicméně hlavní důraz je kladen na postmodifikátory, které jsou detailně popsány ve druhé kapitole. Postmodifikace se může vyskytovat ve formě fráze, popřípadě věty. Jelikož si práce klade za cíl zkoumat tyto konstrukce zejména s ohledem na jejich vymezenost a nevymezenost. Po nastínění těchto pojmů v obecné rovině jsou postmodifikátory dále kategorizovány na základě těchto sémantických kategorií.

V teoretické části je hlavní důraz kladen na vztahné věty a přístavkové konstrukce, které zahrnují jak věty přístavkové, tak přístavek samotný. Jak již bylo avizováno, hlavním hlediskem, podle kterého jsou tyto konstrukce dále děleny do podkapitol, je vymezovací (restriktivní), či nevymezovací (nerestriktivní) vztah řídicího členu a postmodifikace. U větných struktur se práce zaměřuje i na formu slovesa, tj. finita. V rámci již zmíněných kapitol práce vychází především z Quirka, Bibera, Huddlestona a Duškové. Nicméně významní autoři se v užívané terminologii liší. Zatímco Jacobs a Biber rozlišují věty vztahné a obsahové, Huddleston se přiklání k termínům vztahné a doplňkové. V této práci je upřednostněna Quirkova terminologie, tj. vztahná a přístavková věta. Zatímco vztahná věta má spíše deskriptivní, či určující funkci, věta přístavková pojímá vlastní obsah členu řídicího. Ze sémantického hlediska jsou vymezovací postmodifikátory, ať už větné, či frázové, nezbytné pro identifikaci řídicího členu, tudíž na rozdíl od nevymezovacích konstrukcí nemohou být eliminovány. Z důvodu, že jsou vybrané postmodifikace jmenné fráze zkoumány v rámci novinového diskurzu, poslední kapitola teoretické části pojednává o charakteristických rysech tohoto registru. Nejprve jsou představeny hlavní funkce novin, v návaznosti pak jazykové prostředky, které umožňují tyto funkce vyjadřovat. Jako výchozí argument, ovlivňující četnost postmodifikace, se jeví omezený prostor, ve kterém jsou autoři nuceni popsat danou situaci.

S tím je spojena i vysoká míra nominalizace, která jednak text kondenzuje, a také, právě za užití postmodifikátorů, umožňuje autorovi pozměnit čtenářův pohled na problematiku dané situace.

Pro analýzu v praktické části práce byly vybrány novinové články z amerických (NY Times, Washington Post) a britských (The Guardian, Independent) novin. Všechny vybrané články reflektují americkou politickou scénu, přesněji pak prezidentské volby v Americe, a jsou přibližně stejného rozsahu. Jiná kritéria související s výběrem článku nebyla aplikována.

Ve vytvořeném korpusu bylo celkem identifikováno 209 výskytů, z čehož 167 (80 %) bylo ve vymežovacím a 41 (20 %) v nevymežovacím vztahu k řídicímu členu. To může být zapříčiněno jednak častým výskytem přístavků, typickým pro novinové články pojednávající o politice, tak i tím, že postmodifikátory ve vymežovacím vztahu určují řídicí člen, jímají důležitou informaci a nemohou být vypuštěny.

Jak již bylo zmíněno, postmodifikace ve formě přístavku tvoří značnou část určených výskytů (50 %). Rozdělíme-li pak postmodifikátory dle sémantických kategorií, 45 % vymežovacích struktur tvoří právě přístavky. V rámci nevymežovacích konstrukcí pak mluvíme dokonce o 61 %. To opět může poukazovat na omezený rozsah novinových článků, kterému autoři musí čelit. Z toho důvodu nevymežovací struktury často vynechávají. Případně se pak tyto struktury snaží kondenzovat, tím upřednostňují právě přístavek.

Nejrozšířenější formou větné postmodifikace jsou vztažné věty, které tvoří 41 % výskytů a 71 % všech větných postmodifikátorů. Drtivá většina (81 %) vztažných vět je restriktivních, což koresponduje s Biberovými závěry. 97 % těchto vět je také řízeno obecnými podstatnými jmény, pro která je další postmodifikace klíčová. Co se slovesné formy týče, finitní vazby převládají, jelikož mohou vyjadřovat modalitu, případně čas. Nejrozšířenějším relativem, uvozujícím restriktivní vztažné věty, je *that*, které může být použito jak s životnými, tak neživotnými řídicími členy. V nerestriktivních vztažných větách je nejčastěji použito *which*, které se pojí s neživotnými antecedenty.

Přístavkové věty tvoří pouze 10 % studovaných výskytů, jelikož mohou být řízeny pouze omezeným počtem podstatných jmen. Avšak jejich proporce s ohledem k analyzovaným větným strukturám (21 %) je poměrně vysoká. To může být zapříčiněno tím, že podstatná jména související se záměrnou lidskou činností se v novinových člancích, zejména pak těch týkajících se politiky, vyskytují často. Nejčastěji takto užitým podstatným jménem bylo podstatné jméno *effort*, objevující se ve 3 ze 4 článků. Vyjma jednoho případu se všechny věty přístavkové objevují v restriktivní formě, čili obsahují důležitou informaci. Oproti vztažným větám, kde

většina vět byla finitních, u vět přístavkových je tomu naopak. Více než jejich polovina (62 %) se totiž objevuje v nefinitní formě. Důvodem pro častý výskyt nefinitních struktur může být jednak prostor, protože jsou tyto struktury kondenzované, nýbrž i volba podstatných jmen. Jelikož u podstatných jmen, spojených se záměrnými lidskými činnostmi, není potřeba explicitně vyjadřovat čas či modalitu. Právě výběr řídicích členů, potažmo upřednostnění modifikovaných podstatných jmen před slovesy, může indikovat i snahu autora evokovat ve čtenáři určité myšlenky a pozměnit tak čtenářův pohled na diskutovanou problematiku.

Poslední kapitola praktické části se zaměřuje na distribuci postmodifikátorů v rámci jednotlivých článků a na rozdíly v četnosti výskytů jednotlivých struktur. Vysoké počty přístavků v člancích z NY Times a Independent mohou být důsledkem častého výskytu restriktivních přístavků ve formě titulu a vlastního jména. Tyto tituly nejčastěji odkazují na politickou funkci, avšak do celkové distribuce přístavku se i značnou měrou promítá užití titulů Mr a Ms, které je právě ve dvou zmíněných člancích časté. Nerestriktivní přístavky v analyzovaných člancích nejčastěji poukazují na příslušnost k politické straně a jsou odděleny buďto čárkami, nebo jsou uvedeny v závorkách. Nerestriktivní přístavky autoři také preferují v situacích, kdy je titul, popřípadě pozice, podstatnější informací nežli vlastní jméno. U vztažných vět pak můžeme pozorovat výraznou převahu ve člancích z Washington Post a The Guardian, kde vztažné věty pokrývají více než polovinu zkoumaných výskytů. Jak již bylo zmíněno, většina vztažných vět se vyskytuje v restriktivním vztahu. V člancích z Washington Post (73 %) a Independent (93 %) je tato prevalence nejvýraznější. To může být přičteno vysokému počtu citací politiků, kteří vztažné věty často používají ve svých proslovech, aby naznačili svůj postoj, či zdůraznili vybraná fakta. Přístavkové věty se ve zkoumaných člancích vyskytují střídavě. Nejnižší výskyt přístavkových vět pak můžeme pozorovat v článku vyjmutém z Washington Post. Autor v něm upřednostňuje užití vztažných vět před přístavkovými, což odráží jak výběr řídicích členů, tak autorovy preference v užití větných postmodifikací.

Celkově lze říci, že užití postmodifikací, ať už větných nebo frázových, je v amerických a britských novinách velice častý jev, plnící především kondenzační funkci. Může ovšem pomoci i zdůraznit vybraná fakta, a tím tedy ovlivnit čtenářův úsudek. V tomto ohledu se autoři častěji uchylují k restriktivním větným postmodifikátorům. Ty nerestriktivní pak používají spíše v případech, kdy uvádějí dodatečnou informaci, která čtenáři usnadní orientaci v kontextu diskutovaného problému. Vzhledem k tomu, že různí autoři pro stejná sdělení

preferují jiné struktury, zdá se, že zejména vymezenost těchto konstrukcí podléhá primárně individuálním stylům psaní.

