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Ellipsis as a Means of Cohesion

Thesis

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Elipsa jako prostředek koheze

Diplomová práce

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pro:	**Tomáše Varhánka**
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Zásady pro vypracování:

Práce se bude zabývat funkcí elipsy v textech různých stylů především z hlediska jejího přínosu ke stupni koheze textu. Na základě studia odborné lingvistické literatury student vymezí jednotlivé typy elipsy, podrobně popíše omezení, která pro použití elipsy v angličtině existují a která vycházejí z podstaty systému anglického jazyka. Zvláštní pozornost bude věnována právě účelu používání elipsy.

Na autentickém textu zvoleného stylu bude diplomand demonstrovat nejfrekventovanější typy elipsy, bude analyzovat dopad konkrétních případů na vytvoření kohezního textu. Na základě této analýzy se bude snažit zobecnit tendence používání těchto prostředků koheze typické pro zvolený styl.

Vedoucí diplomové práce:	**PhDr. Šárka Ježková, Ph.D.**	**Podpis:**
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Souhlasím s prezenčním zpřístupněním své práce v Univerzitní knihovně Univerzity Pardubice.

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Tomáš Varhánek

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Abstract

The thesis named *Ellipsis as a Means of Cohesion* consists of two parts, the theoretical part and the analysis, each of them will be divided into several chapters.

At the beginning of the theoretical part, basic terms such as *cohesion* and *text* will be briefly characterized. Later the main topic of this thesis, *ellipsis*, will be introduced. The attention will be drawn to both the known types of ellipsis, *cohesive* and *incohesive*. Each of the types will be described together with the restrictions applied for them. Towards the end of this thesis, other types of ellipsis which are not cohesive, such as *elision* and *exophoric ellipsis,* will be mentioned in brief.

The task of the analysis will be to find out which type of ellipsis is preferred in a particular style of a text. For this purpose, two texts have been chosen, one of them a scientific text whereas the other one a conversational one. As a result, the ratio of cohesive and incohesive types of ellipsis in both the texts will be compared.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce nazvaná *Elipsa jako prostředek koheze* se skládá ze dvou částí, teoretické části a analýzy, z nichž každá bude rozdělena do několika kapitol.

Na začátku teoretické části budou stručně charakterizovány základní termíny jako *koheze* a *text*. Později bude představeno hlavní téma této diplomové práce, *elipsa*. Pozornost bude věnována oběma známým typům elipsy, *kohezní* i *nekohezní*. Každý typ bude představen zároveň s omezeními, která se k němu vztahují. Ke konci této diplomové práce budou stručně zmíněny další typy nekohezních elips jako jsou *elize* a *exoforická elipsa*.

Úkolem analýzy bude zjistit, který z typů elipsy je preferován v daném stylu. Pro tento účel byly vybrány dva texty, vědecký a konverzační. Jako výsledek bude porovnán poměr kohezních a nekohezních elips v obou typech textu.

Contents

Ellipsis as a Means of Cohesion

1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how often ellipsis is used as a means of contribution to cohesiveness of a text.

As concerns the structure of this thesis, it consists of two parts – the theoretical part and the analysis. Whenever any example is given, either in the theoretical part or in the analysis, the ellipted items that are not realized in a particular clause or sentence will be found within round brackets. This will be done even if the ellipted elements are not found in the original examples or if they are indicated in other ways than using round brackets.

At the beginning of the theoretical part, basic terms that are somehow connected to ellipsis will be explained. These involve especially *cohesion* and *text*. Nevertheless, as cohesion is closely connected to *coherence*, this will be briefly characterised too. However, the major part of the theoretical part will be dedicated to ellipsis. The reader of this thesis will be reminded of the fact that ellipsis in fact may be *cohesive* or *incohesive*, in other words, it may or may not contribute to cohesion of a text. Both the types of ellipsis will be commented on and thoroughly explained together with the restrictions that are applied to them. Moreover, other types of incohesive elliptical structures such as *elision* and *exophoric ellipsis* will be briefly characterized as they may be frequently encountered within different types of texts.

In the analysis, the occurrence of both cohesive and incohesive ellipsis will be investigated and compared. For this comparison two texts have been examined. The texts have been purposely chosen so that they would be of approximately the same length and of two different styles. From the analysis one should be able to state whether cohesive or incohesive ellipsis is preferred in a particular type of text and what the cause for the preference of any of the types might be.

2. General introduction to ellipsis

Ellipsis is one of the means of cohesion and its main feature is omission of words or phrases whose meanings can be understood or recovered from the context. Ellipsis is used both by speakers and writers and especially in speech it can be considered a marker of informality as Carter (2006: 902) observes.

Definitions of ellipsis are more or less the same, however, when it comes to its division, different attitudes towards it may be observed. A perfect example of this may be Halliday's point of view in which, unlike the majority of others, ellipsis is not investigated from the intra-sentence viewpoint but in terms of relations between sentences. Therefore this kind of ellipsis cannot be found between clauses but only between sentences and that is why this type of ellipsis is marked as cohesive. McCarthy's attitude towards ellipsis is the same as Halliday's but here the list of those treating ellipsis in terms of relation between sentences virtually ends.

The majority of works focus on ellipsis from the viewpoint of intra-sentence relations, it means that this ellipsis is found between clauses and as a consequence does not contribute to cohesion, in other words, is incohesive. Among the grammarians that have decided to examine this type of ellipsis belongs for example Quirk, who investigates ellipsis in more books, or the team of grammarians who participated in the creation of Longman Grammar book. Broughton also examines ellipsis mainly from the intra-sentence perspective.

As this thesis concerns ellipsis in connection with cohesion, Halliday's division of ellipsis may seem more appropriate. However, the other standpoint will be adapted as well and as a result, the ratio of cohesive and incohesive ellipses will be compared in the analytical part.

Thereby both the ellipsis taken from the intra-sentence perspective and in terms of relations between sentences will be described in the theoretical part of this thesis.

3. Cohesion

Cohesion is a part of the system of a language. It refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text. It is found where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. It may be said that cohesion is an essential part of a text as it is described as "a property of any successful text." (Taboada: 1) A text constitutes both spoken and written discourse and in Tárnyiková's view it is "a stretch of spoken or written language with a definable communicative function". (Tárnyiková 1993: 8)

The structure of cohesion may be described as follows. "Speakers relate their utterances to previous ones through the use of cohesive relations; a cohesive tie is established. Cohesive ties enter into cohesive chains, which run throughout a text, revealing how different parts of a text are related to each other." (Taboada: 1) Such ties are to be found between elements in the text and as a consequence we can talk about *endophoric reference* which consists of *anaphoric reference* (referring back) and *cataphoric reference* (referring forward). No such cohesive ties, according to Taboada, are to be found with the elements that have their referent outside the text, which would indicate *exophoric reference*. The lack of presence of cohesive ties with exophoric reference can be justified quite easily as a cohesive tie, according to Halliday, "is a semantic relation between an element in a text and some other element that is crucial to the interpretation of it" (Halliday 1976: 8). It is obvious from the quotation that cohesive ties concern only endophoric reference because exophoric reference does not have anything in common with the elements in a text.

When analysing cohesive ties further, we can find out that they differ not only in the type of reference used, but also in the distance of their components. Here Taboada distinguishes three types of distances:

> The relation might be immediate (the cohesive element refers to an immediately preceding one), remote (the referent is more than one clause away) or it can be mediated, where the ultimate referent is a few clauses earlier in the preceding discourse, but it has been recaptured in some other element. (Taboada: 2)

One of such cohesive ties is ellipsis. However, it is quite a special kind of a tie as it "can be thought of as a 'zero' tie because the tie is not actually said". (Hatch 1992:

225) Ellipsis will be dealt with in the following chapters, now the interrelation between cohesion and grammatical structure will be looked at.

3.1. Cohesion and grammatical structure

As is suggested by Dušková (1999: 302), the role of cohesion may be compared to the function of grammatical structure in a sentence or clause. According to Dušková, grammatical structure operates on a lower level; its task is to characterize a stretch of language as a sentence or clause, whereas the purpose of cohesion is to link the sentences together in order to make a cohesive text. Thus it might be said that cohesion and grammatical structure are actually interdependent. However, as Dušková warns, there is one quite an important difference between grammatical structure and cohesion and it is that "grammatical structure within a sentence or clause is obligatory, whereas the use of grammatical cohesive ties is largely optional." (Dušková 1999: 302) Dušková is right, it is not necessary to have grammatical means of cohesion within the sentences to make the text cohesive. In other words, the absence of grammatical cohesive ties still does not make the text incohesive. This is because grammatical cohesion is not the only type of textual cohesion as will be clarified in the following chapter.

3.2. Types of textual cohesion

Generally said, textual cohesion can be divided into two groups. We distinguish between *grammatical* and *lexical cohesion*. According to a very interesting research done by Maite Taboada, lexical cohesion is much more preferred by English language speakers. (70.48% of the links were lexical.) In this research, Taboada compares 30 conversations in English and 30 conversations in Spanish from the perspective of application of various means of textual cohesion. More specifically, it was the repetition of the same item that was used most frequently. On the other hand, ellipsis and substitution were the last two types in the order of frequency. Dušková also found out that lexical ties were much more common in the samples she observed. She investigated that "whereas lexical ties were found almost in every sentence, their average frequency of occurrence amounting to 3-4 per sentence, grammatical ties occur mostly singly and only in some of the sentences". (Dušková 1999: 313) But it should be highlighted that Taboada's research concerned spoken utterances from which it is obvious that speakers do not prefer ellipsis as well as substitution. In Taboada's view, it may be "that they

both (ellipsis and substitution) place a heavy burden on the speaker's minds. It takes extra effort to resolve elliptical references." (Taboada: 5) On the other hand, Dušková in her study has a different opinion towards using ellipsis in conversation. In fact, she claims the opposite in comparison with Taboada. Dušková (1999: 313) has examined the density of grammatical and lexical means of cohesion in psychological samples and art reviews written both in Czech and English. In these samples she has not found many examples of grammatical cohesion in comparison with lexical means of cohesion. In Dušková's opinion, it might have been because of the style she had investigated. She suggests that "ellipsis, as well as the means of grammatical cohesion included under substitution, would appear to be characteristic of other functional styles, than those investigated in the present study, presumably of conversational dialogue". (Dušková 1999: 315) From what has been written, it follows that Taboada and Dušková virtually deny each other, the former by claiming that ellipsis might be avoided a lot by speakers whereas the latter by claiming that ellipsis might be characteristic of conversational dialogue. This will be thoroughly investigated in the analysis of this thesis for a conversational text is one of the texts that are going to be analysed. But in advance, it may be assumed that the apparent difference in Taboada's and Dušková's claims might be caused by the difference of ellipsis within spoken and written utterances, regardless being in the same, conversational style.

Now the types of textual cohesion will be described more in details.

3.2.1. Grammatical cohesion

As has already been mentioned, textual cohesion virtually consists of two types, *grammatical* and *lexical*. The former one is going to be looked at now.

In McCarthy' words, grammatical cohesion is "the surface marking of semantic links between clauses and sentences in written discourse, and between utterances and turns in speech." (McCarthy 1996: 34)

Grammatical cohesion can be expressed by substitution, conjuncts and conjunctions, grammatical categories (the same tense, voice or aspect in a piece of text), reference, such as pronouns, articles or auxiliaries, and by ellipsis. In Halliday's opinion, conjunction, however, is not purely to be defined as a part of grammatical cohesion, he defines it as "mainly grammatical, but with a lexical component in it"

(Halliday 1976: 6) with which Dušková agrees by her claim that a sentence conjunction "at any rate represents a transitional area between grammar and lexis". (Dušková 1999: 303)

3.2.2. Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion is expressed by various kinds of reiteration (or repetition) of lexical items. In spite of the fact that lexical cohesion is not the matter of this thesis, several sentences should be dedicated to it as it is a very important device of textual cohesion. Looking deeper, it was investigated that lexical repetition is far most frequently used cohesive device in written academic texts that were examined. Moreover, it was found out that lexical repetition is favoured with non-native speakers because it "might be a strategy that is readily available to intermediate level students of English since lexical items can simply be repeated and a substitute does not have to be produced". (Weasenforth: 4) Nevertheless, despite of its popularity and profusion, lexical cohesion is not the matter of this thesis and hence will not be investigated any further.

Although differing a lot, there is one important aspect both grammatical and lexical cohesion share. They both "enable a string of sentences in sequence to be read as a semantically cohesive text". (Carter 2006: 242) It is the text that benefits from the presence of both the types of cohesion. In other words, it could be said that a comprehensive text is a product of cohesion. In situations when cohesion would not be applied, we would have a sequence of random sentences that would be incohesive and would not stick together. The word *text* that is closely connected to cohesion is worth mentioning in the following chapter.

3.3. Cohesion and text

Talking about cohesion within both written and spoken utterances, the attention should be drawn to a text. Tárnyiková says that a text is very closely connected with cohesion, either lexical or grammatical. She notes that "cohesion is primarily associated with the surface structure of the text. The meaning of the word is 'to stick together' and cohesion is usually defined as the formal linkage between the elements of a text". (Tárnyiková 1993: 9) The relation between text and cohesion is obvious, however, when it comes to the word *text* itself, a lot of grammarians seem to have problems

defining it and their definitions may consequently differ a lot. The difficulty in stating what the term *text* actually means is obvious from the following definition by Tárnyiková who warns that:

> A text is above all a multidimensional unit and as such is not liable to a simple unifying definition. The sum of parameters used to define text differs from linguist to linguist so that the list of definitions could be very long. (Tárnyiková 1993: 8)

Various definitions thus can be found in different books. Halliday defines the term *text* in the following words: "The word *text* is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole." (Halliday 1976: 1) Nash describes the tem *text* in these words: "The unit of language consisting of more than one sentence which is recognised as a unified whole". (Nash: 3) No matter what definition is chosen, they both agree on the fact that *text* is something that forms a unified whole. This means that it should stick together and create something that generally makes sense. The fact that a text is cohesive means that "the sentences and spoken utterances are semantically linked and consistent". (Carter 2006: 242) If a text comprises of unconnected sentences or spoken utterances, it will probably not be cohesive and that is why either the readers or listeners would not be able to identify the links, or cohesive ties, between the sentences. In order to make the text function as a unified whole, cohesive structures should be used. As mentioned above, one may choose between grammatical and lexical cohesion. Because of the fact that this thesis focuses on ellipsis and its contribution with regard to cohesion, other means of grammatical cohesion as well as all the means of lexical cohesion will be avoided. However, with regard to some grammarians' explanations, ellipsis will be sometimes compared to substitution as some grammarians use these two means of grammatical cohesion together as could be verified in the following chapters.

3.4. Cohesion and coherence

Nevertheless, before ellipsis is going to be described in details, one more term that has a lot in common with the comprehensibility of a text is going to be mentioned. This term is *coherence*. Unlike cohesion which involves lexical and grammatical properties, coherence operates with semantic and pragmatic meanings. As Carter (2006: 242) suggests, a text can be considered coherent if it makes sense in its real-world

context to readers/listeners. It is then up to the reader or listener whether they are able to interpret the message in relation to its context. In the following set of sentences (Carter 2006: 243), both cohesion and coherence can be identified:

[example 1] *I went to the dentist. I was nervous. I don't like injections*.

As far as cohesion is concerned, this can be identified thanks to the usage of the same lexical pronoun and parallel sequence of past tenses thus grammatical cohesion may be easily recognized.

As concerns coherence, we may say that the text coheres because of our knowledge that we all share when talking about going to the dentist. Therefore words *dentist, nervous* and *injections* may be identified as being linked coherently through semantic associations made by the reader.

But let us now describe in details the most important part of this thesis, *ellipsis*.

4. Ellipsis

As has been mentioned before, ellipsis is one of the means of grammatical cohesion. It is often contrasted with substitution, which is another means of grammatical cohesion. But whereas substitution is in fact the replacement of one item by another, ellipsis is the omission of an item.

