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Pragmatic function of ellipsis in political interview

Abstract: Any interview reflects the general trend of economy and efficiency in terms of language use. It implies that language is a crucial tool at the disposal of the participants of interview. In this connection, political interview draws a special interest as it serves as an excellent platform that demonstrates how a balance between explicitness and implicitness could be found for successful social interaction. Since success is critical for both participants of political interview, they are eager to achieve it using all available linguistic devices. From this perspective, the role of ellipsis appears to be crucial because of its unique ability to provide minimum explicit linguistic devices and at the same time to deliver necessary message relying on extra-linguistic and linguistic contexts. Thus, the paper aims to explore the pragmatic functions of various elliptical constructions extensively used in political interview. The conversation analysis of these constructions suggests that the instances of their usages are motivated by both linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts.

Key words: ellipsis, political interview, participants, linguistic context, extra-linguistic context, implicitness

Theoretical framework, methodology and data

Ellipsis has been well studied from the different perspectives in syntax (Winkler, 2015; Yoshida et al., 2014), text linguistics (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), psycholinguistics (Frazier, 2019; Phillips & Parker, 2014) and in grammar/pragmatics interface (Lee, 2007). Despite these and much other research in the field, the theoretical debates on ellipsis such as the issues of abstract structure, recoverability, and licensing in the study of this unique phenomenon have drawn considerable attention in the recent years (Van Craenenbroeck & Temmerman, 2019). Meantime, in text linguistics and discourse analysis, ellipsis is considered primarily as one of the powerful tools to build grammatical cohesion in text and discourse (Enkvist, 1989; Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Further studies in this field suggest that

the role of ellipsis in discourses across types and genres (Bevitori, 2004; Kehler, 2019; Toner, 2017, 2020) is not only construal, as the researchers explore its various stylistic, pragmatic, and cognitive functions on usage-based methodology both in monologic and dialogic discourses. For example, Toner examines the role of ellipsis in literary discourse (2017) focusing on such issues as the correlation between the author's style and the use of ellipsis (2020). Meanwhile, dialogical discourses such as media interviews (O'Connell et al., 2012) draw a special interest as the ability of elliptical constructions to make any dialogue, talk or interview dynamic, non-redundant and both pragmatically and cognitively effective leads to its widespread use in this genre.

Thus, the paper aims to revisit this topic by focusing on the study of the pragmatic function of various elliptical constructions in political interview, which is one of the genres of media interview considered by Montgomery "as talk for overhearing audience" (2008, p. 260). Political interview is the best example of such talk with the diverse strategies and the stylistically and functionally rich language (Fetzer, 2006, 2007; Heyvaert et al., 2020; Johansson, 2006; Lauerbach, 2006). Political interviews, like other types of interviews, include two participants (identified as a host, who is a journalist and gives questions and as a guest, who is a politician and gives answers).

Both participants are actively involved (Kozubíková Šandová, 2015), which means that they are very dynamic and flexible. Dynamism and flexibility mean that the participants perform various strategies, from ignoring difficult questions to changing the topic and focusing on those issues which represent a special interest for them, giving questions instead of answers, using hedging or even simply using "yes," "no," "sure," or "so." (Gialabouki & Paulidou, 2019; Hutchby, 2020; Ponterotto, 2018). On the other hand, political interview is a unique social interaction between a journalist and a politician in front of the audience. The size of the audience has a strong correlation with the popularity of the participants, as well as with the main topic of the interview. Therefore, first of all, reputation is at stake for both participants. Yet, the interview is also an opportunity for both participants to realize their goals, even though they may be different. The host is a journalist whose priority is to demonstrate professionalism. At the same time, he/she also takes care of his/her popularity to attract more viewers. Popularity is even more important for the guest, a politician whose future political career depends on it. Sometimes one little mistake during the interview can have very serious consequences and certain linguistic devices can help the interview participants to avoid potentially risky situations. As political interviews represent an intensive exchange of views and ideologies (especially when journalists aim to scrutinise politicians), the participants make utmost efforts to use all possible tools, including linguistic devices to achieve their goals and objectives.