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# Appendix 1. Corpus Analysis

## List of Abbreviations

### Structures:

RA – restrictive apposition.

NRA- non-restrictive apposition.

RRF- restrictive relative clause, finite.

RRNF- restrictive relative clause, non-finite.

NRRF- non-restrictive relative clause, finite.

NRRNF- non-restrictive relative clause, non-finite.

RACF- restrictive appositive clause, finite.

RACNF- restrictive appositive clause, non-finite

NRACF- non-restrictive appositive clause, finite.

NRACNF- non-restrictive appositive clause, non-finite.

PM- postmodified

### Gaps:

SG- subject gap

OG- object gap

PCG- prepositional complement gap

AG- adverbial gap

### Heads:

CI- common noun inanimate

CA- common noun animate

PA- proper noun animate

PI- proper noun inanimate

PR- pronoun

Q- quantifier



## A) Washington Post

### Republicans lob accusations of elitism at ‘Middle Class Joe’ — a sign of the upended politics of populism

By Toluse Olorunnipa

(November 28, 2020 at 12:43 a.m. GMT+1)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/biden-republicans-elitism/2020/11/27/f1df70d2-30e1-11eb-bae0-50bb17126614\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/biden-republicans-elitism/2020/11/27/f1df70d2-30e1-11eb-bae0-50bb17126614_story.html)

<sup>CA</sup> **President-elect Joe Biden (A1,RA)**, a state-college graduate who was once the poorest man in the U.S. Senate, (A1, RA PM- A2,NRA, PM-A3,RRF;SG) is facing accusations of elitism from Republicans after defeating a billionaire incumbent with an Ivy League degree — a <sup>CI</sup> **sign of how the politics of populism have been upended (A4,RACF) and redefined by <sup>CA</sup> President Trump. (A5, RA)**

In recent days, Republican lawmakers have sought to describe Biden’s early Cabinet selections as well-heeled and well-pedigreed but out of touch with the kinds of <sup>CI</sup> **problems facing everyday Americans. (A6, RRNF; SG)**

After Biden won the presidency in part by claiming a larger share of college-educated suburban voters, some of his GOP foes see his early moves as an opportunity to brand him as an elitist <sup>CA</sup> **president catering to the nation’s coastal professionals at the expense of its heartland laborers. (A7, RRNF;SG)** The burgeoning dynamic underscores how the battle over populism is likely to animate the nation’s politics even after Trump leaves the White House and is replaced by a <sup>CA</sup> **man who has called himself “Middle Class Joe.” (A8, RRF; SG)**

<sup>CA</sup> **President Trump (A9, RA)** plays golf Saturday at Trump National Golf Club in Sterling, Va. (Jabin Botsford/The Washington Post)

While Trump’s populism often manifested in style rather than substance, he was able to appeal to a unique <sup>CI</sup> **coalition of voters that politicians from both parties are now aiming to capture in a post-Trump era, (A10,RRF;OG)** said <sup>PA</sup> **Amy Walter, national editor of the nonpartisan Cook Political Report. (A11, NRA)**

“It’s this us-versus-them mentality — a belief <sup>CI</sup> **system that there’s a real America, (A12, RACF)** and we’re the only party fighting for it,” Walter said. “I think that’s where Trump was the most successful, and I don’t know how well anyone else is going to be able to do that.”

Biden's initial Cabinet selections are giving some Republicans with national ambitions a first shot at trying.

His decision to nominate Harvard-educated Antony Blinken for secretary of state, Yale-educated Jake Sullivan for national security adviser and Yale-educated former <sup>CA</sup> **secretary of state John F. Kerry** (A13, RA) as the special presidential envoy for climate sparked immediate backlash among <sup>CA</sup> **Republicans** aiming to take up the populist mantle. (A14, RRNF; SG)

"Biden's cabinet picks went to Ivy League schools, have strong resumes, attend all the right conferences & will be polite & orderly caretakers of America's decline," <sup>CA</sup> **Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.)** (A15, RA, PM- A16, NRA) wrote on Twitter. "I support American greatness. And I have no interest in returning to the '<sup>CI</sup> **normal**' that left us dependent on China." (A17, RRF; SG)

Rubio's missive was echoed by a handful of other GOP <sup>CA</sup> **senators, including** <sup>PR</sup> **some**<sup>A19</sup> who also have been floated as potential presidential candidates in 2024.(A18, NRA, PM- A19, RRF;SG) Each tried to make an anti-elitist case against Biden's team of educated, experienced officials with backgrounds in government and international diplomacy.

The attacks highlight the delicate balance Biden may have to strike to stand up a <sup>CI</sup> **government**<sup>A20</sup> capable of carrying out his policies without ceding ground to GOP <sup>CA</sup> **contenders**<sup>A21</sup> (A20, RRNF;SG) hoping to re-create Trump's success with White working-class voters in 2016 (A21,RRNF;SG) and his modest improvements with working-class minorities in 2020.

Biden made direct appeals to those voters during his campaign, often using populist language of his own to describe his policies and approach to governing.

Branding himself a son of middle-class Scranton, Pa., Biden campaigned against Trump's tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations and tried to cast the presidential race as "Scranton versus Park Avenue."

He repeatedly highlighted his University of Delaware education, noting that it would differentiate him from previous <sup>CA</sup> **presidents** who attended Ivy League schools. (A22, RRF; SG)

"We're used to <sup>CA</sup> **guys** who look down their nose at us,(A23, RRF;SG) or <sup>CA</sup> **people** who look at us (A24, RRF;SG) and think that we're suckers, look at us and they think that we don't, that we're not equivalent to that," Biden said during a CNN town hall in September.

He attacked "guys like Trump" for thinking "you must be stupid, if in fact you didn't get to go to an Ivy school."

In contrast, Trump has boasted about his Ivy League degree from the University of Pennsylvania while mocking Biden for his educational credentials.

“Don’t ever use the word smart with me,” Trump told Biden during the first presidential debate.

“Don’t ever use that word. Because you know what? There’s nothing smart about you, Joe.”

Trump’s Cabinet was the wealthiest in modern history, filled with well-educated secretaries with résumés bearing such names as Goldman Sachs, ExxonMobil and OneWest Bank Group. While the president touted their pedigrees, calling some of them “killers,” he also embraced a nationalist governing <sup>CI</sup> **philosophy** that resonated with working-class <sup>CA</sup> **voters**<sup>A26</sup> (A25, RRF;SG) who welcomed his brash attacks on Washington’s elites and the ills of globalism. (A26, RRF; SG)

Republican officials are hoping to build on that playbook by attacking Biden and his incoming team with a similar theme.

<sup>CA</sup> **Sen.** <sup>A27</sup> <sup>PA</sup> **Josh Hawley**<sup>A28</sup> (R-Mo.) (A27, RA - PM- A28, NRA) took to Twitter to attack Biden’s preferred Cabinet as “a group of corporatists and war enthusiasts.”

“Take Tony Blinken. He’s backed every endless war since the Iraq invasion,” <sup>PA</sup> **Hawley**, who attended Yale Law School, (A29, NRRF; SG) wrote earlier this week. “Now he works for #BigTech and helps companies break into #China. He has no sense of what working Americans want or need.”

<sup>CA</sup> **Sen.** <sup>PA</sup> **Tom Cotton** (R-Ark.) (A30, RA - PM- A31,NRA) tweeted that Biden was “surrounding himself with panda <sup>CA</sup> **huggers** who will only reinforce his instincts to go soft on China.”(A32, RRF; SG) <sup>PA</sup> **Cotton**, a Harvard Law graduate,(A33, NRA) accused another Biden nominee of “selling Green Cards to Chinese nationals on behalf of rich, democratic donors.”

The decision by Rubio, Hawley and Cotton to focus on China indicates one way Republicans may attempt to constrict Biden after he takes office in January. Their strategy has been to draw a sharp line between global forces and American workers, then accuse Biden and his team of being too globally minded to make the right decision about where to stand.