4.1. Other types of omission

It should be pointed out that ellipsis is not the only kind of omission in language. As Quirk (2000: 883) notes, there are other types of omission that can be identified in the English language. Among the most noticeable belongs so-called *aphaeresis*, which is a type of phonological loss of a syllable in the word *because* that, in case that aphaeresis is applied, would be spelt as *'cos*. This also concerns word formation, *clipping* in concrete, which, to some extent, is also a kind of omission. Words such as *fridge* or *flu* are examples of clipping where *refrigerator*, respectively *influenza* are their original forms. There exists also a possibility of semantic omission in English in which it is, unlike ellipsis as will be elaborated later, difficult to state what words have been omitted. But unlike all the kinds of omission described above, ellipsis is the only that can be marked as *grammatical omission* as Quirk (2000: 883) highlights.

The intention of the sentences above was to illustrate that there exist other means of omission in the English language, however, these will not be dealt with any deeper and the focus will be laid only upon the most common type of grammatical omission, ellipsis, which is going to be defined in the following paragraph.

4.2. Definition of ellipsis

The definition of ellipsis is virtually agreed on by all the grammarians, terms such as *omission of elements* and *context* appear in all the definitions that one may come across. For evidence, let us now have a look at some of the definitions. "Ellipsis is the omission of elements normally required by the grammar which the speaker/writer assumes are obvious from the context and therefore need not be raised". (McCarthy 1996: 43) Another definition is by Biber. "Ellipsis is the omission of elements which are precisely recoverable from the linguistic or situational context." (Biber 1999: 156) As concerns McCarthy's definition, this could be perceived as more precise because it

indicates that ellipsis does not concern only written utterances but also spoken language. Both the grammarians agree on the fact that it must be obvious which part has been ellipted and that ellipsis is dependent on the context. This is supported by Quirk (2000: 884) who names several criteria that are necessary when one wants to apply ellipsis. One criterion is that the ellipted words are precisely recoverable, which Quirk deeper describes in the following words: "This means that in a context where no ambiguity of reference arises, there is no doubt as to what words are to be supplied". (Quirk 2000: 884) Other criteria will be mentioned later when the focus is laid on cohesive ellipsis, in other words, on ellipsis from the intra-sentence perspective.

For better understanding of what ellipsis means, a suitable explanation is provided by Davie who in her work compares ellipsis to the inside surface of the stone walls of a castle. For a visitor of the castle such holes are visible and the visitor may infer that there used to be a stone on that spot before. Davie later suggests that not all the visitors are able to identify what used to be there instead of the hole, it means that sometimes there is a need for a guide (a skilled grammarian or teacher) who would be able to explain what exactly has been ellipted. "Readers recognize ellipses in text when they notice that ideas have been implied or invoked but not stated, and they notice ellipses in their own knowledge when they are unable to fill the ellipses in the text." (Davie: 4) This especially concerns ellipsis of information or meaning where background knowledge of subject matters more than a language and such knowledge may vary among the readers. The visitors should not need, as Davie suggests, a guide in case of sentence-level ellipsis which is "relatively easy to spot." (Davie: 4) However, when the usage of sentence-level ellipsis is taken into account, it may be hard for non-native speakers as will be mentioned later.

4.3. Ellipsis and substitution

Ellipsis and substitution are sometimes thought of as being the same process. "Ellipsis can be interpreted as that form of substitution in which the item is replaced by nothing." (Halliday 1976: 88) Thus ellipsis may be referred to as *substitution by zero*, it means that something is left unsaid but still understood thanks to the context. Dušková in her study also tries to compare substitution with ellipsis, saying that they represent the same process with the note of "ellipsis differing from substitution in the zero form

of the substitutes." (Dušková 1999: 304) It is evident that Dušková virtually agrees with Halliday's claim, which means that according to Dušková and Halliday, ellipsis could be considered to some extent a subgroup of substitution. This is supported by Taboada who approves of what both the grammarians have mentioned above as in her view "substitution and ellipsis are closely related, since ellipsis is substitution by zero." (Taboada: 5) On the other hand, Tárnyiková (1993: 62) includes ellipsis into one of the means of deletion and does not compare ellipsis to substitution. She treats ellipsis as if it were an autonomous item, having nothing in common with substitution.

When comparing frequency of ellipsis and substitution from Taboada's research mentioned above, it was investigated that neither ellipsis nor substitution were the preferred types of cohesion. Despite this fact, it can still be noted that ellipsis was used up to four times more frequently than substitution. It follows from this that when speakers are to choose between ellipsis and substitution, they tend to use ellipsis as Taboada notices. "Speakers prefer to leave something unsaid (ellipsis) than to use a substitute term for it". (Taboada: 5)

The next chapter will describe how the formality of a language changes when ellipsis is not used and it will also briefly mention whether learners of English experience problems when using ellipsis.

4.4. Ellipsis and formality

Ellipsis is something speakers of all languages are used to as is apparent from McCarthy's note in which he highlights that "ellipsis as a notion is probably a universal feature of languages". (McCarthy 1996: 43) However, what can be left out varies from language to language. Thus learners of English may have difficulty stating when to use ellipsis properly in the English language:

> In their own speaking and writing learners may avoid ellipsis (and substitution), using more repetition than necessary. This usually doesn't lead to misunderstanding, but it can make the increased effort involved in listening or reading tedious, and can give an impression of excessive formality, particularly in speaking. (Parrott 2000: 318)

Crystal (2004: 198) adds that when ellipsis is not applied, such utterances are considered boring and repetitions are perceived as unnecessary.

Nevertheless, those individuals who are not sure of their ability to use ellipsis correctly, should not be forced into using it. It is much better to sound rather formal than to use ellipsis inappropriately. Biber assures the reader that not applying ellipsis does not make the utterance look or sound incorrectly. "The elements within angle brackets (ellipted elements) which were not part of the original text can be added without changing the meaning of the clause and without producing an ungrammatical structure. These are the hallmarks of ellipsis". (Biber 1999: 156). As a result, the learners of English should not be afraid that when not using ellipsis, they will inevitably make grammatical mistakes.

The reason why some learners may have problems applying ellipsis to English may stem from their tendency to stick to their mother tongues when applying ellipsis to English. Instead of the risk of making mistakes, the learners may avoid using ellipsis which leads to a higher level of formality as has been mentioned before. McCarthy notices that even the most gifted learners of a foreign language have a tendency to avoid using ellipsis. He asserts that:

> Ellipsis not only creates difficulties in learning what structural omissions are permissible, but also does not seem to be readily used even by proficient learners in situations where native speakers naturally resort to it. (McCarthy 1996: 44)

On the other hand, those learners who already use ellipsis naturally are assured and encouraged by Broughton who states that "there is nothing sloppy or inferior about omitting items in the appropriate places". (Broughton 1990: 105)

After ellipsis has been defined, it is time to have a look at particular types of ellipsis. The attention at the beginning of this thesis was drawn to the two different attitudes towards the division ellipsis. The attitude from the standpoint of relations between sentences will be investigated first. This standpoint focuses on the cohesive types of ellipsis.

5. Cohesive ellipsis

This is the kind of ellipsis that is investigated by Halliday. He divides ellipsis into three sections – he distinguishes between *nominal, verbal and clausal ellipses*. The reason for doing so is that Halliday (1976: 146) decides to ignore intra-sentence presupposition and focuses on ellipsis in terms of relations between sentences. He justifies having decided so by the claim that between sentences there are no structural relations and that is why the study of cohesion becomes important. Thus in Halliday's book, unlike books written for example by Quirk, there are hardly any traces of ellipsis within the sentence. The reason for ignoring ellipsis within sentence is the following:

> It can be explained in terms of sentence structure and does not constitute an independent agency of cohesion in the text. What we are interested in is ellipsis as a form of relation between sentences, where it is an aspect of the essential texture. The relevance of ellipsis in the present context is its role in grammatical cohesion. (Halliday 1976: 146)

Halliday defines ellipsis as one of the means of presupposition, with reference and substitution being the other means of *presupposition* which is defined as:

> A device for identifying something by referring it to something that is already there – known to, or at least recoverable by the hearer. Since this 'something' that is presupposed may be an element in a preceding sentence, these devices have a cohesive effect; they contribute very largely to cohesion within the text. (Halliday 1976: 144)

In the preceding quotation, ellipsis, substitution and reference were dealt with together. These three were marked to be forms of *presupposition*. However, they may be distinguished when being focused closer on because reference is a presupposition at the semantic level, whereas ellipsis together with substitution (Halliday includes ellipsis as a special case of substitution) are presuppositions at the level of words and structures. Therefore in the following quotation the term *substitution* includes both substitution and ellipsis:

> Unlike reference, substitution is essentially a textual relation; it exists primarily as an anaphoric (or occasionally cataphoric) device, and in its rare exophoric use it tends to give an effect of 'putting the words in the other person's mouth'. (Halliday 1976: 145)

Halliday (1976: 146) provides one example for each reference, substitution and ellipsis.

[example 2] *This is a fine hall you have here. I'm proud to be lecturing in it.*

[example 3] *This is a fine hall you have here. I've never lectured in a finer one.*

[example 4] *This is a fine hall you have here. I've never lectured in a finer (hall).*

Two is an example of reference where *it* could be replaced by some expression containing the word *hall*. Three is an example of substitution where *one* substitutes the word *hall*. And finally four is an example of ellipsis (nominal ellipsis in this case) as in the second clause the word *hall* has been ellipted and thanks to the first clause the reader should not have any problems understanding the sentence.

5.1. Nominal ellipsis

Nominal ellipsis is the first type of ellipsis Halliday distinguishes. By this term he refers to ellipsis within the nominal group, often of a noun headword, the function of which in nominal ellipsis is taken over by elements originally functioning as determiners or other premodifiers.

Proper nouns are not affected by nominal ellipsis as they "designate individuals, and are therefore not capable of further specification". (Halliday 1976: 147) Moreover, Halliday decides not to discuss personal pronouns at all as they are reference items. Proper nouns and pronouns are not related to ellipsis as they do not take defining modifiers whose function will be explained later. Hence it is the common nouns that are the subject to nominal ellipsis. (Halliday 1976: 147) The reason for common nouns being the subject to nominal ellipsis is that they, unlike proper nouns, designate classes and that they may often be further specified which in fact indicates the function of the elements Deictic, Numerative, Epithet and Classifier. Accordingly, "under certain circumstances the common noun may be omitted and the function of the Head taken on by one of these other elements. This is what is meant by nominal ellipsis". (Halliday 1976: 147) To understand what the terms mentioned above mean, an explanation is needed. The Deictic is normally a determiner, the Numerative a numeral or other quantifier, the Epithet an adjective and the Classifier a noun.

If the common noun is ellipted, the nominal group loses its Head and another of the elements mentioned above has to take its function. From the four instruments it is very frequently a Deictic or Numerative that can take the function of a Head. An Epithet is much less frequent and a Classifier is very rare. The elliptical structure in general is

according to Halliday (1976: 148) any nominal group functioning as Head which would normally function within the Modifier. In other words, nominal ellipsis "involves the upgrading of a word functioning as Deictic, Numerative, Epithet or Classifier from the status of Modifier to the status of Head". (Halliday 1976: 148) This can be illustrated in the following examples offered by Halliday. (1976: 148+161)

[example 5] *Have another chocolate. – No thanks; that was my third (chocolate).* – N normally functioning as M, is upgraded to function as H

[example 6] *Which last longer, the curved rods or the straight rods? – The straight (rods) are less likely to break.* – E upgraded to the function of H

From the above examples, both *my third* and *the straight* are elliptical nominal groups. One of the features of an elliptical nominal group is that it requires the availability of information necessary for filling it out. Thus it is always possible to replace an elliptical nominal group by its full, non-elliptical equivalent (found in the round brackets). In this way, the presupposed items are restored. Another feature of an elliptical nominal group is its cohesiveness. This is done thanks to anaphora through which the elliptical nominal group points to another nominal group.

McCarthy (1996: 43) adds that speakers of the Romance or Germanic languages are also familiarized with nominal ellipsis and as a consequence should not experience great difficulties with it.

5.2. Verbal ellipsis

Verbal ellipsis is the second type of ellipsis that Halliday adopts. It concerns ellipsis within the verbal group. According to Halliday, verbal ellipsis is "characteristic of all texts, spoken and written, and provides an extremely subtle and flexible means of creating varied and intricate discourse". (Halliday 1976: 194) McCarthy, however, fears that, in comparison with nominal ellipsis, verbal ellipsis may cause greater problems to the speakers of the Romance and Germanic languages mentioned above. He pounces that variants of verbal ellipsis "are not directly translatable to other languages and will have to be learnt". (McCarthy 1996: 44)

Similarly to a nominal group, an elliptical verbal group presupposes one or more words from a previous verbal group, again with the help of anaphora. From a technical point of view, an elliptical verbal group can be characterized as not having fully

expressed its systematic features. These features have to be recovered by presupposition. In comparison to nominal ellipsis, there is only one lexical element (the verb itself) as is suggested by Halliday. (1976: 167) The whole of the rest of the verbal group expresses systematic selections which must be made whenever a verbal group is used. An elliptical verbal group carries over certain systemic selections from the group it presupposes. These systemic selections, in Halliday's (1976: 167) perspective, are: (1) finiteness – whether finite or non-finite => if finite – indicative or imperative => if indicative – modal or non-modal, (2) polarity – whether positive or negative and marked or unmarked, (3) voice – whether active or passive and (4) tense – whether past or present or future. These features cannot be stated from the elliptical group as not all of them are realized in the elliptical verbal group and as such they have to be recovered thanks to the verbal group that is presupposed. On the other hand, "a verbal group whose structure fully represents all its systematic features is not elliptical". (Halliday 1976: 167) The presupposition of the systematic features will be demonstrated later, in example 14.

Halliday is not the only one who recognizes verbal ellipsis. McCarthy (1996: 43) in his work also mentions verbal ellipsis and with the help of Thomas, introduces two most common types of verbal ellipsis. These are *echoing ellipsis* and *auxiliary contrasting ellipsis*. Concerning the former, it is an element from the verbal group that is repeated, as in the following example by McCarthy (1996: 43).

[example 7] *Will anyone be waiting? – Jim will (be waiting), I should think. –* here it is the auxiliary verb *will* that is preserved from the first sentence.

Concerning the latter type, *auxiliary contrasting ellipsis*, as is evident from its name, it will include instances when the auxiliary verb in the ellipted sentence differs from the first sentence. It can very easily be seen in the next example by McCarthy (1996: 44)

[example 8] *Has she married? – No, but she will (marry) one day. I'm sure. –* here the auxiliary verb *has* has been replaced by another auxiliary verb, in our case, by *will*

It has already been mentioned that verbal ellipsis might cause troubles for non native learners, especially in comparison with nominal ellipsis. One of the reasons for this may be that there are varying degrees of ellipsis possible within the same verbal

group, which might to some extent confuse the learner trying to apply the ellipsis. The variety of verbal ellipsis when there are more permissible possibilities can be seen in these McCarthy's (1996: 44) examples. However, one should remember that whatever variant is chosen, the first auxiliary has to be stressed based on Swan's (2001: 178) information. For better imagination, the stressed words will be capitalized in examples nine, ten and eleven.

[example 9] *Should anyone have been told? – John SHOULD.*

[example 10] *Should anyone have been told? – John SHOULD have.*

[example 11] *Should anyone have been told? – John SHOULD have been.*

It should be noted, however, that unlike McCarthy and Thomas, Halliday (1976: 170+174) uses another division of verbal ellipsis. He does not mention echoing and auxiliary contrasting ellipsis. Verbal ellipsis according to him is divided into *lexical ellipsis* and *operator ellipsis*. These two types of verbal ellipsis are going to be analysed further. It will also become evident that as far as verbal ellipsis is concerned, more elements may be ellipted as "any phrasal expansion of V can undergo Ellipsis under appropriate discourse conditions, so that a V and all its complements, with or without its Adjuncts can be ellipted". (Radford 1988: 236)

As concerns the analysis, when encountering verbal ellipsis, Halliday's division will be preferred to McCarthy's.

5.2.1. Lexical ellipsis

Taking into account lexical ellipsis, this is a kind of ellipsis which refers to omission of lexical verbs. Identifying lexical ellipsis should not cause great difficulties as "any verbal group not containing a lexical verb is elliptical". (Halliday 1976: 170) That is why the following example (Halliday 1976: 170) definitely includes lexical ellipsis.