So, in this hybrid genre of political and media discourses (Fetzer, 2013), each of the participants may use political interview in his/her own interest and try to construct their own strategy. To realize this strategy, they must firstly deal with language and linguistic devices. Among these linguistic devices ellipsis plays a central role because of its unique feature: the lack of any explicit element and the existence of implied meaning or "meaning unexpressed" (van Craenenbroeck & Temmerman, 2019, p. 1). For any interview, including a political interview, it is crucial as the participants and guests try to use fewer words and to deliver more messages to the audience. The reason is to use the interview time

as effectively as possible and to demonstrate charisma. Therefore, ellipsis is one of the most common linguistic choices of the political interview participants, as it is an ideally suitable linguistic device, which can perfectly serve the above-mentioned interests of the participants in political interview.

Therefore, the central issue in this paper is to explore pragmatic function of ellipsis in political interview. In this connection, a method within the framework of Conversation Analysis can provide necessary tools to investigate political interview to reveal the pragmatic function of elliptical constructions, which are so common in this genre. Most of the researchers in the field (Clift, 2016; Heritage, 1998) focus on the role of meaning and context in Conversation Analysis. In her book on Conversation Analysis, Clift writes that “We examine some basic linguistic conceptions of the purpose of language, the often-indirect relationships between grammatical forms and functions, and the role that ‘meaning’ and ‘context’ have played in the investigation of language, within the domains of semantics and pragmatics” (2016, p. 1). This approach, which can be identified as a usage-based, will be dominating while we analyse political interview with due attention to the role of meaning and context in the study of ellipsis. On the other hand, as Clift suggests, the research in Conversation Analysis has been conducted mostly based on English. It is worthy to note that the usage-based analysis of any language including English shows that certain grammatical phenomena such as ellipsis could be typical for all languages despite the well-known morphological and syntactic features (the dominance of the analytical forms and relatively strict or fixed word order), which make ellipsis not so common in English in comparison with the languages of other types, such as synthetic (Latin, etc.) or agglutinative (Japanese, Turkic) languages with the relatively free word order. Ellipsis in these languages is a common phenomenon and, therefore, the instances of its usages do not draw as much attention as in English. Thus, the usage-based analysis of ellipsis can reveal new and very important features of this phenomenon which are not in line with the traditional structural approach. In this connection, political interview is an excellent platform for such an investigation of ellipsis.

Ten high-profile (in terms of participants and popularity of the programme) political interviews produced by the leading media outlets in English (BBC, CNN, ABC and Harvard Business Review) have been collected for Conversation Analysis to reveal the pragmatic function of various elliptical constructions. In contrast to the traditional sentence-based structural classification of ellipsis such as noun phrase ellipsis and verb phrase ellipsis, the paper considers the phenomenon of ellipsis in a broader context of discourse production, considering not only linguistic but also social and situational aspects.

There is no specific structural criterion for the selection of the corpus under analysis because basically all interviews have a similar structure, which includes formal questions and formal answers. The reason why the word “formal” has been used is that in some instances the host does not use an interrogative sentence rather a declarative sentence or the guest does not use a declarative sentence rather an interrogative sentence (Gialabouki & Pavlidou, 2019). Therefore, both participants are equally involved in the interview and their texts are equally dynamic. These texts are expected to complement each other not only structurally but also pragmatically.

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The role of extra-linguistic and linguistic contexts during the use of elliptical construction in political interview

Even though elliptical constructions are common both in questions and answers, the host tends to use them more frequently due to numerous reasons such as the assumption that not only the guest knows the context and the social and communicative situations and due to the general audience, whom ultimately this interview is produced for. In other words, the extra-linguistic context enables the host to be implicit based on background and shared knowledge as seen below:

BBC HARDtalk 19 November 2019

Stephen Sackur: Are you supporting (environmental campaign group) Extinction Rebellion?

Sir Ranulph Fiennes: I am totally supporting Rebellion.

(<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3csy98q>)

In this piece of the political interview from BBC HARDtalk, both the host (Stephen Sackur) and the guest (Sir Ranulph Fiennes, a British explorer) use the ellipsis *Extinction Rebellion* with the comment *environmental campaign group* added by the editor of the programme and *Rebellion* respectively based on their shared knowledge. The guest also uses ellipsis for the same reason as seen below:

(2) BBC HARDtalk 16 April 2020

Stephen Sackur: You are leading a big international effort to get the world community to do so much more in response to the coronavirus challenge. I wonder therefore how would you respond to the news that the US President Donald Trump has suspended America's funding of the World Health Organization?

Gordon Brown: I think. It is difficult. But I think we can overcome this. And I think we must not be discouraged.