“<sup>CA</sup> **President-elect** Biden (A34, RA) and <sup>CA</sup> **Vice President-elect** Harris (A35,RA) just won an historic, landslide <sup>CI</sup> **victory** running on ‘Scranton versus Park Avenue,’(A36,RRNF; SG) with a platform shaped by many of the very same <sup>CA</sup> **advisers** that puts the American middle class at the heart of this administration’s agenda,” (A37, RRF;SG) Biden <sup>CA</sup> **spokesman** Andrew Bates (A38,RA) said in a statement. “These are <sup>CA</sup> **nominees**<sup>A40+A41</sup> who have lived the American Dream and earned their credentials through hard work and determination,(A39, RRF; SG) including a Black <sup>CA</sup> **woman**<sup>A42</sup> who was educated in segregated schools and a Cuban <sup>CA</sup>

American<sup>A43</sup> who came to this country as a refugee.” (A40, NRA, PM-A41, RRF; SG + A42, RRF; SG)

Bates added, “The Biden-Harris ticket was also the first elected in decades on which neither candidate ever attended an Ivy League school. At the same time, as <sup>CA</sup> **Senators Cotton and Hawley** (A43, RA) can attest, there’s nothing wrong with having an Ivy League degree. We look forward to working with these members in good faith.”

Biden has said he would take a tough stance against China, and he has attacked Trump for praising Chinese <sup>CA</sup> **President Xi Jinping** (A44, RA) during the early weeks of the pandemic when Beijing was not cooperating with American scientists to stop the spread of the coronavirus.

The president-elect has also sought to cast himself as a champion of populist policies while rejecting some of the more liberal <sup>CI</sup> **ideas** within his party that Republicans have branded as socialism. (A45, RRF; OG)

Still, the coordinated attacks on Biden’s incoming administration threaten to complicate the early days of his presidency.

Biden has already faced calls to forgive billions of dollars in student loan debt through executive action. Republicans have lashed out against such a move, pointing out that its benefits skew toward those wealthy enough to attend college and graduate school.

Democratic leaders have also sought to use pandemic-response legislation to eliminate a cap on state and local tax deductions put in place by Trump’s 2017 tax bill. But the benefits of such a move would largely help wealthy homeowners in high-tax states, opening Democrats to charges of prioritizing the rich over the middle class.

The <sup>CI</sup> **pandemic**, which Biden has said would be his first priority when he takes office, (A46, NRRF; OG) also presents class-based challenges on both a public health and economic front. Poor Americans have been disproportionately harmed by the deadly virus, and the country is experiencing a K-shaped <sup>CI</sup> **recovery in which wealthy people are prospering while jobless claims, layoffs and food lines grow. (A47, RRF; AG)**

In the middle of a <sup>CI</sup> **pandemic** in which Democrats have been more willing to push stay-at-home orders and other mitigation measures,(A48, RRF; AG) Republicans have accused them of seeing the world through the eyes of a privileged class of workers able to conduct their work from home. Some <sup>CA</sup> **Democrats** including <sup>CA</sup> **New York Gov.** (A49, RA) Andrew M. Cuomo (A50, RA) and <sup>CA</sup> **California Gov. Gavin Newsom** (A51, RA) have come under attack for not following their own virus guidelines.

After Trump campaigned by saying Biden wanted to shut down the nation’s economy — <sup>PR</sup>something that would disproportionately harm low-income workers (A52, RRF; SG)— Biden has repeatedly had to declare that he would not favor such a move.

“I am not going to shut down the economy, period,” Biden told reporters last week at a news conference. “I’m going to shut down the virus.”

For emphasis, he repeated: “No national shutdown.”

For his part, Trump has never worried about being seen as too elitist — instead leaning into his businessman background and taste for the high life. He spent much of the Thanksgiving holiday playing golf at his private <sup>CI</sup> **club** in Virginia, which he has frequented throughout his presidency. (A53, NRRF; OG)

While flaunting his wealth, <sup>PA</sup> **Trump** has often tried to bring his supporters along for the ride — casting himself as their champion against those traditionally seen as society’s elite. (A54, NRRNF; SG)

During rallies, Trump has boasted about how he has “nicer houses,” “nicer apartments” and “nicer everything” than his foes.

“You know the <sup>CI</sup> **way they talk about the elite?**” (A55, RRF; OG) Trump told a crowd of supporters at a September rally in Michigan. “I see them, they’re not elite, you’re the elite. . . . You’re the super-elite.”

## **B) New York Times**

### **Arizona and Wisconsin Certify Biden’s Wins: ‘The System Is Strong’**

By Reid J. Epstein

(Nov.30,2020)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/30/us/politics/wisconsin-arizona-election-results.html?searchResultPosition=215>

<sup>CA</sup> **President Trump’s** (B1, RA) push to reverse the election results in key swing states fell short again as two <sup>CI</sup> **states** carried narrowly by Joe Biden formally (B2, RRNF; SG) signed off on their results.

Arizona and Wisconsin on Monday certified <sup>CA</sup> **President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.**(B3, RA) as the winner in their presidential elections, formalizing his victory in two additional battleground states as <sup>CA</sup> **President Trump’s** (B4,RA) <sup>CI</sup> **effort** to overturn the results of the election (B5, RACNF) continued to fall short.

Such certifications would be an afterthought in any other year. But in a political environment where <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Trump**'s (**B6**, RA) false claims of sweeping voter fraud have created an alternate reality among his die-hard backers in the West Wing and beyond, the results have closed off yet another path to victory for him.

Although <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Trump** (**B7**,RA) has infused daily drama into the normal postelection bureaucratic process by urging his Republican allies to push to block the certification of results or to overturn them entirely in battleground <sup>CI</sup> **states won by** <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Biden**, (**B8**,RRNF; SG, **B9**, RA) the proceedings on Monday were staid affairs.

In Arizona, <sup>PA</sup> **Katie Hobbs**, the Democratic secretary of state, (**B10**, NRA) formalized her state's results while sitting at a long table with three <sup>CA</sup> **Republicans who signed the election documents**(**B11**,RRF; SG ): <sup>CA</sup> **Gov. Doug Ducey** (**B12**, RA); the state's <sup>CA</sup> **attorney general**, Mark Brnovich; (**B13**,NRA) and the <sup>CA</sup> **chief justice** of the Arizona Supreme Court, Robert M. Brutinel. (**B14**, NRA)

<sup>PA</sup> **Ann Jacobs**, the chairwoman of the Wisconsin Elections Commission, (**B15**, NRA) signed a document during a three-minute video <sup>CI</sup> **conference in which she narrated herself certifying Mr. Biden's victory**. (**B16**, RRF; AG)

"I am now signing it as the official state determination of the results of the Nov. 3, 2020, election and the canvass," <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs** (**B17**, RA) said before holding the document up to the camera. Later Monday afternoon, <sup>CA</sup> **Gov. Tony Evers** (**B18**, RA) of Wisconsin, a Democrat, (**B19**, NRA) announced that he had signed the state's <sup>PI</sup> **Certificate of Ascertainment appointing Mr. Biden's slate of electors** (**B20**, RRNF;SG), to represent Wisconsin at the Electoral College.

<sup>CA</sup> **Mr. <sup>PA</sup>Trump**, buoyed by his legal team and supporters in the conservative news media, (**B21**, RA +**B22** NRRNF; SG)has held out <sup>CI</sup> **hope**<sup>B23</sup> that he could somehow prevail in Wisconsin and Arizona, as well as <sup>PI</sup>**Georgia**,(**B23**, RACF) where Republican officials on Monday firmly refused to challenge <sup>CA</sup> **Mr.**<sup>B24</sup> Biden's victory there. (**B24**,RA IN **B25**,RRF; AG) In all three states, along with Michigan and Pennsylvania, the other two <sup>CI</sup> **states that flipped from voting for Mr. Trump in 2016 to Mr. Biden this year**,(**B26**,RRF;SG) the Trump campaign has sought to undermine the results through legal and public relations <sup>CI</sup> **efforts aimed at delivering the president Electoral College votes.** (**B27**, RRNF)

But as has been the case elsewhere, elections officials from both parties in Arizona and Wisconsin declined to undercut their state laws to overturn the popular vote in their states.