[example 12] *Is John going to come – He might (come). He was to (come), but he may not (come). He should (come), if he wants his name to be considered. –might, was to, may not* and *should* are all elliptical as neither of them is followed by at least one lexical verb (in this case they could logically be followed by the lexical verb *come*) so that the verbal group could be filled out. It follows from this that none of the modal

operators has a lexical verb in them and consequently they may be characterized as elliptical

From what has been written above, it arises that "any verbal group consisting of a modal operator only can immediately be recognized as elliptical". (Halliday 1976: 170)

One may also encounter another term for lexical ellipsis, *ellipsis from the right* (Halliday 1976: 173) as lexical verbs that are affected by this kind of ellipsis are the last words within a verbal group. It should be highlighted here that it does not necessarily have to be only the lexical verb that is ellipted, preceding elements may be omitted as well in lexical ellipsis, and the only element that has to be retained is the initial operator. To demonstrate this, examples nine, ten and eleven provided above may be used. From them one may notice that they concern lexical ellipsis and differ in the amount of what has been ellipted. Halliday (1976: 174) advices that the 'outer' forms are preferred and that is why it is the examples nine and eleven that are more convenient than example ten. But what all the examples have in common is the presence of the verb *should*, which is the evidence that the initial operator is retained in all the example sentences.

A very good and commonly used example of lexical ellipsis is *question tags*. Halliday defines them as to have "maximum lexical ellipsis and presuppose all the features of the relevant verbal group". (Halliday 1976: 174)

[example 13] *Mary didn't know, did she (know)?*

5.2.2. Operator ellipsis

Operator ellipsis is defined to be "characteristic of responses which are closely tied to a preceding question or statement, and which have the specific function of supplying, confirming, or repudiating a lexical verb". (Halliday 1976: 178) Logically, as opposed to the previous type of verbal ellipsis, another term for this type of ellipsis is *ellipsis from the left*. Operator ellipsis concerns only the omission of operators, it does not apply to lexical verbs. Normally, all words (subject included) except the last (lexical verb) are omitted. In the elliptical verbal group, grammatical features are not realized and have to be supplied from the sentence that is presupposed. This is demonstrated in the following example. (Halliday 1976: 175)

[example 14] *Has she been crying? – No, (she has been) laughing.* – it is only the lexical verb that is restored in the second sentence and there is also no finite element to be found in the elliptical group – finiteness, polarity and tense thus have to be presupposed.

Another feature of operator ellipsis is the absence of the subject which therefore must be presupposed from the previous utterance. This is also obvious from example 14. Except the absence of the subject and operators, one more aspect makes operator ellipsis easy to recognize. This is, in Halliday's (1976: 175) words, the absence of any finite elements in the elliptical group.

5.3. Clausal ellipsis

Clausal ellipsis involves omission of those elements that simply are not covered either by nominal or by verbal ellipsis, the most common elements affected by clausal ellipsis mentioned by Halliday (1976: 197) are adjuncts and complements.

Clausal ellipsis can be divided into *modal* and *propositional ellipsis*. The reason for this division is in Halliday's (1976: 197) opinion the fact that an English clause may be actually divided into two parts, these are modal and propositional. The former consists of a subject and operator, however, it is worth mentioning that the operator does not necessarily have to be present. The latter, propositional part, includes a lexical verb and its complements and adjuncts.

Clausal ellipsis occurs in so-called *clause complexes* that can be recognized when at least two clauses are directly related in structure. Then an elliptical clause of whatever type may presuppose any clause in a complex. (Halliday 1976: 222) With respect to this fact, clausal ellipsis may be spotted in answers, especially to direct (yes/no questions, wh-questions) questions. Here, however, it is often combined with verbal ellipsis, in fact, Halliday (1976: 199-201) names only several situations where clausal ellipsis can be identified on its own and these are quite rare as opposed to the common occurrence with verbal ellipsis. The co-occurrence of verbal and clausal ellipsis can be encountered in omission of the modal element that may include operator ellipsis or clausal and verbal ellipsis may occur mutually when the ellipted propositional element includes lexical ellipsis. (Halliday 1976: 197)

The following three examples contain clausal ellipsis. In 15 (Halliday 1976: 197) clausal ellipsis (subject omission) is combined with operator ellipsis, in 16 (Halliday 1976: 198) one may see clausal ellipsis (complement and adjunct omission) with lexical ellipsis. Finally, 17 (Halliday 1976: 201) is an example of clausal ellipsis (in the propositional part) on its own, which is quite a rare phenomenon, not to mention that it cannot be unambiguously stated whether it is still an example of clausal ellipsis or of substitution. Nevertheless, despite the uncertainty, when similar examples are found in the analysis, they will be treated as clausal ellipsis.

[example 15] *What was the Duke going to do? – (The Duke was going to) plant a row of poplars in the park.*

[example 16] *Who was going to plant a row of poplars in the park? – The Duke was (going to plant a row of poplars in the park).*

[example 17] *Is he suspicious? – Yes, he is (suspicious).*

From all three kinds of cohesive ellipsis it is evident that they occur usually in answers to questions therefore one may presume that their occurrence will be higher in the conversational text, which is in fact a dialogue, than in the scientific (monologue) one. This does not concern incohesive ellipsis that will probably be encountered more often than cohesive ellipsis as it is not dependent on the question-answer pattern and as such may occur much more frequently. Incohesive ellipsis will be examined in the following paragraphs.

6. Incohesive ellipsis

Unlike Halliday and McCarthy, other works focus on ellipsis that occurs within the sentence, between individual clauses; it is perceived from the intra-sentence perspective. Halliday warns that this kind of ellipsis cannot be considered to have an influence on cohesion. This concerns for example operator ellipsis within a sentence that, in Halliday's opinion, "does not contribute to cohesion". (Halliday 1976: 174) This is because for Halliday "cohesion depends upon lexical and grammatical relationships that allow sentence sequences to be understood as connected discourse rather than as autonomous sentences". (Witte: 1) Therefore he is not interested in cohesive ties within the sentence but in those occurring across sentence boundaries because these "allow sequences of sentences to be understood as a text". (Witte: 1). And being cohesive is one of the features of a text.

Nevertheless, although not contributing to cohesion, intra-sentence ellipsis will be investigated here and later in the analysis compared to Halliday's cohesive ellipsis and from this it will be possible to state whether ellipsis is used mainly cohesively or incohesively.

The following chapter will present the criteria under which incohesive ellipsis may be used.

6.1. Criteria for using ellipsis

Quirk (2000: 884) states several criteria under which ellipsis may be used. The first criterion, *precise recoverability* of all the ellipted items, has already been discussed in the chapter *definition of ellipsis*. Now briefly the other criteria will be discussed so that ellipsis would become more characterized. The second criterion is *grammatical defectiveness* of the elliptical structure, which means that it should be evident for the reader to notice that some words have been ellipted and the function of ellipsis is "to explain why some normally obligatory element of a grammatical sentence is lacking". (Quirk 2000: 885) The third criterion suggests that after the missing words have been inserted, we get a grammatical sentence meaning the same as the original sentence containing some ellipted elements. The last two criteria listed by Quirk (2000: 887) are interdependent. One of them requires the missing word(s) to be textually recoverable whereas the second says that the missing word(s) are present in the text in exactly the

same form. The latter criterion is dependent on the former. Despite naming all the criteria that are necessary for ellipsis, Quirk (2000: 888) admits that not always are all the criteria applicable. It depends on the degree of strictness in the interpretation of ellipsis. Simply said, the stricter the form of ellipsis is, the more criteria it will meet. According to how many criteria have been met, Quirk (2000: 888) distinguishes different types of ellipsis from *strict ellipsis* (meets all the criteria) to *semantic implication*, which is the endpoint of the ellipsis gradient. Having taken all the criteria in the account and considering the wide range of ellipsis it is obvious that "the boundaries of ellipsis cannot be easily defined, we shall use the term quite generally for grammatical reduction through omission". (Quirk 2000: 889)

6.2. Positional categories of ellipsis

Basically, there are three positions in which ellipsis may occur as Quirk (1990: 256) notices. According to a particular position ellipsis may be called *initial*, *medial* or *final*.

In initial ellipsis, it is the initial elements that are ellipted. As this position often concerns ellipsis with no textual cohesion, the term *initial ellipsis* is sometimes also used as a synonym to elision which will be defined at the end of the theoretical part.

[example 18] *(I) hope he's there.* – the initial element ellipted, this sentence is an example of *elision*. (Quirk 1990: 256)

Medial elements are ellipted in medial ellipsis. (Quirk 1990: 256)

[example 19] *Jill owns a Volvo and Fred (owns) a BMW.* – predicate as the medial element in coordinated sentences ellipted

The final elements are ellipted in final ellipsis. (Quirk 1990: 256)

[example 20] *I know that we haven't yet set the record straight, but we will (set the record straight).*

Quirk (2000) goes deeper in investigating medial ellipsis. He compares medial ellipsis to "structural illusion which results from looking at too large a constituent in the sentence". (Quirk 2000: 893) Rather than using the term *medial ellipsis*, Quirk (2000: 893) suggests that in majority of cases, it is a case of either initial or final ellipsis. But it depends on the user if they incline to use the term *medial ellipsis* or not. Biber notices

the same as Quirk when he marks medial ellipsis as a less-frequent phenomenon. (Biber 1999: 1104)

6.3. Types of incohesive ellipsis

Concerning types of ellipsis, Quirk (1990: 256) applies three terms, *textual ellipsis, structural ellipsis* and *situational ellipsis*.

6.3.1. Textual ellipsis

Textual ellipsis is closely connected to cohesion as the context is needed in order to identify what has been ellipted. According to Biber, textual ellipsis is defined as "omission of elements which are recoverable from the linguistic context." (Biber 1999: 156) Unlike omitting words known from the situation or shared knowledge, textual ellipsis is in Broughton's opinion "the only true kind of ellipsis, the strong form". (Broughton 1990: 103)

It may be said then that the interpretation of textual ellipsis is dependent on what has been said or written in the linguistic context. With respect to the position of the ellipsis and its antecedent, Quirk (1990: 257) divides textual ellipsis into *anaphoric ellipsis* and *cataphoric ellipsis*. In the former, the interpretation depends on what comes before, as it is illustrated in the following example. (Swan 2001: 182)

[example 21] *She was poor but (she was) honest.*

On the contrary, in the latter the interpretation depends on what comes after. Cataphoric ellipsis is, in Broughton's view, less common and he also warns that it "makes the sentence less easy to read". (Broughton 1990: 104)

[example 22] *Those who prefer (to stay indoors), can stay indoors.* (Quirk 1990: 257)

Textual ellipsis is closely connected with the missing elements in sentences that have at least two clauses. This condition has to be kept, otherwise it would not be possible to apply incohesive ellipsis if a particular sentence consisted of only one clause (when phrases are not taken into consideration). Textual ellipsis will be divided into different parts according to which elements have been ellipted. Therefore one may distinguish ellipsis of subject, auxiliary, predicate, etc. These all will be briefly characterized in the following chapters, however, at first the distinction between *simple* and *complex ellipsis* should be clarified.

6.3.1.1. Simple and complex ellipsis

When concentrating on textual ellipsis and on the elements that have been omitted from particular clauses of a sentence, one may distinguish between simple and complex ellipsis. The criterion for this division is very simple. It merely depends on the fact whether the ellipted elements are to be found only in one of the clauses or in two or more clauses. *Simple ellipsis* may be considered when the ellipsis occurs in only one of the conjoined clauses whereas *complex ellipsis* involves items that are ellipted both anaphorically and cataphorically in the same sentence as Quirk (1984: 570) notices.

[example 23] *I'll gladly pay for the hotel, if you will (pay) for the food.* (Quirk 2000: 907)

[example 24] *John can (pass the examination), and Bob certainly will, pass the examination.* (Quirk 1984: 571)

[example 25] *My brother is using the car this morning and (my brother) will be (using the car) this afternoon.* (Quirk 1984: 571)

[example 26] *Bob is (unhappy), and (Bob) always will be unhappy.* (Quirk 1984: 571)

Examples 23, 24 and 25 are all instances of simple ellipsis, however, they differ a bit. In 23 simple ellipsis occurs in the second clause, therefore it is used anaphorically whereas in 24 cataphoric simple ellipsis, which is not so common, may be identified. In 25 ellipsis occurs in the second clause and that is why it can be identified as a case of anaphoric ellipsis again. However, what makes example 25 different from its antecedents is that the ellipted items in the second clause do not occur at one point just like in examples 23 and 24, but in two points. Nevertheless, this does not mean that it is not the case of simple ellipsis as all the ellipted items can be identified within the same clause.

On the other hand, example 26 is a case of complex ellipsis with the omitted items found in both the clauses. In the first clause, subject complement is ellipted cataphorically and realized in the second clause. On the other hand, subject realized in the first clause is omitted anaphorically in the second one. Therefore it may be noticed that whenever complex ellipsis is applied both the anaphoric and cataphoric references can be identified.

6.3.2. Textual ellipsis with the focus on the ellipted elements

Having made the difference between simple and complex ellipsis in the previous chapter, the focus may be laid now on particular elements that are ellipted in one or more clauses.

6.3.2.1. Ellipsis of subject

There are some conditions that have to be kept when one wants to apply ellipsis of subject.

It is possible to omit the subject in coordinated clauses on condition that the subject is identical within the clauses as one may see in the following example by Broughton (1990: 108).

[example 27] *The curtains were heavy and (the curtains) shut out the light.*

The subject can be also omitted together with the auxiliary supposing that the auxiliary is identical in all the clauses as demonstrated below. (Quirk 2000: 911)

[example 28] *Margaret is selling her bicycle and (Margaret is) buying a car.* – one auxiliary ellipted

The number of auxiliaries is not that important. What really matters is that both the subject and auxiliaries are identical. If that is the case, even more auxiliaries can be ellipted. (Quirk 1984: 575)

[example 29] *Peter must have broken in and (Peter must have) stolen the papers.* – two auxiliaries ellipted

When the sentence consists of more than two clauses, ellipsis may not be the most convenient thing to do. When there are three or more coordinated clauses, pro-form is thought to be more convenient than ellipsis of subject as Quirk (1984: 574) warns.

[example 30] *Mary has washed the dishes, she has dried them, and she has put them in the cupboard.*

[example 31] *Mary has washed the dishes, (Mary) has dried them and (Mary) has put them in the cupboard.* – less common

However, the most natural in this case would be ellipsis of both subject and auxiliaries as Quirk (1984: 574) suggests – on condition that the auxiliaries are the same.

[example 32] *Mary has washed the dished, (Mary has) dried them, and (Mary has) put them in the cupboard.*

Unlike coordinate clauses, ellipsis of subject alone or of subject with auxiliaries is in subordinate clauses not generally allowed. (Quirk 1984: 575)

[example 33] * *John told Alice that loved her.* – incorrect

Broughton (1990: 109) notes that ellipsis in subordination is generally less common. The reason for this, in his view, is the difference of information or grammatical items between subordinate and main clauses. Nevertheless, there are cases when we can ellipt the subject together with the auxiliary. There are quite restrictive rules for this, though. One instance where this is possible is when the auxiliary is the verb *be*. In that case, both subject and auxiliary in the subordinate clause may be omitted. The important thing is that both the elements have to be omitted together, not alone as Quirk (1984: 575) warns. Ellipsis of subject alone does not occur in subordinate clauses.

[example 34] *Jack was looking well although (Jack was) working hard.* (Quirk 1984: 576)

Be need not appear in the superordinate clause, as it is evident from the second example provided by Broughton. (1990: 109)

[example 35] *She proceeded to give illustrations, until (she was) checked by Evelyn.*

From all the instances provided in this chapter, one may notice that ellipsis of subject can be identified quite often, especially in coordinate clauses. But it is worth reminding that the subjects of individual clauses have to be identical, otherwise ellipsis of subject cannot be used. Sometimes ellipsis of auxiliary may be added on condition that the auxiliaries are again identical in individual clauses.

6.3.2.2. Ellipsis of auxiliary

Ellipsis of auxiliary is possible but only in case that certain conditions are kept. In Quirk's (1984: 577) view, the realized items must be present in the first clause, if only the auxiliary is to be ellipted. In the previous chapter, it has been explained that under some circumstances both the subject and auxiliary (or auxiliaries) may be ellipted

together. In case we are interested solely in the ellipsis of the auxiliary itself, the rules are much stricter though.

It is impossible to ellipt only the auxiliary if the subject of individual clauses is identical, or possibly co-referential. In this case, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, either both the auxiliary and the subject or nothing can be ellipted in the second clause. More cases where ellipsis of auxiliary may be found will be provided in the following chapter.