(<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000hl05>)

In this piece of a political interview from BBC HARD talk between Stephen Sackur and former British Prime-Minister Gordon Brown, the guest uses two elliptical constructions (*But I think we can overcome this. And I think we must not be discouraged*) at the beginning of his answer based on the assumption that the audience understand what the reason for this decision was and what could be its consequences. The ellipsis helps him to introduce further his views how to act under this circumstance. The role of extra-linguistic context is also crucial in the following piece of political interview between CNN's Christiane Amanpour and Tom Frieden, Former Director of the (US) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention:

CNN Amanpour 27 February 2020

Amanpour: Here now to break it all down is Tom Frieden, former director of the CDC. Welcome to the program, Dr. Frieden.

Tom Frieden, former CDC director: Great to be with you.

Amanpour: So, can I just point out because, you know, everybody is talking about the president's response. Now, a president cannot stop, slow, accelerate, a virus or an epidemic. He has only so much that he can do and organize. What—how do you assess his response? Because he also doesn't want to create a massive panic. Where's the happy balance? The happy middle ground?

(<https://www.pbs.org/wnet/amanpour-and-company/video/jean-vaniers-biographer-reacts-news-abusive-behavior-ihqsgh-2/>)

The host (Amanpour) uses the elliptical construction *the president's response* in her question based on the assumption that her guest (Tom Frieden) and the audience do not need explicit introduction of this issue as it has already been extensively covered in the USA mass media. The use of the second elliptical construction (*The happy middle ground?*) relates to the nature of this genre. The interview participants frequently elide certain words, phrases or even sentences (in this case *Where's*) which seem redundant reflecting the general trend of economy in this genre of media discourse.

Such instances of the uses of ellipsis also raise the issue of acceptability and grammaticality of ellipsis from the point of view of syntax and semantics (Kertz, 2013). In this connection, the role of linguistic context should be taken into consideration, as the hosts usually start giving questions not with interrogative sentences but rather with declarative sentences as seen in the following examples from the interview between the host (Alison Beard) and the guest (Christiane Amanpour) in Harvard Business Review:

(4) Harvard Business Review, December 2012

Alison Beard: You've said that covering the war in Bosnia for CNN was a turning point in your career. Why?

Christiane Amanpour: That's where I really started my professional journey. The first time they sent me abroad I was based in Europe, and several months after that, Iraq invaded Kuwait. I was immediately sent to work on that story, even though I was very junior. With CNN being what CNN was in those days, it was all hands on deck, and I was very lucky that was the case because I learned my craft, my trade—whatever you want to call it—on the job. After the Gulf War, I turned to the next breaking story, which was the implosion that was going on in the former Yugoslavia, starting in the summer of 1991. The Bosnian War began 20 years ago in April. And it was a turning point for many reasons. First, my only war experience had been covering armies against armies in the desert. This time I was seeing a war against civilians, and so I had to adjust the way I looked at it, the way I covered it, the way I talked about it. I was questioned early on about my objectivity. And I was very upset about it because objectivity is our golden rule, and I take it very seriously. But I was forced to examine what objectivity actually means, and I realized that in a situation such as the one in Bosnia, where you had ethnic cleansing—genocide—you have a duty to call it like it is and to tell the truth. Objectivity, in that regard, means giving all sides a fair hearing but never drawing a false moral equivalence. So I called who were the aggressors and who were the

victims, and I'm very, very proud of that now, because that was what we had to do. I think we did the right thing as journalists and eventually managed to be part of the reason that the world intervened. We led and we forced leadership in our international sphere at the highest levels of the U.S. and European government. (<https://hbr.org/2012/05/christiane-amanpour>)

(5) Harvard Business Review, December 2012

Alison Beard: You recently decided to go back to reporting after spending 16 months as the anchor of *This Week* on ABC. Why?