“We do elections well in Arizona,” <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Ducey (B28, RA)** said on Monday as he signed <sup>CI</sup> **documents certifying <sup>CA</sup> Mr. Biden’s Arizona victory and awarding him the state’s 11 Electoral College votes. (B29, RRNF; SG + B30, RA)** “The system is strong.”

In Wisconsin, <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs (B31, RA)** chose to certify <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Biden’s (B32, RA)** victory there one day before the state’s Dec. 1 deadline to do so.

<sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs’s (B33, RA)** certification followed the conclusion of recounts, requested and subsidized with \$3 million from <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Trump’s (B34, RA)** campaign, in Dane and Milwaukee Counties that found Mr. Biden had added 87 votes to his statewide margin.

<sup>CA</sup> **Ms. <sup>PA</sup> Jacobs, a Democrat from Milwaukee, (B35, RA, PM- B36, NRA)** said that certifying the result of the presidential election came at her discretion and that she expected the move to kick-start legal challenges from the Trump campaign.

“The power to do this is vested solely in the chair,” <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs (B37, RA)** said in an interview on Monday.

All states must exhaust legal challenges by Dec. 8. Electoral College delegates will meet in their states on Dec. 14, sending the results to Congress, which is scheduled to resolve any final disputes and certify the Electoral College vote on Jan. 6.

Unlike in other states where the Trump campaign has claimed, without producing any <sup>CI</sup> **evidence, that widespread fraud led to <sup>CA</sup> Mr. Biden’s victories, (B38, RA IN B39, NRACF) <sup>CA</sup> Mr. Trump’s (B40, RA)** legal strategy in Wisconsin is predicated on an <sup>CI</sup> **effort to throw out hundreds of thousands of absentee ballots on what amounts to a technicality. (B41, RACNF)**

The Trump campaign has argued in its recount petition that all ballots cast at in-person absentee voting sites before Election Day should be disqualified. The campaign claimed incorrectly that those absentee ballots had been issued without each <sup>CA</sup> **voter submitting a written application requesting the ballot, (B42,RRNF;SG)** but the top line of the absentee ballot <sup>CI</sup> **applications that voters filled out at early voting sites read: (B43,RRF; OG)** “official absentee ballot application/certification.”

That argument would throw out hundreds of thousands of ballots across Wisconsin, including those cast by prominent Trump supporters, such as several state legislators and a top <sup>CA</sup> **lawyer** for the president in Wisconsin, Jim Troupis, (B44, NRA) according to The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

On Twitter on Monday, <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Trump** (B45, RA) called for <sup>CA</sup> **Gov. Brian Kemp** (B46, RA) of Georgia, a Republican, (B47, NRA) to “overrule” <sup>PA</sup> **Brad Raffensperger**, the Republican secretary of state. (B48, NRA) The president also claimed baselessly that there had been “total election corruption” in Arizona. The Trump campaign has yet to identify any systemic voter fraud in its court challenges.

<sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs**’s (B49, RA) certification of the Wisconsin results represents the opening of a window for legal challenges from the Trump <sup>CI</sup> **campaign**, which has argued that the president should have carried the state and its 10 Electoral College votes (B50, NRRF; SG) despite the <sup>CI</sup> **fact that he lost to** <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Biden** there by 20,682 votes. (B51, RA in B52, RACF)

Two weeks ago, the Trump campaign requested recounts in Dane and Milwaukee, the state’s two largest and most Democratic counties, in an <sup>CI</sup> **effort to build a legal case against** <sup>CA</sup> **Mr. Biden**’s statewide victory. (B53, RA in B54, RACNF) The Trump campaign is also likely to sue to challenge <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs**’s (B55, RA) certification.

Republicans on Wisconsin’s six-member bipartisan elections commission had said that they hoped <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs** (B56, RA) would wait to certify the presidential election results until after the Trump campaign had exhausted its legal challenges. But the Trump campaign has not filed any lawsuits in Wisconsin; it had nothing to challenge until <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs** (B57, RA) certified the results of the election.

The Trump campaign and Wisconsin Republicans are also expected to challenge <sup>CA</sup> **Ms. Jacobs**’s (B58, RA) <sup>CI</sup> **authority to certify the election results on her own**. (B59, RACNF) State law gives her, as the elections commission chair, clear <sup>CI</sup> **authority** and <sup>CI</sup> **responsibility to certify the election**, (B60, RACNF) though other parts of the Wisconsin elections code mention the entire six-member bipartisan <sup>CI</sup> **commission certifying presidential election results**. (B61, RRNF; SG)



## C) Independent

### **Biden wins the US election, beating trump to become 46<sup>th</sup> president of the United States.**

By John T. Bennett

(07.11.2020)

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-election-2020/president-joe-biden-wins-us-election-trump-b1569293.html>

Former <sup>CA</sup> **Vice President** Joe Biden (C1,RA) has defeated Donald Trump and will become the 46<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, capping a dramatic <sup>CI</sup> **election** that saw the president prematurely declare victory after the Democratic nominee spent months declaring him unfit for office. (C2. RRF; SG)

<sup>CA</sup> **Mr** <sup>PA</sup> **Biden**, now declared as the president-elect after his third White House bid, (C3, RA – PM- C4, NRRNF; SG) secured the presidency after the *Associated Press* on Saturday declared him the winner in Pennsylvania.

Its 20 Electoral College votes put him over the 270 needed to win, stamping the Trump presidency with a 20 January expiration date.

Following the crucial Pennsylvania news, <sup>CA</sup> **Mr** Biden (C5, RA) said he was “honoured and humbled” and vowed to be a leader for the entire country, “whether you voted for me or not.”

On Twitter he said, "America, I'm honoured that you have chosen me to lead our great country. "The work ahead of us will be hard, but I promise you this: I will be a President for all Americans - whether you voted for me or not. "I will keep the faith that you have placed in me."

And in a <sup>CI</sup> **statement** he said (C6, RRF; OG) it was “time to heal.”

“I am honored and humbled by the <sup>CI</sup> **trust** the American people have placed in me (C7, RRF; OG) and in <sup>CA</sup> **Vice President-elect** Harris (C8, RA). In the face of unprecedented obstacles, a record number of Americans voted. Proving once again, that democracy beats deep in the heart of America,” he said. "With the campaign over, it's time to put the anger and the harsh rhetoric

behind us and come together as a nation. It's time for America to unite. And to heal. We are the <sup>PI</sup>**United States** of America.(C9,RA) And there's nothing we can't do, if we do it together."

The AP had already called Arizona and its 11 Electoral College votes for <sup>CA</sup>**Mr Biden** (C10, RA), although other outlets waited for the full result. Counts were still ongoing in two other swing states with close margins: Georgia and Nevada.

The declaration for <sup>CA</sup>**Mr Biden** (C11, RA) came on the fourth-post <sup>CI</sup>**Election Day** of vote-counting, which played out on live cable television networks as states and counties methodically verified ballots and released results. (C12, NRRF; SG)

In a speech on Friday evening in his home <sup>CI</sup>**state of Delaware,**(C13,RA) <sup>CA</sup>**Mr Biden** (C14,RA) had asked for patience as the last key states counted their ballots, and urged the country to put aside its deep differences.

"We may be opponents — but we are not enemies," he said. "The purpose of our politics is not total unrelenting warfare. ... We have to put the anger and demonization behind us. It's time for us to come together as a nation to heal."

Since he surged ahead in several swing states, the former Vice President has made repeated appeals for unity, with some <sup>CA</sup>**experts** saying his goal of bringing together the country will be an uphill fight." (C15, RRNF; SG) Let me be clear: we are campaigning as Democrats," <sup>CA</sup>**Mr Biden** (C16, RA) said on Wednesday of himself and his running mate, <sup>CA</sup>**Vice President-elect Kamala Harris.**(C17,RA) "But I will govern as an American president."