These four examples offer various possibilities that can be applied to the same sentence. (Quirk 1984: 577)

[example 36] *Peter will be taking the course and Peter will be passing the examination.* – nothing ellipted, identical subject and auxiliaries

[example 37] *Peter will be taking the course and he will be passing the examination.* – nothing ellipted, identical auxiliaries and co-referential subjects

[example 38] *Peter will be taking the course and (Peter) will be passing the examination.* – subject ellipted, identical auxiliaries remained

[example 39] *Peter will be taking the course and (Peter) (will be) passing the examination.* – both subject and auxiliaries ellipted

All the examples mentioned above are grammatically correct. Some of them may seem more formal and less common, this concerns especially examples 36 and 37, and some may be chosen by the majority of English native speakers as they sound more natural, this concerns examples 38 and 39.

The conditions described above considerably change when the subject of clauses are not identical. If this is the case only the auxiliary may be ellipted as Quirk (1984: 577) specifies.

 [example 40] *John will be playing the guitar and Mary (will be) preparing the supper.* – ellipsis of identical auxiliaries, different subjects retained

Ellipsis of auxiliaries may also frequently be spotted in comparative clauses, which "mirror the structure of a preceding clause". (Biber 1999: 156)

[example 41] *She looks older than my mother (does).*

From this and the previous chapter it is obvious that ellipsis of auxiliary is often dependent on the subject of individual clauses. Sometimes one can ellipt only the auxiliary, sometimes the subject has to be ellipted as well if one intends to ellipt the

auxiliary. The same concerns ellipsis of subject which can be sometimes directly influenced by the auxiliaries used within particular clauses. However, it should be noted that neither in ellipsis of subject nor in ellipsis of auxiliary it is possible to carry out the process of ellipsis within the first clause.

6.3.2.3. Ellipsis of predicate

It is the anaphoric ellipsis again that may be noticed when omitting the predicate including the lexical verb. It follows from this that the first clause remains unchanged whereas ellipsis can be spotted in subsequent clauses. As Greenbaum (2002: 125) notes, ellipsis of predicate often occurs in coordinated clauses.

[example 42] *The adults ate chicken, the teenagers (ate) hamburgers, and the youngest children (ate) pizza.*

Lexical verb may be omitted together with the auxiliary when these are identical as can be spotted in the following Tárnyiková's (1993: 64) example.

[example 43] *I was reading a detective story and Peter (was reading) a novel.*

Dušková (1994) reminds that "expressed and elliptted forms do not have to be identical". (Dušková 1994: 422, my translation)

 [example 44] *I have done little, but John (has done) even less.*

Ellipsis of predicate may also be combined with omitting subject complement (Swan 2001: 175) or object (Swan 2001: 175)

[example 45] *The food (is ready) and the drinks are ready.* – ellipsis of predicate together with subject complement, cataphoric ellipsis applied here

[example 46] *Phil (washed the dishes) and Sally washed the dishes.* – ellipsis of predicate together with object, cataphoric ellipsis applied here

Ellipsis of predicate together with either subject complement (Quirk 1984: 579) or object (Greenbaum 2002: 125) may both be found together with ellipsis of subject, however, this is quite rare with the latter.

[example 47] *It's cold in December in England, but (it's cold) in July in New Zealand.* – ellipsis of predicate and subject complement combined with ellipsis of subject

[example 48] *Last year we spent our holiday in Spain, the year before (we spent our holiday) in Greece.* – ellipsis of predicate and object combined with ellipsis of subject – quite rare

Concerning active and passive voice, Dušková (1994: 423) warns that it is not possible to apply ellipsis between them.

[example 49] *He saw no one and was seen by no one.* – no ellipsis of predicate possible here, only ellipsis of subject applied

6.3.2.4. Ellipsis of direct object

To be able to apply ellipsis of direct object one condition has to be followed. This is the necessity to have the realized items retained in the last clause as Quirk (1984: reminds). Thus it can be said that ellipsis of direct object has a cataphoric reference.

[example 50] *Mary washed (the shirts), Jane ironed (the shirts), and Alice folded the shirts.* (Quirk 1984: 586)

We may encounter complex ellipsis if the different subjects from example 50 are changed into one identical subject.

[example 51] *Mary washed (the shirts), (Mary) ironed (the shirts), and (Mary) folded the shirts.* (Quirk 1984: 586)

6.3.2.5. Ellipsis of subject complement

It is the verb in the last clause that is crucial for ellipsis of subject complement. When the verb in the last clause is other than *be*, the realized items must be in the last clause and therefore cataphoric reference is identified. (Quirk 1984: 586)

[example 52] *George was (angry) and Bob certainly seemed angry*.

When the verb in the last clause is *be* one may choose whether to have the realized items within the first or last clause, in other words, whether to have anaphoric or cataphoric reference. (Quirk 1984: 586)

[example 53] *Bob seemed angry, and George certainly was (angry).*

[example 54] *Bob seemed (angry), and George certainly was angry.*

Similarly as with ellipsis of direct object, also with ellipsis of subject complement complex ellipsis may be seen when the subject is identical in both the clauses. (Quirk 1984: 586)

[example 55] *John felt (hungry), and (John) was hungry.*

6.3.2.6. Ellipsis of adverbial

Ellipsis of adverbial is quite a broad topic as a lot of elements can be included under the term adverbial. These may be various *conjuncts*, *disjuncts* and *adjuncts*. But despite the number of all the kinds of adverbials, ellipsis of adverbial is not very frequent. This is because "the scope of the adverbial is extended to subsequent clauses than to say that it is ellipted". (Quirk 1984: 586) This concerns especially the initial position of the adverbial as it is in the following example (Quirk 1984: 587).

[example 56] *Unfortunately, John is not at home and Sally is too busy to see you.* – the disjunct *unfortunately* is not considered to be ellipted here as it more seems to apply to a combination of the circumstances described in the two clauses rather than separately to each circumstance

Nevertheless, what has been written so far does not mean that there are not any cases of ellipsis of adverbial. Though not very common, it can be identified in some cases. Swan (2001: 175) introduces the following example in which ellipsis used cataphorically may be observed.

[example 57] *We drove (across America), rode (across America), flew (across America) and walked across America.* – ellipsis of subject is also realized here

Ellipsis of adverbial can sometimes occur when the adverbial is process adjunct and is realized at the end-position. Then the adjunct applies to both the clauses as Quirk (1984: 589) notices.

[example 58] *Mary spoke (rudely) and John answered rudely.*

All the above mentioned types of ellipsis may be found quite frequently and they may be even combined within one sentence. However, it should be said that they are not the only types of incohesive textual ellipsis. Other types can be found and will be also identified in the analysis. These may include ellipses of: preposition, article, prepositional phrase, conjunction, determiner, noun or adjective.

6.3.3. Structural ellipsis

As Crystal (2004: 199) mentions, structural ellipsis is a special type of ellipsis where the knowledge of grammar is required so that the full form of the sentence can be found. For instance, omission of the conjunction *that* is a case of structural ellipsis.

[example 59] *I believe (that) you are mistaken*.

Other elements that can be ellipted in structural ellipsis may be determiners, pronouns operators and other closed-class words. However, Quirk (1990: 257) warns that structural ellipsis usually occurs in block language, which concerns for example headlines or book titles, and in written varieties in a similar style, for instance lecture notes and telegrams. Taking all the occurrences of structural ellipsis into account, one may deduce that is a device of economy where items of little informational value are omitted as it has been done in the following example. (Quirk 1990: 257)

[example 60] *(The) US (is) heading for (a) new slump.* – ellipsis of the determiners and copula *be* – typical for journalistic headlines.

It should be mentioned that situational and structural ellipsis are sometimes quite close to each other and Quirk (199) hence warns that "there is no clear divining line between structural ellipsis and some instances of situational ellipsis, where the structure alone would yield the interpretation". (Quirk 1990: 257)

6.3.4. Situational ellipsis (elision)

Situational ellipsis is another type of an ellipted structure. It is sometimes called *elision* (Tárnyiková 1993: 69) and refers to a kind of deletion frequently used in speech, mainly informal where "unstressed words are often dropped at the beginning of a sentence if the meaning is clear". (Swan 2001: 173) Unlike ellipsis which is contextually bound, elision does not depend on a presence of an antecedent as Huddleston (2002: 1540) observes.

As elision usually concerns the first part of the sentence, it is sometimes called *initial ellipsis*. (for example in Biber 1999: 1104) As has already been pointed out, the term *initial ellipsis* is sometimes used just to mark the position of the ellipsis and as a consequence one may misunderstand in what way this term is used.

In the grammar book by Biber, situational (initial) ellipsis is defined as "the dropping of words with contextually low information value, when these begin at the

beginning of a turn, a clause, or (occasionally) a non-clausal unit." (Biber 1999: 1104). Quirk (2000) also uses the term *situational ellipsis* and agrees that "the interpretation may depend on knowledge of precise extralinguistic context". (Quirk 2000: 895) It is evident that situational ellipsis, as well as exophoric ellipsis that will be explained later, is dependent on the situation and not on the textual relations. Therefore situational ellipsis cannot be considered to contribute towards cohesion of the text.

The following two examples (Huddleston 2002: 1541) are instances of elision.

[example 61] *(I am) glad you think so.*

[example 62] *(It is) strange how the ants come in when it's about to rain.*

The two examples above imply typical features of elision. One of the features is the deletion of the subject together with the verb. In the examples the verb *be* has been deleted, however, this verb is not the only one to be affected by elision. Another verb may be the verb *have* as can be verified in the following Swan's (2001: 173) example.

[example 63] *(Have you) seen Lucy?*

Another feature of the above examples is their impossibility to restore the ellipted part from either previous or following sentences. This means that they are not dependent on linguistic context and thus do not support cohesion. The purpose of elision is to economize the speech, which is suggested by Tárnyiková. (1993: 69)

A lot of expressions containing elision have become so frequently used that, according to Broughton, (1990: 105) they appear more frequently that their non-ellipted forms, as one can verify from the following two examples that Broughton (1990: 105) offers.

[example 64] *(I) thank you.*

[example 65] *(It is) no problem.*

As mentioned in Čáňová (2001: 64), there is one more term used for situational ellipsis and this is *common ellipsis*. This term is used because it is common phrases that are affected by this type of ellipsis.

6.3.5. Exophoric ellipsis

This kind of ellipsis is quite rare and in comparison with elision, the understanding of which depends more on the knowledge of a particular language that merely on the situation, exophoric ellipsis definitely needs the context so that it could be

understood. However, as one may deduce from its name, it is the outer context that is important for understanding what has been ellipted as Halliday (1976: 144) mentions and later provides the example. For example, seeing a milkman approach, it can be called: *Two please*. One can deduce what is meant only thanks to seeing the milkman. In this case, two bottles of milk are required. Thus it is the outer element that clarifies the situation so that one can deduce what has been ellipted. The ellipted words would be different if for example a baker or salesman were coming by. Without knowing the situation, one would not be able to state what has been ellipted, there is no textual reference present, exophoric reference relies purely on the situation. With respect to this fact, considering that this thesis focuses on ellipsis and its contribution towards cohesion, exophoric ellipsis will not be dealt with much in my thesis as "exophoric ellipsis has no place in cohesion". (Halliday 1976: 144) Dušková's (1999) attitude towards exophoric ellipsis is the same as Halliday's as she claims that "exophoric reference is always without cohesive force" (Dušková 1999: 304) and thus "endophoric reference is the only type of reference relevant for textual cohesion". (Dušková 1999: 303) As a consequence, neither exophoric ellipsis, nor elision will be investigated in the following analysis although several instances of both of them could be found, particularly in the conversational part.

In the theoretical part, both cohesive and incohesive types of ellipsis have been described in details. Nevertheless, not all kinds of incohesive ellipsis have been thoroughly examined as it involves omission of a lot of elements that could not be described in details due to the lack of space. Still even those elements that have been touched upon only very briefly will be searched for in the following part of the thesis, analysis. The purpose of the analysis will be to find out how often ellipsis is used as a cohesive device in comparison with ellipsis without cohesive force.

7. Analysis

In the analysis of this thesis, two texts, both of approximately the same length will be analysed and compared from the viewpoint of using ellipsis. To ensure possible differences, texts of two different styles, one of a scientific style, whereas the other of a conversational style, were chosen for the analysis.

As concerns the scientific text, this was taken from a book aimed at sociolinguistics (to be found in bibliography). The conversational text is a transcript of an interview with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair. With respect to the fact that the transcript has been typed at speed, it is possible that it may contain mistakes.

The purpose of the analysis is to find and identify all types of ellipsis, both cohesive and incohesive, and compare their ratio within both the types of texts. In each text, there will be a table in which the most frequently found types of ellipsis will be displayed. However, as probably a lot of combinations of various ellipted items may be expected (this concerns incohesive ellipsis) not all of them will be involved in the table and the minor occurrences will be only briefly commented on.

Afterwards, the most common types of incohesive ellipsis found in both texts will be compared from the viewpoint of their density in both types of texts.

If instances of cohesive ellipsis are revealed, these will be focused upon and commented on separately.

Concerning marking the ellipted items, similarly to the theoretical part, what has been ellipted from particular examples will be found within the round brackets. When referring to the scientific or conversational text, these will be distinguished as the scientific text will be marked as *Appendix 1*, whereas the conversational text will be marked as *Appendix 2*. As concerns numbering of the page from which a particular example has been taken, the original page numbers will be used with the examples from the scientific text and when examples from the conversational text are taken, the page numbers will be referred according to the number found on top of a particular page.

When the occurrence of cohesive ellipsis is thought of, it may be supposed that it will be found primarily in the conversational text which is typical for its question-answer pattern. As this pattern is not typical for a scientific text in general, the occurrence of cohesive ellipsis is expected to be much lower. On the other hand,

incohesive ellipsis should not be influenced by a style of a particular text and as such it is assumed that its occurrence within the scientific and conversational text will be equal.

7.1. Extent of ellipsis

To state what has been ellipted is not always easy as more than one possibility can sometimes be identified. Three examples (Appendix 1: 103) of the same sentence which differ from each other in the amount of words ellipted will be demonstrated now:

[example 66a] *This too is at odds with the cultural stereotype of women as fragile and (this too is at odds with the cultural stereotype of women as) passive.*

[example 66b] *This too is at odds with the cultural stereotype of women as fragile and (with the cultural stereotype of women as) passive.*

[example 66c] *This too is at odds with the cultural stereotype of women as fragile and (as) passive.*

It cannot be said precisely which variety is the right one as all the varieties are grammatically correct. However, it is evident that examples 66a and 66b are excessively formal and that example 66c seems to be the most admissible with reference to the extent of ellipsis. More such examples were found when analysing the texts and of course not all the variants were taken into account. The attitude towards such examples was the same as with the three above mentioned examples, always the most 'acceptable' variant was chosen.

One more comment should be made here as concerns one phenomenon commonly encountered in the conversational text.

[example 67] Paxman: *But he decides whether the tests have been met or not?* (Appendix 2: 12) – the structure with *not* is by some considered elliptical whereas other incline to the opinion that *not* has a substitutive function. The second attitude has been adapted in the analysis and thus similar examples have not been taken into consideration.

7.2. Analysis of the scientific text

The overall number of all the ellipses found within the scientific text comprises 211 cases. Despite quite a high number of instances, no cohesive ellipses were identified. In fact, one verbal ellipsis occurs within the analyzed text but it is not

involved in the overall number as it is used only as an example in the text and as such no cohesive ties with other elements of the text are identified. The cartoon and the interview which can be found in the part of the analyzed scientific text have not been involved to the total number either, as the style in which they are written does not correspond to the style of the text itself.

The extent of ellipsis has already been commented on. When such examples where it was not unequivocally possible to state what parts have been ellipted occurred, the most acceptable variant was taken into account.

Out of the 211 ellipses, 184 instances (87%) were used anaphorically and 22 instances (10 %) were used cataphorically. The rest (3%) involves structural ellipsis where it is not possible to distinguish between anaphoric and cataphoric ellipsis due to the fact that structural ellipsis omits the items that should be supplied thanks to the knowledge of the language and not to the textual context.