Christiane Amanpour: Because there simply aren't enough people doing it. What I wanted to do when I took the helm of *This Week* was to find that important nexus between what happens overseas and how it affects America. And I was very proud of the international stories that I was able to cover during those 16 months. ABC owned the Arab Spring last year. But now I've decided that there are just not enough voices reporting on foreign affairs, and so that's what I'm doing again. I believe that Americans need to know about what's going on in the world. I don't believe in being professorial. I don't believe in showing their spinach down their throats. But I do know that you cannot be a strong democracy unless you have a citizenry that's fully vested, fully informed. (<https://hbr.org/2012/05/christiane-amanpour>)

In both examples, the whole sentences have been elided in the question *Why?* by the host (Alison Beard) due to the previous declarative sentences *You've said that covering the war in Bosnia for CNN was a turning point in your career* and *You recently decided to go back to reporting after spending 16 months as the anchor of This Week on ABC*. It shows the important role of the previous linguistic context which enables the use of elliptical constructions during an interview. The same is true for the answer as the guest (Christiane Amanpour) easily operates with the grammatical elements based on the linguistic context built by the host and by herself. In the example (5), the guest uses the conjunction *because* to give direct answer to the question *Why?* And then she builds her own linguistic context and, as a result, the demonstrative pronoun *that* is used to build the elliptical construction *that's*. The same is true in the following example from the same interview:

(6) Harvard Business Review, December 2012

Alison Beard: You've interviewed dozens of world leaders over the years. How do you define good leadership?

Christiane Amanpour: I believe that a good leader has to have the courage of his or her convictions. But leadership also means give-and-take, not going into negotiations with your ego in play. To give you an example, what made Nelson Mandela a great leader after he'd been in prison nearly 28 years? He was a great leader because he did not believe in a zero-sum game. He didn't believe that the other side had to be crushed in order for him to win. So, in his case, black majority rule was not meant to crush and cripple the white minority. To negotiate with then South African president F.W. de Klerk, he had to understand the whites. He had

to have empathy so they didn't think he was coming to walk all over them. I've talked to leaders in Israel and Palestine who say that in order to make the peace process work, you have to know the story of "the other," which isn't to say you accept everything about the other, but you understand that the other has a story too. With Iran and the United States right now this is the key challenge; both are locked in their knowledge of the other, but from 30 years ago. For the United States it's still the distrust that was created during the hostage crisis back in 1979, and for Iran it's the distrust that was generated in 1980 when Iraq used chemical weapons against Iran, and the United States sided with Iraq. And there's no dialogue. On both sides there's a complete absence of leadership on trying to come together and sort out this vital relationship. I once asked Christine Lagarde, the current head of the IMF, if she thought there was a difference between female and male leadership, and she said, "Yes, with men it's about their libido." And she meant testosterone, ego. She said that many, many times negotiations have been much more difficult or not happened at all because of this idea that winning means the other one has to lose, instead of trying to create a win-win situation.

(<https://hbr.org/2012/05/christiane-amanpour>)

The answer contains several elliptical constructions—*To give you an example, To negotiate with then South African president F.W. de Klerk, the other*—based on the linguistic context built by the guest. It is worthy to note that the guest builds a specific chain from the word *the other* repeating it four times between the phrase *the other side* and the phrase *the other one* focusing attention on this ellipsis as a very powerful connecting device in this discourse. Despite the use of the elliptical constructions, this answer reflects the guest's desire to deliver her message to the audience as explicit as possible. One of the reasons could be the topic (leadership), which is traditionally one of the most important in politics.

Sometimes the host uses just declarative sentence or sentences implying question based on the same mutually understandable and recognizable assumptions. It enables the guest to use elliptical constructions as seen in the following example from the same interview:

(7) Harvard Business Review, December 2012

Alison Beard: You're now working for two networks again.

Christiane Amanpour: Very difficult! Invigorating but in terms of time management I'm going to use all the skills of Houdini. That said, I'm proud of it. I was the first person in the United States to have a dual contract in 1996 when I was full-time at CNN and a contributor with 60 Minutes. I got to work for some of the greatest leaders in this business. Ted Turner defines being a leader—he's innovative, he's courageous, he's on the cutting edge, he's ahead of his time, he puts his money where his mouth is and presses ahead when everyone around him is saying no or doesn't believe in his dream or what he can achieve. At 60 Minutes, Don Hewitt, the executive producer, was one of the creators of television as we know it today. So I've been really fortunate. I've died and gone to journalism heaven to work with these leaders, and I know how lucky I am.

(<https://hbr.org/2012/05/christiane-amanpour>)

The host (Alison Beard) does not feel any necessity to add explicitness in terms of giving unnecessary question or questions to the guest as the declarative sentence *You're now working for two networks again* itself implies the supposed question about the difficulty of working in two places. This linguistic context built by the host enables the guest to use ellipsis. It is interesting that the first sentence *Very difficult!* of the answer produced by the guest is an ellipsis that explicitly refers to the supposed question *Is it difficult?* which is also an ellipsis.