"The presidency itself is not a partisan institution. It's the one <sup>CI</sup>**office** in this nation that represents everyone and it demands a duty of care for all Americans,"(C18,RRF; SG) he added. "And that is precisely what I will do. ... I will work as hard for <sup>PR</sup>**those** who didn't vote for me as I will for those who did vote for me." (C19, RRF; SG)

The AP's declaration came amid aggressive legal jockeying between the Biden and Trump campaigns, as the Democratic camp urged state and local officials to count every ballot while the president's team sought hard to have vote-counting stopped in several battleground states with razor-thin <sup>CI</sup>**margins** favouring the incumbent. (C20, RRNF; SG)

The president-elect's top campaign aides slammed <sup>CA</sup>**Mr Trump's** (C21,RA) labelling of the mail-in voting process as "<sup>CI</sup>**fraud**" and an <sup>CI</sup>**effort** to "steal" the presidency from him (C22,

RACNF)“outrageous because it is a naked <sup>CI</sup> **effort to take away the democratic rights of American citizens.**” (C23, RACNF)

But, as always since he took office, <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump** (C24, RA) pushed back on Twitter, buoyed by his correct assertions for months that his campaign’s polling was more accurate than public <sup>CI</sup> **surveys conducted by professional polling firms and news outlets.** (C25, RRFN; SG)

Breaking a 36-hour silence after prematurely declaring victory on Wednesday, <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump** (C26, RA) continued spewing unfounded conspiracy theories about election fraud and illegal ballot-counting as he addressed Americans from the White House on Thursday evening.

"If you count the legal votes, I easily win," the president claimed, falsely alleging local elections officials had accepted ballots after Election Day and were padding the stats for <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden.** (C27, RA)

<sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump** (C28, RA) continues to try through lawsuits and <sup>CI</sup> **tweets to force local and state officials in some swing <sup>CI</sup> states where ballots remain uncounted to stop their tallies,** (C29, RACNF + C30, RRF; AG) while urging officials in Arizona to keep counting. He trails in the <sup>CI</sup> **states he wants to stop** (C31, RRF; OG) and his team thinks he might surpass the former vice president in Arizona, which the AP and Fox News called for <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden.** (C32, RA) On Thursday morning came this false presidential post: "ANY <sup>CI</sup> **VOTE THAT CAME IN AFTER ELECTION DAY** (C33, RRF; SG) WILL NOT BE COUNTED!"

But his demands did not alone overrule state and federal election laws, meaning the counting and certification of votes continued. Ultimately, the AP determined <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden** (C34, RA) had ample certified votes in enough states to, in the wire service’s view, clear the 270-electoral vote bar.

Still, all indications from the Trump campaign show a legal fight is ahead.

The incoming <sup>CA</sup> **president, barring a legal reversal of his apparent victory,** (C35, NRRNF; SG) is slated to be sworn in after four chaotic years of <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump’s** (C36, RA) <sup>CI</sup> **term that saw the outgoing chief executive rip up international accords, roll back much of Barack Obama’s legacy, insult his opponents daily, peddle conspiracy theories, utter falsehoods and outright lies at a rapid pace, and help further divide an already tribal country split along racial, class, regional and ideological lines.** (C37, RRF; SG)

Polls tightened in the weeks leading up to Election Day, with the president closing within the margins of error in many swing states. But once in-person votes and ones cast via mail were counted, voters handed a rebuke to <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump**'s (C38, RA) "America first" philosophy and brash governing style.

<sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump**'s (C39, RA) four-year gambit of never seriously trying to reach out to voting blocs beyond his conservative base ultimately failed on Election Day, leaving him without enough support in enough battleground states. The president's antics while in office turned off parts of his 2016 coalition, and led him to become the 11th <sup>CA</sup> **chief executive** in history to lose a second term. (C40, RRNF; SG)

<sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden**'s (C41, RA) main campaign messages were that he is more qualified than <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump** (C42, RA) to move the country beyond the coronavirus pandemic and then rebuild an <sup>CI</sup> **economy** that has been hindered because of the spreading-again disease. (C43, RRF; SG)

He said he could unite a <sup>CI</sup> **country** that has allowed itself to be ripped apart by a <sup>CI</sup> **politics** that has become a bloodsport pitting red America against blue America, (C44, RRF; SG+C45,RRF; SG) and tried on Wednesday to take a first step at reaching out to Republicans.

"Once this election is finalised and behind us, it will be time for us to do what we've always done as Americans, to put the harsh rhetoric of the campaign behind us, to lower the temperature, to see each other again, to listen to one another, to hear each other again and respect and care for one another," <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden** (C46, RA) said at a speech in his adopted home state.

That was a <sup>CI</sup> **theme** he kicked off before Election Day,(C47, RRF; OG) as both candidates barnstormed through a handful of battleground states, then using the again-fastly-spreading coronavirus as an example of the differences between his governing plans and <sup>PR</sup> **those being** executed by <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Trump.** (C48, RA in C49, RRNF; SG)

### **'Truth over lies'**

"It is what it is because he is who he is. That's the problem. Donald Trump waved the white flag, surrendered to the virus. But the American people don't give up, we don't give in," <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden** (C50, RA) said during a campaign stop last Saturday in Milwaukee. "Unlike Donald Trump, we're not going to surrender to this virus. We're simply not going to surrender."

“The only <sup>CI</sup> **thing that can tear America apart** (C51, RRF; SG) is America itself. And that's exactly what Donald Trump has been doing from the beginning of his campaign last time out. Dividing America,” the former vice president said.

“Pitting Americans against one another based on race, gender, religious, national origin, ethnicity. It's wrong. That's not who we are,” he added. “Everybody knows who Donald Trump is. Let's let him know who we are ... in the last four days. We choose hope over fear. Unity over division. Science over fiction. And yes, truth over lies.”

One Democratic strategist said <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Biden's** (C52, RA) victory is a clear <sup>CI</sup>**sign**<sup>C54</sup> voters want a much different brand of leadership in Washington than <sup>CA</sup>**Mr**<sup>C53</sup> Trump's populist-conservative philosophy and his sometime <sup>CI</sup>**penchant**<sup>C55</sup>, like other Republicans, to let the states deal with policy matters. (C53, RA in C54, RACF + C55, RACNF)

“America is changing and Trump supporters don't like it. While Trump supporters resist change. Biden voters welcome it,” said Brad Bannon. “The US Census Bureau has predicted that the US will be majority non-white by 2044, only 24 years from now. Many white Americans fear the loss of their special place in society and are fighting a rearguard action to delay the inevitable.”

“The other big change in American society is the centralisation of political and economic power at the national level,” he added. “The more complex society becomes, the more <sup>CI</sup> **pressure** there is to solve problems nationally. (C56, RRNF; SG) Health care is the best example. Biden supporters are comfortable with centralisation, Trump voters fight it.”

## D) The Guardian

### Trump loses another case challenging election results in latest legal rebuke

By Joanna Walters *and* Victoria Bekiempis

(Sat 12 Dec 2020 22.50 GMT)

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/dec/12/donald-trump-wisconsin-court-case-2020-election>

The slap-downs came less than 24 hours after the abrupt dismissal by the US supreme court of the most audacious Republican <sup>CI</sup> **attempt** yet to overturn Joe Biden's victory in the election almost six weeks ago. (D1, RACNF)

But despite the latest stinging legal defeats and rebukes, Trump took to the skies in the Marine One presidential helicopter on Saturday on his way to an engagement in New York and flew above a protest of several hundred diehard <sup>CA</sup> **supporters** in Washington DC, who persist in bolstering his false <sup>CI</sup> claims that the election was "stolen" from him by fraud and conspiracy. (D2, RRF; SG +D3, RACF)

This as the US electoral college will vote on Monday to confirm Biden's resounding victory, alongside his Democratic <sup>CI</sup> **vice president-elect, Kamala Harris.**(D4,NRA) And a trickle of Republicans joined leading Democrats in speaking up about the increasing futility but also the insidiousness of the lame duck president's aggressive clinging to power.