The main types of ellipses which have been identified within the scientific text are demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1 – Major types of ellipsis in the scientific text

Type of ellipsis	Number of occurrences	Ratio (%)
Ellipsis of preposition	34	16.1
Ellipsis of noun	28	13.2
Ellipsis of subject	18	8.5
Ellipsis of auxiliary	15	7.1
Ellipsis of prepositional phrase	15	7.1
Ellipsis of subject + predicate	14	6.6
Ellipsis of conjunction + subject+ predicate	11	5.2
Ellipsis of determiner	11	5.2
Ellipsis of non-finite clause	10	4.7
Ellipsis of conjunction	9	4.3
Ellipsis of adjective	8	3.8
Structural ellipsis	5	2.4
Ellipsis of adverbial	4	1.9
Ellipsis of infinitive marker	3	1.4

Minor types of ellipsis have been found in addition to those presented in Table 1. However, due to their rare occurrence, they have not been included in Table 1. The overall figure of minor types of ellipsis is 26, which accounts for 12.3% from the total figure of all ellipses found in the scientific text.

7.3. Analysis of the conversational text

In the conversational text, which was of about the same length as the scientific text, 207 cases of ellipsis have been identified altogether. As assumed in the introduction to the analysis, instances of cohesive ellipses have been encountered in the conversational text. In concrete, 41 cases of cohesive ellipsis (20%) have been identified. These will be commented on later but now it can be said that cohesive ellipsis is a typical feature of a conversational text in comparison with its non-occurrence in the scientific text. Quite a high occurrence of cohesive ellipses might be attributed to the question-answer pattern, which is a typical feature of a conversational text.

However, incohesive ellipses again were a more frequent phenomenon in the conversational text. 101 instances (49%) of incohesive ellipsis have been found. Similarly to the scientific text, the majority of incohesive ellipsis were anaphoric (89 cases=88%), whereas only a few examples of cataphoric ellipsis (12 cases=12%) have been identified. Surprisingly, a lot of instances of structural ellipsis have been found. Altogether, there were 64 cases of structural ellipsis (31%).

As in the scientific text, the extent of ellipsis has been carefully taken into account when stating which parts have been ellipted.

In Table 2, one may see the most common types of ellipsis that were found within the conversational text.

Table 2 - Major types of ellipsis in the conversational text

Type of ellipsis	Number of occurrences	Ratio (%)
Structural ellipsis	64	31
Ellipsis of preposition	30	14.5
Clausal + verbal ellipsis	23	11.1
Ellipsis of noun	12	5.8
Clausal ellipsis	9	4.3
Ellipsis of subject + predicate	6	2.9
Nominal ellipsis	5	2.4
Ellipsis of subject + auxiliary	5	2.4
Ellipsis of conjunction	5	2.4
Verbal ellipsis	4	1.9
Ellipsis of subject	4	1.9
Ellipsis of predicate	4	1.9
Ellipsis of conjunction + subject + predicate	4	1.9
Ellipsis of subject complement	4	1.9

Other types of ellipsis (especially cases of omission of more elements) occurred less than four times and therefore are not involved in Table 2. Such cases were observed 21 times and they account for about 10 per cent of all the ellipses found in the conversational text.

7.4. Incohesive ellipsis

At first the two analysed text will be compared from the standpoint of occurrence of incohesive types of ellipsis. The first types compared will be those described in the theoretical part of this thesis. When these have been compared and commented on, other types of incohesive ellipsis will be mentioned, especially those types that were identified quite frequently. Some of them even occurred more often than those types described in the theoretical part.

7.4.1. Ellipsis of subject

Ellipsis of subject was quite a frequently observed phenomenon, especially in the scientific text. 18 cases (8.5 %) of ellipsis of subject were detected in the scientific text, whereas in the conversational text only 4 cases (1.9 %) were identified as ellipsis of subject. All the examples have in common the fact that the subject is ellipted anaphorically which confirms the impossibility for the subject to be ellipted cataphorically. (Quirk 1984: 574)

The ellipted subject was of different forms. Very frequently it was a personal pronoun functioning as a subject.

[example 68] *So I wrote back to him and (I) addressed him by his first name.* (Appendix 1: 111)

but instances of ellipsis of subject which was an indefinite pronoun were also found.

[example 69] *One is not born, but (one) rather becomes, a woman.* (Appendix 1: 104)

One more category of pronouns in the function of ellipted subjects was also traced and this was the category of demonstrative pronouns.

[example 70] *This causes the genitals to assume male form and later (this) is responsible for the appearance of secondary sexual characteristics.* (Appendix 1: 102)

However, ellipted subjects were not only pronouns, but also nouns.

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[example 71] *The revisers have systematically changed expressions such as "any man" to "anyone", but (the revisers) have kept the masculine, especially for God, on the grounds that this is faithful to the original.* (Appendix 1: 99)

As concerns omission of a subject together with an omission of another element in the preceding clause so that complex ellipsis would be formed, one example of this was also identified. The ellipted item in the first clause is a lexical verb.

[example 72] Blair: *I have not (speculated) and (I) will not speculate.* (Appendix 2: 17) This complex ellipsis is quite specific as the lexical verb ellipted does not correspond with the lexical verb retained in the second clause. In fact it is a controversial case of ellipsis as the auxiliaries in both the clauses do not take the same form of a lexical verb. Quirk (1984: 584) warns that such examples where the heads of the verb phrase following an auxiliary are different are dubious. However, he also admits that such examples may occasionally appear in informal use. Despite the fact that the interviewed person is the Prime Minister of the UK, the informality of the interview is obvious – for example owing to the presence of contracted forms and *aphaeresis* (='cos instead of because) (Appendix 2: 11) and owing to Tony Blair's addressing the reporter by his first name.

When comparing the density of ellipsis of subject, it is evident that it was more frequently represented in the scientific text. This is because in the scientific text there were more sentences consisting of coordinated clauses with the same subject which could be ellipted. On the other hand, due to the frequent question-answer pattern in the conversational text, ellipsis of subject could not be applied because incohesive ellipsis does not operate between sentences, not to mention that the subjects were not identical.

Subject was frequently ellipted on its own, however, it was also ellipted in combination with other clause elements, such as with predicate (14 cases = 6.6 % in the scientific text, 6 cases = 2.9 % in the conversational text), with auxiliary (2 cases = 1% in the scientific text, 5 cases = 2.4 % in the conversational text) or ellipsis of subject was also combined with ellipsis of conjunction and predicate, (11 cases = 5% in the scientific text, 4 cases = 2% in the conversational text). Other combinations in which ellipsis of subject also took place were very rare.

[example 73] *Some analyses assume maleness is the most basic semantic category and (some analyses assume) that females are therefore to be described as – male.* (Appendix 1: 107) – ellipsis of subject together with predicate

[example 74] Blair: *It stands to reason that obviously you can't sit down and (you can't) work out your spending plans now.* (Appendix 2: 3) – ellipsis of subject together with (modal) auxiliary

[example 75] *Whether the gonads become ovaries or (whether the gonads become) testes is determined by the chromosomes received from the parents at the time of conception.* (Appendix 1: 102) – ellipsis of conjunction + subject + predicate

As a conclusion, it can be seen that subject was ellipted either on its own or in combination with omission of other elements. It should be highlighted again that it is not possible to omit either subject alone or subject in combination with other element(s) cataphorically.

7.4.2. Ellipsis of auxiliary

If the order of incohesive ellipsis in the theoretical part is followed, ellipsis of auxiliary is the next to be described. However, it would probably be omitted if it were investigated only in the conversational text as it was not a very common phenomenon in this style. With 2 cases of ellipsis of auxiliary it created only about 1% which is an insignificant minority. On the other hand, when the attention is drawn to the scientific text, ellipsis of auxiliary suddenly becomes quite an important issue. With fifteen observed instances, it accounts for 7% of all the types of ellipsis. Even this figure might not seem of a very big importance, however, the reader should be reminded that a lot of different combinations amounting to only about two or three examples of each were identified and only these could be called really minor. Thus it can be said that ellipsis of auxiliary in the scientific style was quite a commonly observed phenomenon. On the other hand, when compared with all the possible types of ellipsis of auxiliary described in the theoretical part, virtually only one type of ellipsis of auxiliary was noticed in the scientific text. And this was omission of the auxiliary in comparative clauses.

[example 76] *It has also been observed that women use a wider pitch range than men (do).* (Appendix 1: 104)

[example 77a] *Doctors interrupt female patients and female doctors are interrupted more by male patients than male doctors (are).* (Appendix 1:111)

If the auxiliaries *do* and *are* were realized in the above sentences, they would in fact function as substitution for the whole preceding clause. But due to their non-realization they can be perceived as elliptical.

One more note in connection with comparative clauses should be made here. Comparative clauses where ellipsis is applied may be sometimes ambiguous, depending on the interconnection between the words used. An example of ambiguous comparative clause may be the following:

[example 78a] *...one reason for men's greater mortality later in life may be that men seek medical help less readily than females.* (Appendix 1: 103)

Purposely, in the example above no ellipsis was indicated so that one could try to find the ambiguity. The two interpretations of the question above might be.

[example 78b] *...one reason for men's greater mortality later in life may be that men seek medical help less readily than females (do).* – It is females who seek medical help more readily in comparison with males who do not seek medical help that much.

[example 78c] *...one reason for men's greater mortality later in life may be that men seek medical help less readily than (men seek) females.* – The reason for men's greater mortality is that men prefer looking for females to caring for their (men's) health.

The ambiguity may be found even in 77a, where a second meaning can also be found.

[example 77b] *Doctors interrupt female patients and female doctors are interrupted more by male patients than (by) male doctors.*

Even here the second alternative is possible and grammatically acceptable and in comparison to the first interpretation it means something completely different. Thus whenever using ellipsis in comparative clauses, one may be especially careful whether an ambiguity is not caused. And in case it may arise, it is advisable to use the non-elliptical form.

7.4.3. Ellipsis of predicate

Ellipsis of predicate, in spite of all the possible occurrences described in the theoretical part, was not a very common phenomenon. Ellipsis solely of predicate was found four times (1.9%) in the conversational text and only twice (1%) in the scientific text thus creating a very insignificant minority. More frequently ellipsis of predicate was detected in combination with ellipsis of subject as has been already commented on in the chapter *ellipsis of subject*. Other combinations which include ellipsis of predicate are even less important than the occurrence of ellipsis of predicate on its own.

[example 79] *…a trading system organized across great distances in the south-western Pacific whereby bracelets went in one direction and necklaces (went) in the other.* (Appendix 1: 115) – It is worth mentioning that in this example not only ellipsis of predicate can be identified, however, the other ellipses were not indicated on purpose so that ellipsis of predicate would be clearly visible

But when not looking for ellipsis of the whole of predicate, one may identify also cases where only parts of predicate (lexical verbs) were omitted. These were found both anaphorically

[example 80] *The term Ms is still not as widely used in Britain as it is (used) in the United States…* (Appendix 1: 110)

and cataphorically

[example 81] *…you are simply choosing what you will (say) and won't say.* (Appendix 2: 11)

7.4.4. Ellipsis of direct object

In the conversational part only three cases of ellipsis of direct object were discovered, which is a very insignificant figure, not to mention that it is accompanied by ellipsis of other elements and as such does not stand on its own. When the scientific text is taken into consideration, some instances of direct object on its own may be found, namely three (1.4%) Again it is not of a very high importance and as such would not be mentioned here, if it were not for a discrepancy between Quirk's theory and an example found in the scientific text. It is because Quirk (1984: 586) suggests that if ellipsis of direct object is to occur, the realized items should be in the second clause, thus creating

cataphoric ellipsis. Such examples where the direct object would be ellipted cataphorically were found twice, one of them will be demonstrated now.

[example 82]… *where terms marked as female may be used to express (negative views of women) or create negative views of women.* (Appendix 1: 115)

However, the last example of direct ellipsis, despite Quirk's attitude to ellipsis of direct object, is anaphorical.

[example 83]... *a young lady has no sex, while a turnip has (a sex)* (Appendix 1: 113)

The discrepancy might probably be caused by the style in which example 83 is written. As it is an excerpt from Twain's work, it is in a literary style and as such the use of ellipsis of direct object is probably not so restrictive. Nevertheless, this example, despite the different style, has been included in the analysis as it logically fits into the examined text. Not to mention that it is quite interesting to find out that when a style of a text is changed, the rules of ellipsis of direct object change as well.

7.4.5. Ellipsis of subject complement

Ellipsis of subject complement is another type of ellipsis that is presented in the theoretical part. Nevertheless, similarly to ellipsis of direct object, not many examples of ellipsis of subject complement were identified. When the comparison of the texts is focused on, it may be said that ellipsis of subject complement is more typical for conversational texts (4 cases = 1.9%) than for scientific texts (2 cases = 1%). But this conclusion is far from precise as the figures are quite low and should not be considered very seriously.

As concerns the type of reference, only one cataphoric ellipsis of subject complement has been found, whereas five cases were anaphoric.

[example 84] Blair: *The Treasury are the custodians of the tests and it's obvious why they should be (custodians of the tests).* (Appendix 2: 12) – subject complement ellipted anaphorically

Subject complement was always found on its own and never in combinations with ellipsis of other elements and as a conclusion it may be said that ellipsis of subject complement is not classified as a frequent phenomenon in both the types of text that have been thoroughly examined.

7.4.6. Ellipsis of adverbial

Ellipsis of adverbial is the last of the types of incohesive ellipses characterized in the theoretical part. Unfortunately, similarly to ellipsis of direct object and of subject complement, ellipsis of adverbial was not encountered very often. In detail, it occurred twice (1%) in the conversational text and four times (1.9%) in the scientific text. When the type of reference is taken into account, only one of all the identified ellipses of adverbial was cataphoric.

There were also marginal occurrences of ellipsis of adverbial in combination with other elements, such as with subject or with predicate but these are even less important in comparison with the sole ellipsis of adverbial.

[example 85]...*and boats, like women, are generally owned and (generally) controlled by men...* (Appendix 1: 113) – one may also argue here about the scope of adverbial as it may be suggested that *generally* may apply both to *owned* and *controlled* and as such it cannot be considered elliptical but this is only an assumption that is not shared by everyone and some may mark *generally* as elliptical.

From all the types of incohesive ellipses that are described in detail in the theoretical part, one may find out that only the first three types (= ellipsis of subject, ellipsis of auxiliary and ellipsis of predication + their combinations) were encountered quite often in the analysis. The other three types, ellipsis of direct object, of subject complement and of adverbial were much rarer and quite insignificant in comparison with other ellipted elements. However, despite their scarcity, they were commented on purposely so that one could contrast all their possible occurrences described in the theoretical part with their marginal representation in the analysis.

There are still a lot of other ellipted incohesive elements that were frequently discovered in the analysis and only briefly mentioned in the theoretical part. These will be commented on in the following chapters.

7.4.7. Ellipsis of preposition

When those types of incohesive ellipsis not described in the theoretical part are ranked according to their frequency, ellipsis of preposition becomes the most frequently identified type. It was the second most frequent type of incohesive ellipsis in the

conversational text (30 cases = 14.5%) and when it comes to the scientific text, it even takes the first position (34 cases = 16.1%)

Prepositions were omitted only anaphorically in both the texts and they were found only when noun phrases within one clause were coordinated. Thus it may be said that ellipsis of preposition cannot be found between individual clauses of a sentence but only between phrases that can be found within one particular clause.

[example 86a] *The use of reciprocal first names in English-speaking countries and (in) many other places too is indicative of intimacy and (of) familiarity, while non-reciprocal use is indicative of unequal power.* (Appendix 1: 111)

An objection could be raised as to the extent of ellipsis and we could also have the following variant:

[example 86b] *The use of reciprocal first names in English-speaking countries (and the use of reciprocal first names in) many other places too is indicative of intimacy and (is indicative of) familiarity, while non-reciprocal use is indicative of unequal power.* (Appendix 1: 111)

It must be admitted, when 86a and 86b are compared that the latter variant is a bit odd and very formal and thus the former is considered more acceptable. This has already been touched upon at the beginning of the analysis and similar examples where the extent of ellipsis had to be thoroughly considered, occurred quite frequently.

Ellipsis of the same preposition was also identified, especially when more noun phrases were coordinated and the preposition was realized only in front of the first noun phrase, the other prepositions thus anaphorically ellipted in front of the others.