This strategy is quite a common instrument used by the hosts during political interviews, especially when the guests are active politicians. By doing so, they are trying to introduce their own priorities or even agenda vis `a vis their guests. On the other hand, the guests try to focus on their own political agenda highlighting those issues which are central from their own perspective, trying to minimise the effect of the difficult issue raised by the hosts in the supposed to be question and sometimes pursuing more neutral attitude towards the question that does not represent any interest for their political agenda. Let us look at the following examples from the high-profile interview between ABC News Anchor David Muir and former US President Donald Trump:

(8) ABC News 5 May 2020

David Muir: I want to start with reopening the country. I know this is your first trip back out into the country—

President Donald Trump: Yes.

(<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/transcript-abc-news-anchor-david-muir-interviews-president/story?id=70523003>)

(9) David Muir: We are going to talk a lot about economy.

President Donald Trump: Sure.

(<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/transcript-abc-news-anchor-david-muir-interviews-president/story?id=70523003>)

The guest is not willing to focus on the issues such as reopening of the country and economy, therefore he uses the ellipsis *Yes* and *Sure* to realize his intention scaling down the risks related to the coronavirus pandemic. On the other hand, the guest becomes quite explicit if the topic is about an issue or issues which are very important for his political agenda as seen in the following example from the same high-profile interview:

(10) David Muir: So right now, for any American worker who's nervous about going back, if they want to get tested to see if they've been exposed to the virus, they can have access to both the antibody test—

President Trump: They should have no problem.

David Muir: and—

President Trump: They should have no problem. And as good as this is, we're even getting better. We came up—don't forget, the cupboard was bare. The other administration—the last administration left us nothing. We didn't have ventilators,

we didn't have medical equipment, we didn't have testing. The tests were broken. You saw that. We had broken tests. They left us nothing. And we've taken it and we have built an incredible stockpile—a stockpile like we've never had before. (<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/transcript-abc-news-anchor-david-muir-interviews-president/story?id=70523003>)

The question given by the host and the answer given by the guest complement each other in the way that the host tries to challenge his guest on the issues that draw considerable interest among the viewers on the one hand, and the guest tries to use all available linguistic (ellipsis, inversion, repetition, etc.) and non-linguistic (sudden interventions, etc.) devices to deliver his message to the audience on the other. It is interesting that both participants tend to use ellipsis as one of the most effective devices to reach these goals.

Conclusion

The reason why the participants of political interview use ellipsis so frequently is the reliance of both sides on the linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. Even though ellipsis implies empty place in sentence and in text during discourse production, this emptiness is meaningful. Otherwise, ellipsis cannot serve as one of the most powerful devices to build cohesion and coherence in discourse. In general terms, both explicit and implicit relations in discourse have strong correlation with the uses of certain linguistic (both literal and figurative) devices including elliptical constructions. Thus, ellipsis helps to define the proportion of explicit and implicit relations that is crucial in the pragmatics of any type or genre of discourse including political interview. The participants in political interview take this fact into account (either intuitively or intentionally) as their priority is obviously to use all available tools to be effective and successful communicators. What makes ellipsis so valuable for political interview is its ability to serve as an ideal device for the participants to realize their strategies.

Regardless of whether ellipsis is used intuitively or intentionally, normally this unique linguistic phenomenon is an integral part of interview. Like talk and dialogue, the structure of interview requires such constructions. Otherwise, the participants' texts would be too long and boring, which is not particularly suitable for dialogical discourse. Dialogical discourses are usually dynamical, and the participants are flexible thanks to certain linguistic devices and ellipsis is one of the most crucial among them.

It is worthy to note that in the interviews under analysis all questions contain ellipsis as the host uses the elliptical constructions to encourage the guest to be more explicit and detailed in his/her answer. By doing so, the guest can fill the gap intentionally produced by the host to make the interview more interesting and intriguing. The guest tends to use ellipsis mostly when he/she tries to build linguistic context, as the extra-linguistic context is not so reliable. The background knowledge of the potential audience can vary politically, socially, and culturally even within the same society. In addition, it should be taken into consideration that the topics during political interviews produced by the international media

outlets in English are usually globally important and therefore draw a considerable interest in the world. In contrast, the guest can also use ellipsis to minimize the effect of the challenging topics or questions.

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