After the supreme court decision, <sup>PA</sup> **Christine Todd Whitman, the former Republican governor of New Jersey,** (D5, NRA) said of the Trump campaign challenges to the election result: "It is now truly over. Trump and his acolytes need to stop all <sup>CI</sup> **efforts** to deny millions of votes."(D6,RACNF)

More than 120 Republican members of the House of Representatives wrote an amicus brief to the supreme court last week in support of the <sup>CI</sup> **lawsuit**<sup>D7</sup> brought by <sup>PI</sup>Texas<sup>D8</sup>, (D7, RRF; SG)which had been joined by Trump and aimed to overturn Biden's victory in four key swing <sup>CI</sup> states<sup>D9</sup>, which the court on Friday night abruptly refused to consider. (D8, NRRF; OG + D9, NRRF; OG)

<sup>PA</sup> **Michael Steele, the former chair of the Republican National Committee,** (D10, NRA) called the effort "an affront to the country".

“It’s an offense to the constitution and it leaves an indelible <sup>CI</sup> **stain that will be hard for these 126 members to wipe off their political skin,**” (D11, RRF; OG) he told the New York Times. In Wisconsin on Saturday, <sup>CA</sup> **the US district judge Brett Ludwig** (D12,RA) dismissed one of Trump’s latest <sup>CI</sup> **lawsuits** there that asked the court to order the state’s Republican-controlled legislature to name him as the winner, (D13, RRF;SG) whereas in fact Biden won Wisconsin on his way to winning the White House.

Even as Ludwig said Trump’s arguments “fail as a matter of law and fact” <sup>CA</sup> **an attorney** for the president, Jim Troupis, (D14, NRA) was busy arguing in another case, before a skeptical Wisconsin state supreme court, a <sup>CI</sup> **lawsuit** that, if successful, would disenfranchise hundreds of thousands of voters in Wisconsin’s most diverse <sup>CI</sup> counties<sup>D16+D17</sup>, Dane and Milwaukee, where Biden won. (D15, RRF; SG + D16, NRA – PM- D17, RRF; AG)

Trump is not challenging any <sup>CI</sup> **votes** in Wisconsin counties that he won. (D18, RRF; OG)

“This lawsuit, <sup>CA</sup> **Mr Troupis** (D19, RA), smacks of racism,” the justice Jill Karofsky said to Trump’s attorney early in his arguments.

“I do not know how you can come before this court and possibly ask for a <sup>CI</sup> **remedy** that is unheard of in US history ... It is not normal,” (D20, RRF; SG) she added.

One of Karofsky’s fellow judges in that <sup>CI</sup> **case,** where a decision is now awaited, (D21, NRRF;AG) pointed out that Trump also did not make such challenges when he won Wisconsin on his way to the White House in 2016.

Trump supporters protest the outcome of the election in front of the US supreme court on 12 December 2020 in Washington DC.

Trump and his allies have already suffered many dozens of defeats in Wisconsin and across the country in <sup>CI</sup> **lawsuits** that rely on unsubstantiated claims of widespread fraud and election abuse. (D22, RRF; SG)

Friday’s rejection of the Texas case by <sup>PI</sup> **the US supreme court,** which asked the bench to overturn Biden’s wins in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Georgia and Wisconsin, (D23, NRRF; SG) came despite Trump having nominated three of the nine justices, which has tilted the court dramatically to the right.

<sup>PI</sup> **The New York state (D24, RA)** <sup>CA</sup> **attorney general**<sup>D25</sup>, <sup>PA</sup> **Letitia James**<sup>D26</sup>, who was among the 23 <sup>CA</sup> **attorneys general** who asked the highest court to reject Texas’s lawsuit, (D25, NRA – PM- D26, NRRF; SG + D27, RRF; SG) said in a statement: “The supreme court has denied Texas’ <sup>CI</sup> **efforts** to invalidate the results of the 2020 election, (D28, RACNF) and Americans across the country can rest assured that the will of the people will be heard.”

James continued: “The court’s <sup>CI</sup> **decision** to throw out these ridiculous claims (D29, RACNF) ensures the integrity of our elections are protected and that elections cannot simply be overturned because we disagree with the results.”

James will be involved in the official confirmation of Trump’s loss in the 3 November election.

“On Monday, I and other members of the electoral college across the nation will fulfil our constitutional duty and take the final step to ensure that Joe Biden becomes the 46th president of the United States and that Kamala Harris becomes the 49th vice-president of the United States,” she said.

<sup>PA</sup> **Chris Sununu**, the Republican governor of New Hampshire, (D30, NRA) indicated that this should be the end of the road for Trump’s campaign to fight the result.

“What happened with the <sup>CI</sup> **supreme court**, that’s kind of it, where they’ve kind of exhausted all the legal challenges. (D31, NRRF; AG) We’ve got to move on,” he told CNN.

There is a very strong and previously unseen anti-Democratic <sup>CI</sup> **impulse** in the United States that can way too easily be activated (D32. RRF; SG)

*Michael Waldman*

He called for the Trump administration and the US Congress, instead, to address the coronavirus <sup>CI</sup> **crisis**, which has never been brought under control and has killed more than 3,300 people in the last 24 hours, and get the new vaccine delivered to the people. (D33, NRRF; SG)

The president’s dubious coat of arms at his Scottish golf courses, as the Atlantic magazine has pointed out, may sport the motto “*Numquam concedere*” – Latin for “never concede” – but the mantra increasingly conveys less a sense of indomitability than dangerous desperation.

<sup>PA</sup> **Michael Waldman**, the president of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University school of law and the author of The Fight to Vote, (D34, NRA) said: “The courts have been



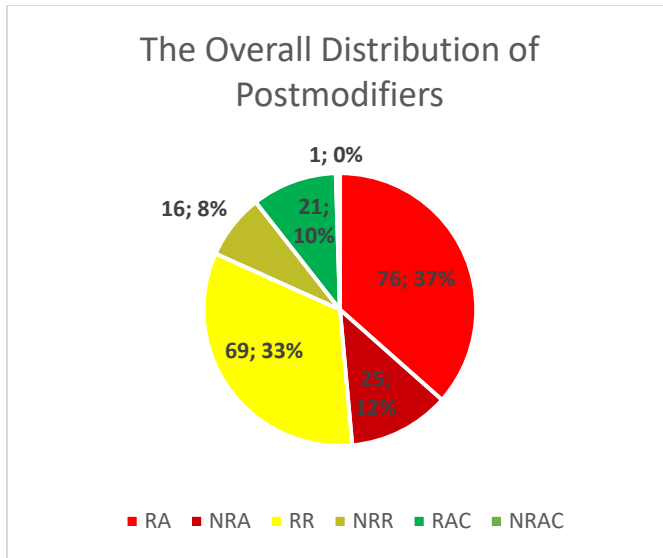
very, very clear in rejecting Trump's <sup>CI</sup>**efforts to undo the 2020 election (D35, RACNF)**... It's actually a rather striking unanimity of rulings.”

The litigation's implications were worrisome for American democracy, however.

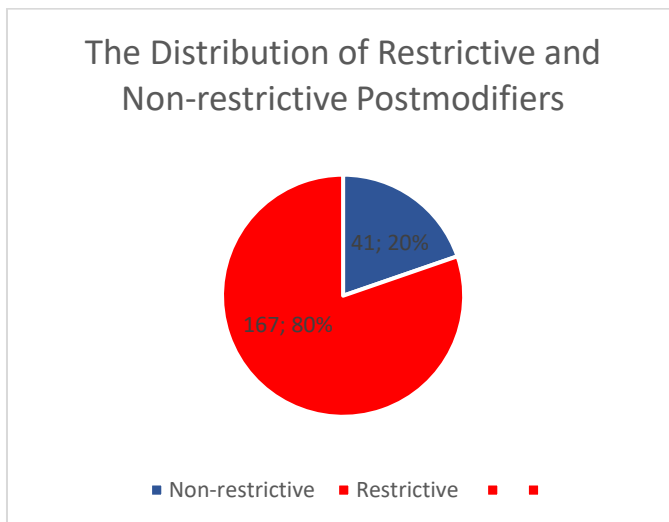
“Clearly, there is a very strong and previously unseen anti-Democratic <sup>CI</sup>**impulse** in the United States that can way too easily be activated, (D36, RRF; SG) and this is going to be a big fight for years,” he said.

He added: “It's just appalling what Trump and the Republicans have done.”