[example 87] *...why we have forward investment plans for schools, (for) hospitals, (for) crime, (for) transport, is because we...* (Appendix 2: 4)

Not only ellipsis of preposition but also *ellipsis of prepositional phrase* was frequently identified in the scientific text (15 cases = 7.1%). On the contrary, as far as the conversational text is concerned, only one instance (0.5%) of ellipsis of prepositional phrase was found. This is quite a big difference and in comparison with ellipsis of preposition, the number of which was almost identical in both the texts, ellipsis of prepositional phrase seems to be typical of the scientific text.

[example 88] *...and irksome insistence on the replacement of titles such as Mrs and Miss with Ms and (on the replacement of) other gender-marked terms such as busboy with busperson.* (Appendix 1: 108)

[example 89] *...bilingualism is seen as problematic and in need of explanation, if not (in need of) remediation and (in need of) intervention.* (Appendix 1: 100)

Both 88 and 89 are examples where the prepositional phrase is ellipted in coordination within one clause, however, instances of ellipsis of prepositional phrase between individual clauses were also discovered, for example here:

[example 90] *...creation of the two sexes, in which Adam is made first and (in which) Eve is formed later by God's taking a rib from Adam.* (Appendix 1: 103)

7.4.8. Ellipsis of noun

This is a special type of ellipsis which concerns especially coordination within one clause. When the figures are taken into consideration, 28 instances (13.2%) of ellipsis of noun were traced in the scientific text and 12 instances (5.8%) in the conversational text. What is understood under ellipsis of noun is omission of a noun headword, in other words, ellipsis of a head of a noun phrase. One figure concerning ellipsis of noun is very interesting. This is that cataphoric ellipsis was very frequently found with ellipsis of noun. The number was almost as high as anaphoric ellipsis, which is, in comparison with other cataphoric ellipses, quite significant. The overall number of ellipsis of noun in both texts is 40 and 19 cases (47.5%) were cataphoric.

[example 91]*...you are not spending on the costs of economic (failure) and social failure.* (Appendix 2: 4) – head of a noun phrase ellipted cataphorically

[example 92]*...and many women's names are diminutives of men's (names).* (Appendix 1: 103) – head of a noun phrase ellipted anaphorically

Occasionally the noun was ellipted in another clause.

[example 93] Blair: *The reasons I gave are the reason that are still valid (reasons).* (Appendix 2: 13) – The ellipted noun is in the second clause whereas the realized noun in the first clause. If the ellipted noun were in another sentence, it would be a case of *nominal ellipsis*.

7.4.9. Ellipsis of adjective

Ellipsis of adjective is closely connected with previously described ellipsis of noun. But whereas the ellipted nouns function as a head of a noun phrase, the ellipted adjectives function as pre-modifiers of the head. When numbers are introduced, ellipsis of adjective was found eight times (3.8%) in the scientific text whereas no occurrences of ellipsis of adjective within the conversational style were traced. All the cases were anaphoric.

[example 94] *Adult Polish men, for instance, have higher-pitched voices than (adult) American men.* (Appendix 1:104)

[example 95] *Greater strength, (greater) aggression and (greater) physical activity are part of the male stereotype.* (Appendix 1: 104) – this example might be considered ambiguous, as it is not unequivocal whether the adjective *greater* is really ellipted or whether *aggression* and *physical activity* are not intended to be pre-modified by the adjective. But at least in case of the latter, the adjective should be considered ellipted, otherwise the meaning would be that women do not have any physical activity at all.

7.4.10. Ellipsis of conjunction

As concerns ellipsis of conjunction, it was found in both the texts (9 cases = 4.3% in the scientific text, 5 cases = 2.4% in the conversational text). All the cases of ellipsis of conjunction were anaphoric, which had been expected before, one cannot expect conjunction to be ellipted in the clause preceding to the clause where it is realized. In the majority of cases, conjunctions consisting of one word only were ellipted.

[example 96] *She is very proud of herself, when she puts on a new dress, or (when) I set her hair.* (Appendix 1: 104)

[example 97] Paxman: *Do you accept that at that point you'll have to cut spending plans or (that) you will have to raise taxes?* (Appendix 2: 4)

However, conjunctions consisting of more than one word were ellipted as well.

[example 98] *But feminists argue that it is a language made by men for men in order to represent their point of view and (in order to) perpetuate it.* (Appendix 1: 106)

7.4.11. Ellipsis of non-finite structures

When the attention is drawn to ellipsis of non-finite structures, it may be found out that it occurred much more frequently in the scientific text (10 cases = 4.7%) in comparison with the conversational text (2 cases = 1%). As concerns types of non-finite structures that were ellipted, infinitive was definitely the most major type of non-finite structure that underwent omission.

[example 99] *Then it was used to refer to a woman who was sexually desirable and (to refer) to a woman of the street.* (Appendix 1: 107)

[example 100] *Thus, men have used the observed differences between the sexes to justify their dominance and (to justify their) priority in the human scheme of things.* (Appendix 1: 101)

However, a case of ellipsis of gerund was also identified.

[example 101] *There is a considerable discrepancy between referring to someone as an old master as opposed to (referring to someone as) an old mistress.* (Appendix 1: 107)

7.4.12. Ellipsis of determiner

Ellipsis of determiner is the last of the major occurrences of incohesive ellipsis. Surprisingly, it was identified only in the scientific text (11 cases = 5.2%), whereas in the conversational text no ellipsis of determiner was revealed. In all the cases the determiners were ellipited anaphorically.

As concerns types of determiners, they may be divided into three groups according to their position in front of the word they modify in situations when more determiners are used. We distinguish between *pre-determiners*, *central determiners* and *post-determiners*.

Central determiners were the most frequently ellipted determiners, when looking deeper into details, articles and possessives were ellipted after being realized in the previous utterance.

[example 102] *For instance, the size and (the) volume of women's brains were measured and when they were found to be smaller...* (Appendix 1: 102)

[example 103] *It is somehow less of a bird than a robin or (a) sparrow.* (Appendix 1: 115)

[example 104] *When the child was 17 months old they changed "his" name, ("his") clothing and ("his") hairstyle and four months later "he" underwent surgery...* (Appendix 1: 104)

It can be seen that when ellipsis of central determiners was applied, this happened only within one particular clause, between individual phrases.

Ellipsis of a pre-determiner was also encountered.

[example 105] *...there are 220 words for such women, while only twenty for (such) men.* (Appendix 1: 107) – ellipsis of pre-determiner *such* (intensifier), other two cases of ellipsis were not shown here on purpose so that the attention would be drawn only to ellipsis of intensifier *such*

As concerns post-determiners, they were ellipted only once.

[example 106] *Many articles and (many) cartoons such as the one in Fig. 4.1 appear in the press about this…* (Appendix 1: 108) – ellipsis of post-determiner *many* (quantifier)

Other types of incohesive ellipsis will not be commented on as they occurred in a minority of cases and therefore no relevant conclusion can be reached.

As it is obvious from the statistics, incohesive ellipsis was observed quite frequently in both the texts. It can be virtually said that ellipsis was used whenever it was possible to ellipt something. Hardly any instances in which incohesive ellipsis was not used were encountered. The reason for not using ellipsis was to put emphasis on a particular utterance and draw the reader's attention to it as in the following example.

[example 107a] Blair: *But it is our objective to reach the European average and it is our objective to carry on not merely raising health service...* (Appendix 2: 3)

Without putting emphasis, ellipsis could be applied here.

[example 107b] Blair: *But it is our objective to reach the European average and to carry on not merely raising health service...*

7.5. Structural ellipsis

Structural ellipsis is a special kind of an elliptical structure. One cannot state whether a particular word has been ellipted anaphorically or cataphorically as there is no preceding or following equivalent to the ellipted word. It has already been explained

in the theoretical part that structural ellipsis relies on the knowledge of the language. It involves omission of words with lower informational value and can be often encountered in newspaper headlines where economy of the language is important.

When figures of structural ellipsis are compared (5 cases = 2.3% in the scientific text, 64 cases = 31% in the conversational text), it is more than evident that structural ellipsis is a typical feature of a conversational style. On the contrary, it is not of a very significant importance in the scientific text. This conclusion is quite logical, it is natural for the conversational style to omit words of lower informational value.

In all the cases of structural ellipsis, it was the conjunction *that* that was ellipted.

[example 108] Blair: *I said at the time (that) I believed (that) he had done nothing improper.* (Appendix 2: 13)

[example 109] Blair: *I don't think (that) it was a mistake to launch my first campaign in a school.* (Appendix 2: 15)

Structural ellipsis of *that* was also found in relative clauses, thus forming a juxtaposed relative clause.

[example 110] Blair: *For the reasons (that) I gave at the time.* (Appendix 2: 13)

7.6. Cohesive ellipsis

As was supposed at the beginning of the analysis, cohesive ellipsis is characteristic for the conversational text. The reason for this is quite obvious. It is the question-answer patter that allows cohesive ellipsis to be applied. Such pattern was not found in the scientific text and that is why no instances of any type of incohesive ellipsis were identified. In fact, there was one case in which cohesive ellipsis was recognized, however, it was used in the text as an example and did not logically belong to the context and as such was not involved in the overall number of all ellipses.

41 cases of cohesive ellipsis were found in the conversational text on the whole, which creates almost 20% of all cases of ellipses identified. From this it can be said that, despite the style of the text, incohesive ellipsis is still used more frequently than cohesive ellipsis.

In the theoretical part, it was described that cohesive ellipsis involves three types: *nominal ellipsis*, *verbal ellipsis* and *clausal ellipsis*. All these types were represented in the observed text and the figures are the following:

- 5 cases of nominal ellipsis = 12.1%
- 4 cases of verbal ellipsis = 9.7%
- 9 cases of clausal ellipsis = 21.9%
- 23 cases of verbal + clausal ellipsis = 56%

One remark should be made at this point concerning the combination of verbal and clausal ellipsis. It has already been touched upon that clausal ellipsis may appear on its own though not frequently. Such cases of clausal ellipsis standing on its own really were recognized, however, the majority of all the instances of clausal ellipsis were in combination with verbal ellipsis, which Halliday (1976: 201) notices is a more common phenomenon, which is confirmed by the figures above.

It has been already noted that cohesive ellipsis is found between and not within sentences. With respect to the fact that the conversational text was an interview, the majority of cohesive ellipses were found in the question-answer pattern but there were some cases when it was found in utterances expressed by one person only.

7.6.1. Nominal ellipsis

Nominal ellipsis is recognized when a function of a noun from a previous sentence is taken over by one of the elements that would normally pre-modify the noun. Halliday (1976: 147) mentions four elements that can function as a head instead of the ellipted noun headword – these are deictic, numerative, epithet or classifier. The first two are classified as being the most frequent to take over the function of a head. Unfortunately, only five cases of nominal ellipsis were found in the conversational text which is not a number high enough to make a satisfactory conclusion.

From the five observed instances of nominal ellipsis, the function of head was taken over by an adjective (epithet) three times, by a determiner (deictic) once and by a numeral (numerative) once. It follows from this that the head of a noun was never taken over by another noun (classifier), which confirms Halliday's (1976: 148) assumption that it is very rare for a noun to take the function of a head instead of another noun.

What is surprising is quite a high number of cases where the function of a head was taken over by an adjective as this is also not very frequent as Halliday (1976: 148)

mentions. But as has already been mentioned, not many instances were observed and satisfactory findings could be achieved only if the observed text were longer.

As concerns the case where a deictic became a head of a nominal group, it was the demonstrative pronoun *that* (specific deictic) functioning as head.

[example 111] *Blair: I said that by the end of the second Comprehensive Spending Review, I wanted to reach the European average.*

Paxman: When is that (end)? (Appendix 2: 2)

When it comes to the numerative, it was an ordinal number *first* that became a head of a nominal group. As required by grammar it was used with a specific deictic *the*.

[example 112] Blair: *...and because of two other things that are absolutely vital. The first (thing) is a reduction of a national debt...* (Appendix 2: 4)

The remaining three cases of nominal ellipsis all contain an adjective that took over the function of a head instead of the ellipted noun that is realized in the previous sentence. No instances of comparatives or superlatives were traced although Halliday (1976: 163) assumes that adjectives in comparative or superlative form would be more frequent. In spite of this, in all the cases observed the adjective was in its basic form.

[example 113] Blair: *...I said provided the economy carried on being strong...*

Paxman: *Strong (economy) is a relative judgement.* (Appendix 2: 3)

[example 114] Blair: *What I was talking about was the nature of change. It is difficult (change).* (Appendix 2: 6)

Unfortunately, with respect to the observed figures, no valid conclusion can be reached. However, from the instances above, it may be noticed that nominal ellipsis does not necessarily occur in the question-answer pattern and can be identified even between sentences uttered by the same person.

7.6.2. Verbal ellipsis

Verbal ellipsis, standing on its own, was observed even less frequently than nominal ellipsis. It should be reminded that we speak now about the occurrence of verbal ellipsis on its own, as concerns combination of verbal ellipsis with clausal ellipsis, this was quite frequent.

In the theoretical part it was explained that according to the verb ellipted, verbal ellipsis can be divided into two groups – *operator ellipsis* and *lexical ellipsis*.

Out of the four examples of verbal ellipsis that were recognized, two were instances of operator ellipsis and two of lexical ellipsis. Again, these numbers are not high enough to give satisfactory evidence of higher presence of either operator or lexical ellipsis.

When it comes to lexical ellipsis, both the two cases were found within one sentence and as such the same lexical verb was ellipted in them.

[example 115] Blair: *You people in the media can speculate on the size of the majority. The opinion polls can (speculate) and the bookmakers can (speculate).* (Appendix 2: 18) – ellipsis here again found in the monologue

Operator ellipsis was also identified twice. This is one of the examples:

[example 116] Blair: *I am not getting into the business of predicting majorities. Or (I am not) saying whether I think...* (Appendix 2: 18)

What was more frequent than verbal ellipsis only was its combination with clausal ellipsis. The theoretical part of this thesis reminds that Halliday (1976: 199) admits that clausal ellipsis on its own is quite a rare phenomenon and is more frequently to be found in combination with verbal ellipsis, which can be verified by the figures that have already been offered. This combination occurred three times more than clausal ellipsis on its own. Such combinations may be found in the following examples:

[example 117] Paxman: *But you are not answering it.*

Blair: *I am (answering it).* (Appendix 2: 9)

[example 118a] Blair: *You are not putting that question forward seriously?*

Paxman: *I am (putting that question forward seriously).* (Appendix 2: 18)

Even here in the cohesive ellipsis, the extent of ellipsis might be questionable. Sometimes the ellipted structure may be recognized as verbal ellipsis only or as verbal ellipsis combined with clausal ellipsis. Then it depends on the user what they perceive as more natural and whether they recognize ellipsis or not.

[example 119a] Paxman: *It was a mistake to say it then?*

Blair: *No, (it wasn't).* (Appendix 2: 2)

[example 119b] Paxman: *It was a mistake to say it then?*

Blair: *No, (it wasn't a mistake to say it).*

The same concerns 118a that can be by some considered as non elliptical.

[example 118b] Blair: *You are not putting that question forward seriously?*

Paxman: *I am.* – as if no ellipsis was applied

7.6.3. Clausal ellipsis

Clausal ellipsis is the last type of cohesive ellipsis. Examples of clausal ellipsis have already been presented above but those were examples where clausal ellipsis was combined with verbal ellipsis. When analyzing the conversational text, cases where clausal ellipsis stood on its own were encountered as well although these were not so frequent.

[example 119] Paxman: *But the Treasury are the custodians of the test?*

Blair: *Of course they are (the custodians of the test)...* (Appendix 2: 11)

[example 120] Blair: *That's why Keith Vaz is still a minister, or was still a minister until parliament was dissolved.*

Paxman: *But Peter Mandelson isn't (a minister)?* (Appendix 2: 14)

In all the cases identified as clausal ellipsis it was the propositional element that was ellipted.

Instead of applying cohesive ellipsis, sometimes repetition of all the elements was preferred. This is similar to incohesive ellipsis where not always ellipsis was preferred. The repetition is supported by the theoretical part where it was highlighted that there is nothing grammatically incorrect when ellipsis is not applied. The reason for favouring repetition is to stress a particular utterance and to put emphasis on it. It is evident from the following examples:

[example 121] Paxman: *But you are not answering it.*

Blair: *I am answering it.* (Appendix 2: 8)

[example 122] Paxman: *Do you accept that at that point you'll have to cut spending plans or you will have to raise taxes?*

Blair: *No, I don't accept that* (Appendix 2: 4)

From the examples above it is apparent that ellipsis does not have to be necessarily used. On the other hand, some examples, where application of ellipsis caused ambiguity, were encountered as well. In such cases non-elliptical structures would definitely be a better choice as no ambiguity would be raised.