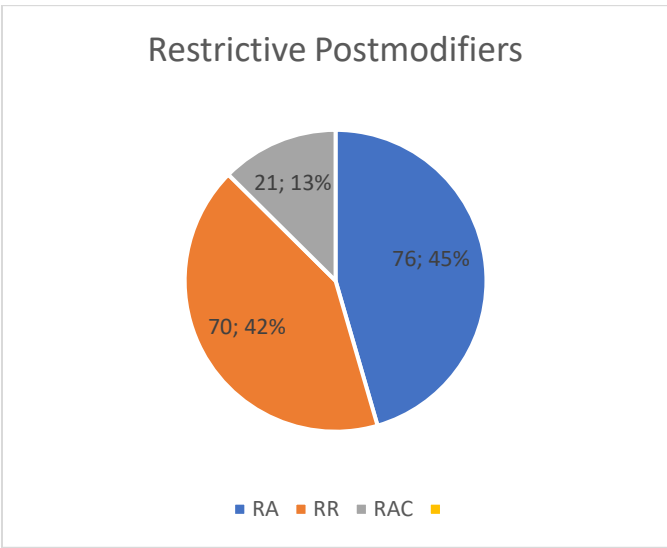
## Appendix 2. Quantitative Data



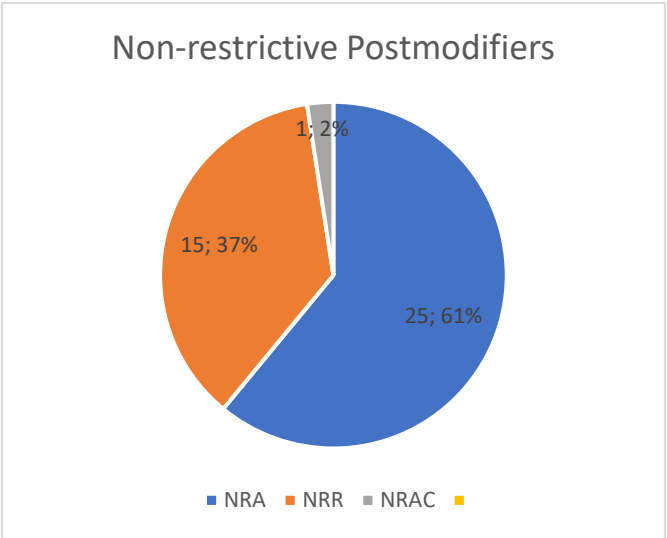
*Figure 1. The overall distribution of postmodifier*



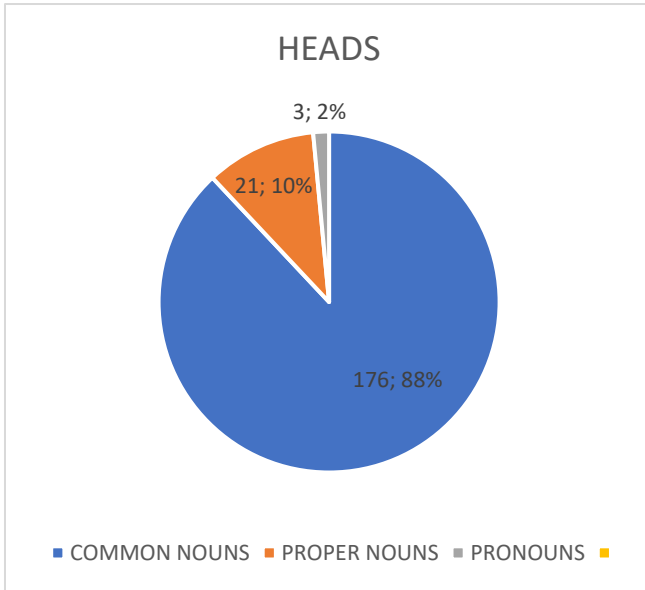
*Figure 2. Restrictive vs Non-restrictive*



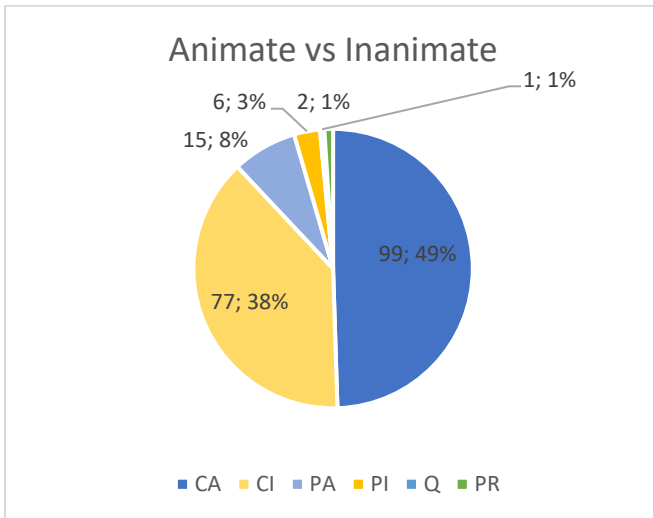
**Figure 3.** Restrictive postmodifiers



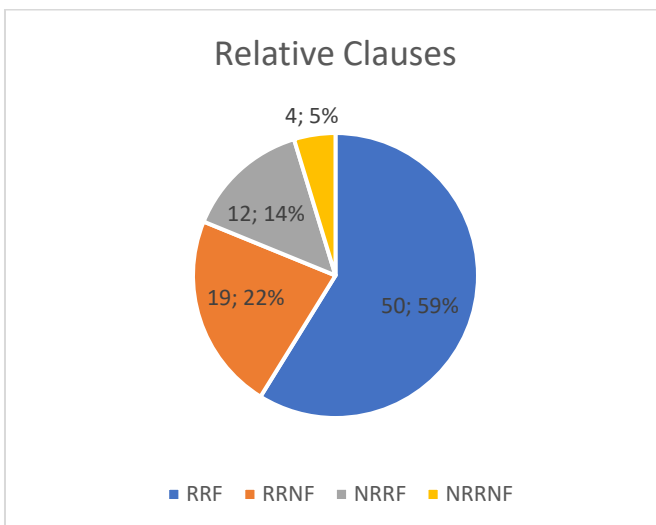
**Figure 4.** Non-restrictive postmodifiers



**Figure 5.** Types of heads



**Figure 6.** Animate vs Inanimate head nouns



**Figure 7.** Distribution of relative clauses

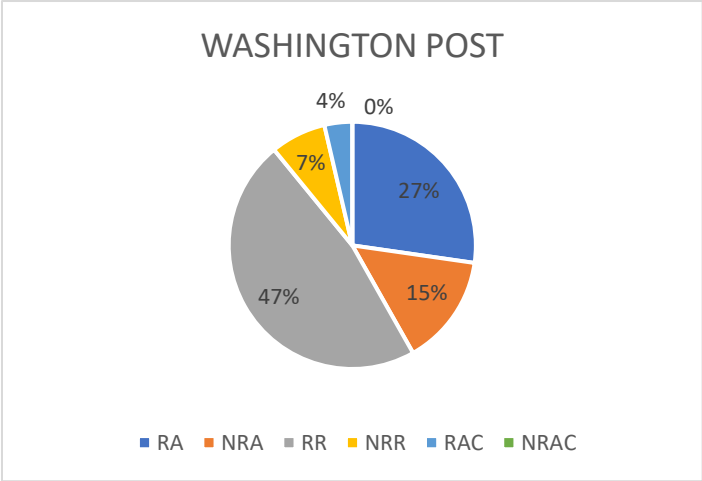


Figure 8. Distribution of postmodifiers in WP

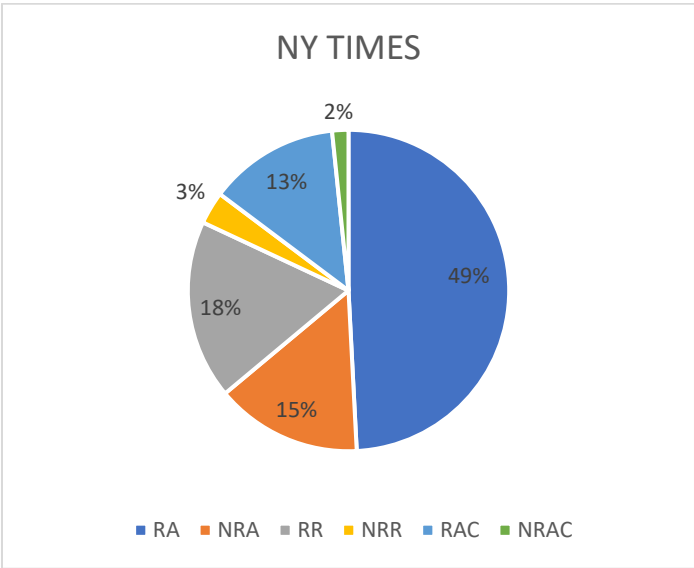


Figure 9. Distribution of postmodifiers in NYT

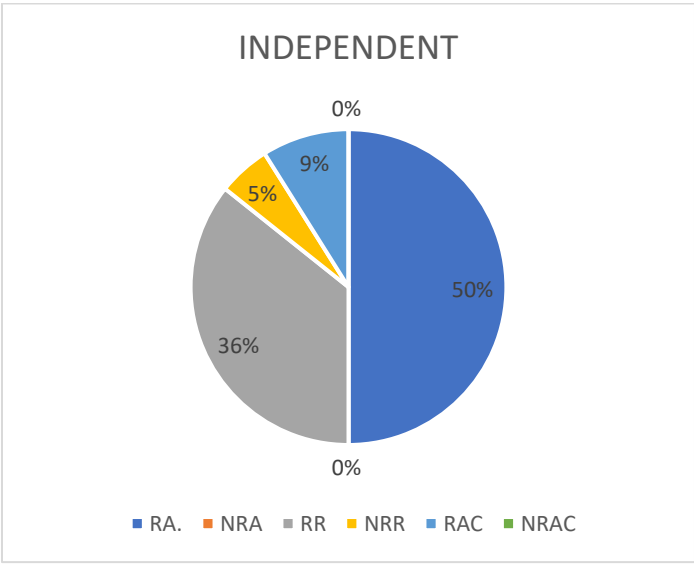
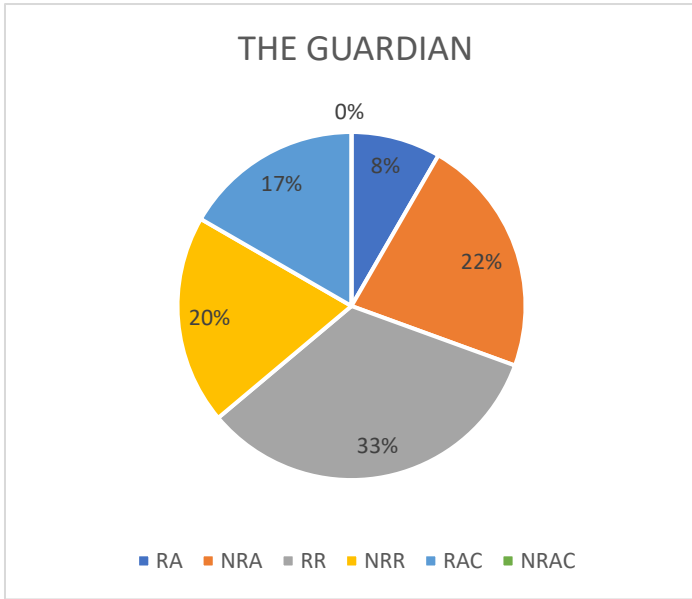
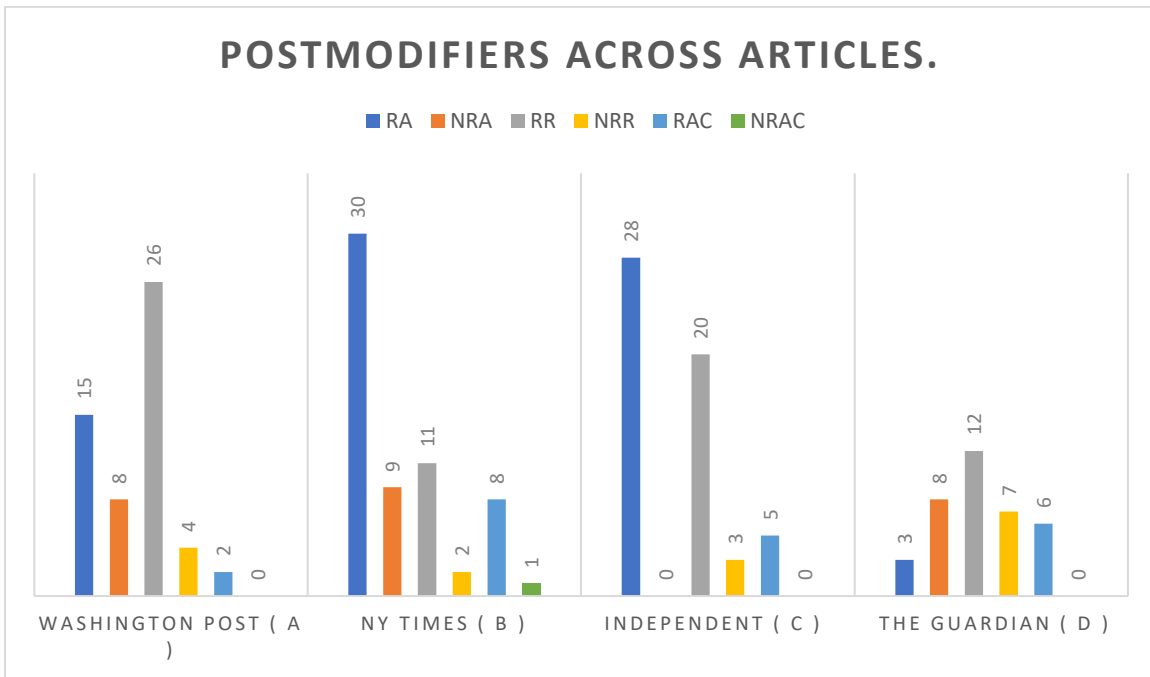


Figure 10. Distribution of postmodifiers in IN



**Figure 11.** Distribution of postmodifiers in TG



**Figure 12.** Postmodifiers across articles

|            |                 | FINITE    | NONFINITE | TOTAL (RATIO)   |
|------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| RELATIVE   | RESTRICTIVE     | 51        | 18        | 69 (64%)        |
|            | NON-RESTRICTIVE | 12        | 4         | 16 (15%)        |
|            | <b>TOTAL</b>    | <b>63</b> | <b>22</b> | <b>85 (79%)</b> |
| APPOSITIVE | RESTRICTIVE     | 8         | 13        | 21 (20%)        |
|            | NON-RESTRICTIVE | 1         | 0         | 1 (1%)          |
|            | <b>TOTAL</b>    | <b>9</b>  | <b>13</b> | <b>22 (21%)</b> |

*Table 1. Distribution of clausal postmodifiers.*

|      | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL (RATIO) |
|------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| WH   | 23          | 12              | 35 (57%)      |
| THAT | 22          | 0               | 22 (36%)      |
| BARE | 5           | 0               | 5 (7%)        |

*Table 2. The choice of relativizer*

|       | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL (RATIO) |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| THAT  | 23          | 0               | 23 (37%)      |
| WHO   | 15          | 2               | 17 (27%)      |
| WHICH | 4           | 8               | 12 (20%)      |
| ZERO  | 5           | 0               | 5 (8%)        |
| WHERE | 3           | 2               | 5 (8%)        |

*Table 3. Distribution of relativizers*

| GAP         | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL    |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|
| SUBJECT     | 53          | 10              | 63 (74%) |
| OBJECT      | 10          | 4               | 14 (17%) |
| ADVERBIAL   | 6           | 2               | 8 (%)    |
| PREP. COMP. | 0           | 0               | 0        |

*Table 4. Syntactic roles of gaps*

|                | RESTRICTIVE | NON-RESTRICTIVE | TOTAL (RATIO) |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| ING-participle | 12          | 2               | 14 (67%)      |
| ED- participle | 4           | 2               | 6 (24%)       |
| Infinitive     | 2           | 0               | 2 (9%)        |

*Table 5. Types of non-finite clauses*