[example 123] Paxman: *So the answer would be yes?*

Blair: *No* (Appendix 2: 15)

This example is ambiguous as it could be interpreted in two different ways:

(The answer would be) no. or *No, (the answer wouldn't be yes).*

The same ambiguity concerns for instance the following example where it is not clear to which of the question the answer belongs.

[example 124] Paxman: *You don't regret it? You weren't embarrassed?*

Blair: *No* (Appendix 2: 16)

This could be again interpreted in two ways:

No (I don't regret it). or *No (I wasn't embarrassed).* or possibly *No (I don't).* or *No (I wasn't).*

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the context mostly helps so that the ambiguity in majority of cases is suppressed.

To conclude all the findings found in the analysis, it can be said that cohesive ellipsis is a typical feature of a conversational style, at least when compared to a scientific style, for which cohesive ellipsis is not typical at all. On the other hand, cohesive ellipsis is still not so common phenomenon in comparison with incohesive ellipsis.

As concerns the most frequently traced type of cohesive ellipsis, this was clausal ellipsis, however, not on its own but in combination with verbal ellipsis.

Another type of ellipsis that is more frequently to be found in a conversational text is structural ellipsis which seems to be a typical feature of informal texts where words bearing no or little informational value are frequently omitted.

On the other hand, elements typically omitted in the scientific text, in comparison with the conversational one, were subject and auxiliary. As concerns the first, omission of subject occurred quite frequently due to coordinated clauses with the same subject that could be anaphorically ellipted. This did not happen so frequently in the conversational text especially because of the frequent answer-question pattern, where cohesive ellipses cannot be identified and also because of short sentences consisting of one clause only where it is not possible to ellipt anything besides elements from the previous clause, which would indicate cohesive ellipsis.

As concerns quite a high occurrence of ellipsis of auxiliary in the scientific text, this was caused mainly by a plethora of comparative clauses where it is a frequent phenomenon to ellipt a particular auxiliary that would otherwise function as a substitute for the whole previous clause.

Other types of ellipsis, including those described in the analysis, were not typical for any of the texts or did not occur so frequently so that it could be stated that they are typical for any of the texts.

8. Conclusion

This thesis was concerned with ellipsis and its contribution towards cohesiveness of a text. In the first chapters of the theoretical part, basic terms related to ellipsis were explained. These terms were above all *cohesion* and *text*.

The reason for mentioning cohesion was evident as ellipsis is one of the means of cohesion. Cohesion was later divided into two groups – *lexical* and *grammatical* and each group was shortly characterized. Before ellipsis was described in details, several paragraphs were dedicated to the word *text* and later cohesion was compared to *coherenc*e as these two usually co-occur within a text.

In the following chapters ellipsis was focused upon. Both types, cohesive and incohesive ellipsis, were introduced and characterized together with different restrictions that are applied to particular types of ellipsis. Each restriction was followed by an example for better illustration.

All the types of ellipsis described in the theoretical part were later examined in the analysis. For the analytical part, two different texts were chosen. They were of approximately the same length, however, they differed in the style in which they were written. The difference of the texts was deliberate so that it could be possible to state what ellipses are characteristic of a particular text.

Hence it can be said that the aim of the analysis was to find out and state what particular ellipses are typical for any of the examined texts. The attention was also paid to cohesive ellipsis so that it could be possible to state whether cohesive ellipsis is a common means used to express cohesion or whether different means of cohesion would be preferred.

At the beginning of the analysis, before the texts were compared, a note was devoted to extent of ellipsis as this is a crucial matter when one wants to state exactly what words were ellipted.

As concerns the two analysed texts, it can be said that the number of ellipsis found within both of them was virtually the same, with the scientific text including 211 ellipses and the conversational text accounting for 207 ellipses. From these figures one could assume that the representation of ellipses is the same regardless the style in which a text is written. However, when it comes to types of ellipsis, one may find out that different types were characteristic of different styles.

When incohesive ellipsis is taken into consideration it can be said that it was a predominant phenomenon in both the observed texts, with 206 cases (almost 98%) in the scientific text and 101 cases (49%) in the conversational text. Such high numbers were caused by the fact that incohesive ellipsis involves a lot of possible elliptical variants that affect many elements within a clause. Some of the kinds of incohesive ellipsis proved to be characteristic of the scientific text, whereas others were closely related to the conversational text.

When these variants are focused upon, we may find out that as concerns the scientific text, it was characteristic by a plethora of ellipsis of preposition, ellipsis of noun, ellipsis of subject and ellipsis of auxiliary. The first two mentioned types were found within one clause, it means between phrases, whereas the other two types were identified between clauses of a particular sentence. It should be highlighted that ellipsis was never found between sentences. Had it been found between sentences, it would have been a case of cohesive ellipsis, which, as has already been mentioned, was not identified within the scientific text at all.

Despite the fact that incohesive ellipsis was the most frequent phenomenon in the conversational text, it should still be emphasized that the number of incohesive ellipses (in which structural ellipsis is not involved) was twice lower in the conversational text in comparison with the scientific text. The two most significant types of incohesive ellipsis within the conversational text were ellipsis of preposition and ellipsis of noun, both of which occurred within one clause, between phrases.

From this it can be stated that incohesive ellipsis found between clauses of a particular sentence was a feature characteristic especially of the scientific text. Quite a high number of ellipses of subject was caused by occurrence of sentences consisting of at least two clauses having the same subject, which could be anaphorically ellipted. As concerns ellipsis of auxiliary, this was often identified in the scientific text because of the presence of comparative clauses where the ellipted auxiliary would otherwise function as a substitute for a whole ellipted clause.

When the ratio of structural ellipsis within both the texts is compared, it is more than obvious that it was a typical feature of a conversational text. This was caused especially by the informality in which the conversational text was written. On the other hand, due to the formal style in which the scientific text was written, structural ellipsis

was not so frequently observed phenomenon. As mentioned in the theoretical part, omission of the conjunction *that* is a typical instance of structural ellipsis. When this conjunction is omitted in relative clauses, juxtaposed relative clauses can be identified.

Cohesive ellipsis proved to be untypical of a scientific style as no cases of cohesive ellipsis were identified within it. The reason for this, after comparison to the conversational text, was an absence of the question-answer pattern, which is a pattern characteristic of the occurrence of cohesive ellipsis. Although it should be admitted that cohesive ellipses were identified not only after an answer had been asked but also between sentences uttered by one speaker only.

From the identified types of cohesive ellipses, clausal ellipsis was the type that occurred most frequently within the conversational text. However, in the majority of cases it was accompanied by verbal ellipsis, clausal ellipsis standing on its own was not so commonly observed phenomenon. But still it occurred twice more frequently than either nominal or verbal ellipsis. However, the figures of nominal, verbal and clausal ellipses were quite low and thus it is not possible to determine precisely whether the numbers would not be different provided that the examined text were longer.

It is not possible to state whether lexical or operator ellipsis would have been used more frequently as they both were presented only twice in the conversational text, which was not a figure high enough.

Nominal ellipsis is described as leaving out a headword and its replacement by a word that would normally pre-modify it. The function of a noun headword can be taken by four elements. In the conversational text only three of these elements occurred. Out of the five instances of nominal ellipsis, the head of a noun phrase was taken over by an adjective three times, then once by a numerative and once by a determiner. But again the numbers were not high enough so that a satisfactory conclusion could be reached.

But despite unsatisfactorily high numbers in a lot of cases, some relevant conclusions can be drawn.

Cohesive ellipsis was a typical feature of a conversational style and so was structural ellipsis. On the other hand, a scientific style seemed to be typical by presence of incohesive ellipses of clausal elements, especially of ellipsis of subject and auxiliary. Other major types of ellipsis, such as ellipsis of preposition and of noun occurred evenly in both the texts.

To reach some more relevant conclusions, the texts should be longer and more samples of both scientific and conversational texts should be examined. Moreover, it could be interesting to compare other styles as well. Such comparison of longer texts written in more different styles could offer a better overview of the ratio of cohesive and incohesive ellipses. It would also be interesting to compare ellipsis with other means of cohesion, either lexical or grammatical.

9. Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá elipsou a jejím přínosem ke kohezi textu. Co se týče formálního dělení diplomové práce, je tato rozdělena na dvě části, na teoretickou část a na praktickou část (analýzu). V teoretické části jsou podrobně vysvětleny jak termíny související s elipsou, tak elipsa samotná. V praktické části jsou všechny popsané druhy elipsy vyhledávány a srovnávány ve dvou textech.

Předtím, než je v teoretické části popisována *elipsa*, se pozornost věnuje termínům, které s elipsou souvisejí. Jedním z těchto termínů je *koheze*, která je charakterizována jako vlastnost jakéhokoli úspěšného textu. Koheze je odhalena tam, kde interpretace určitého elementu v diskurzu je závislá na elementu jiném. Tímto se tvoří *kohezní vazby*. Koheze je v teoretické části dále dělena na dvě skupiny, *gramatickou kohezi* a *lexikální kohezi*. Oba tyto typy jsou popsány, ale důraz je kladen hlavně na gramatickou kohezi, protože právě do této podskupiny patří i elipsa.

Jak již bylo řečeno, koheze je vlastností jakéhokoli úspěšného textu, pozornost je tedy věnována i termínu *text* jako takovému. Je také nastíněno, že co se týče vymezení termínu, je text těžko definovatelná jednotka. Několik z možných definic je také nabídnuto v teoretické části. Předtím, než se diplomová práce začne zabývat elipsou, je krátce zmíněn termín *koherence* a její vztah s kohezí.

Poté, co byly definovány pojmy související s elipsou, je pozornost věnována elipse jako takové. Jsou také uvedeny další typy struktur, které nejsou eliptické, ale u kterých dochází k vynechávání určitých části. Posléze je elipsa definována. Podobně jako u *textu*, je i u *elipsy* nabídnuto více definicí. Všechny se ale víceméně shodují na tom, že elipsa je vynechávání těch elementů, které si čtenář díky kontextu může doplnit.

Jakmile je elipsa podrobně definována a jsou uvedeny její charakteristické rysy, je elipsa porovnána se substitucí, poněvadž někteří gramatici elipsu uvádějí jako podskupinu substituce a definují ji jako „substituci ničím“. Na druhou stranu, jsou gramatici, kteří elipsu se substitucí vůbec neporovnávají a každou se zabývají jako samostatnou skupinou.

Předtím, než se v teoretické části elipsa rozdělí na dvě skupiny, je ještě krátce nastíněna elipsa v souvislosti s formalitou. Je okomentováno, jak jazyk zní, pokud se eliptické struktury nepoužívají a krátká zmínka je také věnovaná používání elipsy nerodilými mluvčími.

Dále už se v teoretické části elipsa dělí na *kohezní elipsu* a *nekohezní elipsu*. Oba tyto druhy jsou popsány společně s vymezeními, která se s nimi pojí. Je nastíněn hlavní rozdíl mezi těmito dvěma druhy elipsy. Kohezní elipsa je taková elipsa, která je identifikována mezi jednotlivými větami či souvětími diskurzu. Právě zde se dají identifikovat již zmíněné kohezní vazby. Pokud jde o nekohezní elipsu, ta se vykytuje v rámci jednoho souvětí, jinými slovy nemá vliv na kohezi textu jako takového, protože koheze pracuje pouze mezi větami a ne ve větách. Přes toto vymezení jsou ale popisovány oba druhy elips, protože tyto jsou i dále zkoumány v analýze.

Kohezní elipsa se dělí na tři skupiny podle elementu, který je vynechán. Kategoriemi kohezní elipsy jsou *nominální elipsa*, *verbální elipsa* a *větná elipsa*.

V nominální elipse dochází k vynechání řídícího členu jmenné fráze a jeho funkce je nahrazena jiným členem, který by normálně řídící člen pouze premodifikoval. Tímto nahrazujícím členem může být determinátor, číslovka, přídavné jméno nebo jiné podstatné jméno. Pokud jde o četnost, je nahrazení řídícího členu přídavným jménem a zvláště pak jiným podstatným jménem poměrně řídké.

Verbální elipsa se rozděluje do dvou skupin podle druhu slovesa, které bylo vynecháno. Takto můžeme rozlišit mezi *lexikální elipsou* a *elipsou pomocného slovesa* (operator ellipsis). U lexikální elipsy dochází k vynechání lexikálního slovesa. Lexikální elipsa je například charakteristická pro *tázací dovětky*. Co se týče elipsy pomocného slovesa, již z názvu je zřejmé, jaké elementy se v ní vynechávají. Za připomenutí stojí skutečnost, že někdy je možné vynechat více pomocných sloves a že elipsa pomocného slovesa často obsahuje i elipsu podmětu.

Větná elipsa zahrnuje vynechávání těch elementů, které nejsou pokryty nominální ani verbální elipsou. Tyto elementy jsou různé *doplňky* (complements) a *rozvíjející větné členy* (adjuncts). Za zmínku stojí, že větná elipsa se nevyskytuje často sama, ale spíše v kombinaci s verbální elipsou.

Poté, co byla rozčleněna elipsa kohezní, věnuje se teoretická část dále nekohezní elipse. Jsou uvedena kritéria pro nekohezní elipsu, z nichž ne všechna lze aplikovat na určitou situaci, podle čehož lze určit, že elipsa může splňovat všechna kritéria nebo pouze některá z kritérií. Podle počtu splněných kritérií se dají vymezit hranice elipsy od striktní elipsy až po sémantickou implikaci.

Nekohezní elipsu je možné rozdělit podle pozice, kde ve větě k eliptické struktuře dochází, takto rozlišujeme *iniciační elipsu*, *mediální elipsu* a *finální elipsu*.

Bez ohledu na pozici elipsy ve větě je možné také další dělení nekohezní elipsy, které je v teoretické části považováno za klíčové. Podle tohoto dělení je možno rozlišit *textuální elipsu*, *strukturální elips*u a *situační elipsu*.

Textuální elipsa je taková elipsa, kde je třeba znát kontext, aby bylo možné určit, jaké elementy bylo elipsou postiženy. S ohledem na skutečnost, jestli k elipse dochází pouze v rámci jedné věty, nebo jestli více elips probíhá ve více větách daného souvětí, je možno rozlišit *jednoduchou* a *komplexní elipsu*. Lze také rozlišit *anaforickou elipsu* (realizovaný člen je v předchozí větě) a *kataforickou elipsu* (realizovaný člen je v následující větě). Kataforická elipsa je v porovnání s anaforickou ojedinělý jev.

Co se týče vynechaných větných členů, textuální elipsa se dá rozdělit do několika skupin podle větného členu, který je jí zasažen. Elipsy těchto větných členů lze často také vzájemně kombinovat. Vynechávané větné členy jsou podrobně popsány v teoretické části. Často je textuální nekohezní elipsou postižen podmět, pomocné sloveso, přísudek, přímý předmět, doplněk podmětu nebo příslovečné určení. Je také zmíněno, že elipsa může proběhnout pouze v rámci jedné vět daného souvětí, jinými slovy, mezi jednotlivými větnými úseky. Zde může dojít k elipse podstatného jména (řídící člen jmenné fráze), přídavného jména nebo předložky.

Strukturální elipsa není ani anaforická, ani kataforická, protože ani v předešlé, ani v následující větě nemá svůj plně realizovaný předobraz. Strukturální elipsa totiž spoléhá na uživatelovu znalost daného jazyka, neboť se v ní vynechávají slova, jež mají nižší informační hodnotu a jejichž přítomnost není bezpodmínečně nutná.

Situační elipsa, někdy také nazývaná *elize*, není, na rozdíl od textuální elipsy, závislá na daném kontextu. Dochází při ní, podobně jako ve strukturální elipse, k vynechávání slov s nižší informační hodnotou. U situační elipsy se ale tato slova vynechávají pouze na začátku věty. Některé výrazy, kde dochází k situační elipse se používají mnohem častěji než jejich neeliptické předobrazy.

Posledním termínem vysvětleným v teoretické části je *exoforická elipsa*, u které je třeba, v porovnání se situační elipsou, znát kontext. Oproti textuální elipse jde ale o znalost vnějšího kontextu a tudíž je třeba přesně znát okolnosti, aby bylo možné určit, co přesně bylo eliptováno.

V praktické části se porovnávají dva přibližně stejně dlouhé texty, které jsou ale napsány ve dvou rozdílných stylech. První je vědecký text, kdežto druhý je konverzační text. Rozdílnost stylů byla zvolena účelně, aby bylo možné zjistit, které elipsy jsou charakteristické pro daný styl.

Přes hlavní zaměření diplomové práce nebyla pozornost v analýze věnována pouze kohezním, ale také nekohezním elipsám.

Ve vědeckém textu bylo celkově objeveno 211 elips, z nichž všechny byly nekohezní. Poměr anaforických a kataforických elips byl 184: 22. Zbylé elipsy (5) byly strukturální a jak již bylo řečeno, u strukturálních elips není možno určovat druh reference.

Konverzační text obsahoval celkově 207 elips. Na rozdíl od vědeckého textu, byla v konverzačním textu zjištěna přítomnost kohezních elips (41 případů = 20%). Pro kohezní elipsy je charakteristická anaforická reference, což bylo potvrzeno, kataforická reference se u kohezních elips nevyskytuje . Nekohezních elips bylo detekováno 101 (49%), 89 jich bylo použito anaforicky, zatímco pouze 12 kataforicky. Překvapivě vysoké číslo v porovnání s vědeckým textem se vyskytlo u strukturálních elips, kterých bylo objeveno celkově 64 (31%)

Poté, co se v praktické části představí číselné údaje obou textů, dochází k porovnání elips v jednotlivých textech.

Nejprve se texty srovnávají s ohledem na nekohezní elipsy. Dříve jsou srovnány texty z hlediska nekohezních elips podrobně popsaných v teoretické části a později se texty porovnávají z úhlu pohledu elips vyskytujících se zpravidla v rámci jedné věty – jsou porovnávány elipsy podstatného jména, přídavného jména, předložek a tak dále.

V některých případech bohužel, vzhledem k nízkým číslům, nebylo možné určit, jestli je daná elipsa spíše typická pro vědecký nebo konverzační styl. Nicméně několik případů nekohezních elips bylo spíše charakterističtějších pouze pro jeden ze zkoumaných textů. Toto se týká například elipsy podmětu, která se jeví jako typičtější pro vědecký text. Jedná se o celkem lehce odůvodnitelný fenomén, protože ve vědeckém textu se vyskytovalo poměrně dost souvětí, která měla stejný podmět a ten proto mohl být anaforicky vynechán. Na druhou stranu toto není často možné v konverzačních textech, kde, vzhledem ke vzoru otázka-odpověď, byly v jednotlivých větách rozdílné podměty a nekohezní elipsa podmětu se mezi jednotlivými větami ani

neprovádí. V konverzačním textu také nebylo tolik souvětí, ve kterých by se elipsa podmětu dala uplatnit.

Další elipsou typickou pro jeden z textů byla elipsa pomocného slovesa, která se často vyskytovala ve vědeckém stylu. Toto bylo zapříčiněno poměrně častým zastoupením komparativních vět, ve kterých by pomocné sloveso působilo jako substituent za předešlou větu. Je třeba ale zdůraznit, že některé komparativní věty díky aplikované elipse bohužel vyznívají dvojznačně, a proto by bylo vhodnější v podobných případech upřednostňovat neeliptické struktury.

Díky neformálnímu stylu, ve kterém je zkoumaný konverzační text veden, se strukturální elipsa stala typickým znakem konverzačního stylu. Oproti jejímu sporadickému zastoupení ve vědeckém textu, byla strukturální elipsa v konverzačním textu nejčastěji identifikovaným fenoménem. Z toho vyplývá, že strukturální elipsa je charakteristická pro texty napsané neformálním jazykem, kde je možno vypustit elementy nesoucí nižší informační hodnotu. V pozorovaných textech, obzvláště pak v konverzačním textu, pro který byla strukturální elipsa typická, se tato vyskytovala pouze jako elipsa spojky *that*. Někdy byla tato spojka vynechána ve vztažných větách, čímž došlo ke vzniku juxtaponovaných vztažných vět.

Ostatní nekohezní elipsy, s ohledem k jejich nízkému zastoupení, se neprokázaly být typické ani pro jeden ze zkoumaných textů. Situační elipsa nebyla zkoumána vzhledem k faktu, že tato nemá žádný vztah k danému kontextu.

Dalším jevem charakteristickým pro konverzační text je přítomnost kohezních elips. Tyto se vůbec nevyskytovaly ve vědeckém textu, z čehož lze usoudit, že kohezní vazby byly realizovány pomocí jiných prostředků, pomocí lexikální koheze nebo ostatních druhů gramatické koheze. Pokud jde ale o konverzační text, kohezní elipsa byla poměrně častým fenoménem, a proto ji lze označit za jeden z typických faktorů tvořící kohezní vazby. Nicméně je také třeba podotknout, že celkový počet kohezních elips ani v konverzačním textu nedosahoval počtu nekohezních elips. Toto je ale celkem lehce zdůvodnitelný poznatek, protože mezi jednotlivými větami nedochází k tolika elipsám, jako je tomu u elips nekohezních, jichž se v rámci jednoho souvětí může vyskytovat mnohem víc a může tak dojít ke komplexní elipse.

Jestliže se pozornost zaměří na jednotlivé typy kohezních elips, lze říci, že nejčastěji se vyskytovala větná elipsa, nicméně ne stojící o samotě, ale v kombinaci

s verbální elipsou (23 případů = 56%). Nebylo moc běžné identifikovat nominální, verbální nebo větnou elipsu stojící o samotě.

Pokud jde o nominální elipsu, řídící člen jmenné fráze byl nejčastěji nahrazen adjektivem (3 případy) a po jednom případu došlo k nahrazení číslovkou a determinátorem. Vzhledem k nízkému počtu vysledovaných případů ale nelze s jistotou určit, jestli by se poměr zastoupení nezměnil, kdyby byl zkoumaný text delší.

Podobná nejasnost jako u nominální elipsy, byla zjištěna i u elipsy verbální, kde dva případy byly určeny jako elipsa lexikálního slovesa a dva jako elipsa slovesa pomocného. Opět ale, vzhledem k nízkému počtu vysledovaných jevů, nelze daná čísla brát v potaz příliš vážně.

V závěru diplomované práce jsou shrnuty teoretické poznatky týkající se jak nekohezních, tak kohezních elips i vysledované poznatky z praktické části. Bylo potvrzeno, že kohezní elipsy jsou charakteristické pro ty texty, ve kterých se vyskytuje vzor otázka-odpověď, to znamená takové texty, kde lze elipsu provádět mezi jednotlivými větami. Stále je ale připomínán fakt, že i v konverzačním textu je nekohezní elipsa častějším fenoménem.

Je nabíledni, že elipsa ve vědeckém textu neslouží k realizaci kohezních vazeb a tyto se vyskytují díky jiným prostředkům koheze, ať už lexikálních nebo gramatických.

Aby bylo možno určit, obecně které typy kohezních elips se vyskytují častěji a konkrétněji, například které elementy přebírají funkci řídícího členu jmenné fráze v nominální elipse, bylo by potřeba zkoumat delší text napsaný v konverzačním stylu nebo v jakémkoli jiném stylu, kde by se hojně vyskytoval vzor otázka-odpověď.

Za úvahu by stálo porovnání více stylů z hlediska výskytu elipsy, případně srovnání četnosti dalších kohezních prostředků.

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Transcript of the interview analysed in the practical part taken from:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/newsnight/1372220.stm

11. List of symbols and abbreviations:

N – Numerative

H – Head

M – Modifier

E – Epithet

V – Verb

* - grammatically incorrect example

x – the symbol used for ellipsis within the analysed texts

12. List of appendices

Appendix 1 – scientific style

taken from: Romaine, Suzanne. 1994. *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Appendix 2 – conversational style

taken from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/newsnight/1372220.stm

register, and the relationship between spoken and written language varieties.

Ronald K. S. Macaulay's book *Locating Dialect in Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) looks at a range of syntactic and discourse variables in Scottish English.

— 4 —

Language and Gender

The first non-sexist Bible to be published in Britain was launched yesterday. The revisers have systematically changed expressions such as 'any man' to 'anyone', but have kept the masculine, especially for God, on the grounds that this is faithful to the original.

(*Guardian*, 4 Oct. 1985)

IN Chapter 3 we saw that one of the sociolinguistic patterns established by quantitative research on urban social dialects was that women, regardless of other social characteristics such as class, age, etc., use more standard forms of language than men. In fact, one sociolinguist has gone so far as to say that this pattern of sex differentiation is so ubiquitous in Western societies today that one could look at women's speech to determine which forms carry prestige in a community, and conversely, at men's to find out which are stigmatized. While many reasons, such as women's alleged greater status consciousness and concern for politeness, have been put forward to try to explain these results, they have never been satisfactorily accounted for.

For the most part, however, women's speech has just been ignored. Although one widely quoted linguist writing in the early part of this century actually devoted a chapter of his book on language to 'The Woman', in his view women had a debilitating effect on language and there was no corresponding chapter on 'The Man'. He believed there was a danger of language becoming languid and insipid if women's ways of speaking prevailed. While practically all linguists would regard these ideas as sexist, even some of the early work of the 1970s prompted by the women's movement proposing the existence of a 'women's language' has been recently criticized by feminists for its sexism. One particularly influential book tried to identify a number of characteristics of

women's speech which made women seem as if they were tentative, hesitant lacking in authority, and trivial. Take, for example, the use of so-called tag questions such as, *It's a nice day isn't it?* When a tag question is added onto a sentence, it may have a number of meanings. A speaker can make an assertion without appearing to be dogmatic leaving open the possibility that others may not agree. It can also be used to check whether one's ideas are accepted, or to put forward a suggestion without making it sound like a command. Some of the early research claimed that women used more tag questions because they were characteristic of the greater hesitancy of women, who were afraid to assert things without qualification. Another feature which has been associated with women is the use of a high rising tone at the end of an utterance, especially when making statements, which make it sound as if a question is being asked. This too was seen as an indication of women's tentativeness and lack of confidence in putting forward their views.

Such arguments are, however, circular: women were labelled as lacking in confidence because they used more tag questions and tag questions were thought to indicate a lack of confidence because they were used by women. Unfortunately, a great deal of the research on language and sex has suffered from this kind of circularity of has been anecdotal or flawed in other respects. When empirical studies were actually conducted to test some of these claims, some found that men actually used more tag questions than women. Nevertheless, this discovery was not accompanied by any suggestion that men might be lacking in confidence.

This shows that the way in which research questions are formed has a bearing on the findings, as I pointed out in Chapter 2. If men's speech is taken to the yardstick for comparison, then women's speech becomes secondary or a deviation which has to be explained. Similarly, because monolingualism has been taken as a societal norm, bilingualism is seen as problematic and in need of explanation, if not remediation and intervention (see Chapter 7). Those in a position of authority define the world from their perspective and so it is not surprising that academic disciplines are not only male-centric but Eurocentric too, since European males have defined the world's civilization in their own terms. Because males have been in power, they have enforced the myth of male superiority. Women and their speech have been measured

against male standards and found to be deficient and deviant, just as not too long ago there was a widespread consensus that something was 'wrong' with working-class speech, Black speech, etc.

Women occupy what might be called a problematic or negative semantic space. They are seen as derivative of men, or inferior versions of men. In practically all fields of research, it is women's differences from men and masculine norms which are seen as standing in need of some explanation. Because women (and other minority groups in society) are devalued, so is their language. But how much of what is believed to be characteristic of women's speech actually is? Some of the features thought to be part of 'women's language' can be found in use by males when those males are in a subordinate position. Thus, maybe women's language is really the 'language of powerlessness'? Women typically use the speech style they do because they are in less powerful positions in relation to men. Nevertheless, many feminists now argue that languages such as English have been literally 'man made' and are still primarily under male control. In their view, only radical reforms can create a situation in which women are not obliged to use a language which forces them to express themselves only as deficient males rather than in their own terms. Thus, women's liberation requires a linguistic liberation. The question of language and gender seen from a feminist perspective must address two fundamental questions: how do women speak? and how are they spoken about? In this chapter I will look at some of the research findings related to these issues in more detail.

Sex and gender

I have called this chapter 'language and gender' rather than 'language and sex' to draw attention to the fact that what concerns me here is the socio-cultural dimension of the division of humans into male and female persons (i.e. gender), rather than its biological determinants (i.e. sex). While the distinction between sex and gender is well established in usage, it presupposes that we can distinguish between innate and environmental differences, and that is far from the case at present. Again, part of the problem is that, even in biology, society's views about the cultural position of women dictate that men should be regarded as genetically

superior to women. The innatist position was summed up very well by John Stuart Mill when he wrote:

What it is to be a boy, to grow in the belief that without any merit or exertion of his own, by the mere fact of being born a male he is by right the superior of all of an entire half of the human race.

Much of the early research on female/male differences was undertaken primarily to try to validate this assumption. Women stood to lose much from such research because it tried to prove scientifically that certain characteristics, such as a societal division of labor which confined women to their roles as housewives, were 'natural', i.e. biologically based, and therefore inevitable and beyond questioning. For instance, the size and volume of women's brains were measured and when they were found to be smaller than men's, this was taken as a sign of genetic inferiority (see also Chapter 7). As late as 1873, it was argued that higher education for women would shrivel their reproductive organs and make them sterile. Even in the early part of this century it was suggested that allowing schoolgirls to play hockey would impair their ability to breastfeed in later life. Thus, men have used the observed differences between the sexes to justify their dominance and priority in the human scheme of things.

From a biological point of view, however, the development of the fertilized egg is basically female. For the first seven weeks of the life of a fetus internal and external genitalia look the same. Biological maleness is brought about when the embryonic gonads, glands which later become either male testes or female ovaries, start to produce the male hormone testosterone. This causes the genitals to assume male form and later is responsible for the appearance of secondary sexual characteristics. Whether the gonads become ovaries or testes is determined by the chromosomes received from the parents at the time of conception. All female eggs contain one of the sex chromosomes, X. Male sperm may be either X-chromosome (female) or Y-chromosome bearing (male). Some have, in fact, described the Y chromosome as an incomplete X. It is one of the smallest chromosomes and seems to carry no information other than maleness.

Many feminists have concluded from evidence such as this that the basic human form is female and that maleness represents an addition to this basically female ground-plan. Of course, all this

flies in the face of received wisdom handed down culturally, which suggests women are derivative of men, such as the Biblical account of God's creation of the two sexes, in which Adam is made first and Eve is formed later by God's taking of a rib from Adam. Interestingly, this idea that women are appendages to men finds a counterpart in many languages such as English, where many feminine occupational terms are formally derived from the male version, e.g. *manager/manageress*, and many women's names are diminutives of men's, e.g. *Henrietta, Georgette, Pauline*, but I have more to say about that later. The biological evidence for female basicness and superiority can also be strengthened by the fact that there are some species such as the whiptail lizard in the south-western United States which have only females. There are no all-male species. In a few species the males are eaten after they have fulfilled their role in reproduction. If we were to apply the logic often used by men that culture simply mirrors the natural state of affairs between the sexes, then really it is surprising that we refer to 'mankind' instead of 'womankind' and that it is women who are labelled as *manageresses, poetesses*, etc. But naming practices are social practices and symbolic of an order in which men come first, as can be seen in the conventions followed in expressions going back to *Adam and Eve*, such as *man and woman (wife), husband and wife, boys and girls*, etc. (a notable exception being *ladies and gentlemen*). Women are the second sex.

Other evidence cited by feminists in support of female superiority includes the fact that the lack of a second X chromosome puts men at a biological disadvantage. Some sex-linked diseases are passed through the Y chromosome from fathers to sons. Still others are more likely to occur if there is no counterbalancing X chromosome. Haemophilia and disabilities such as red-green color-blindness are among the hundred or more known sex-linked disorders found mostly in males. Being male is also associated with higher mortality during gestation and afterwards throughout childhood and adulthood. Many childhood diseases affect males more than females, thus suggesting that males are biologically the more fragile members of the human species. This too is at odds with the cultural stereotype of women as fragile and passive. Very quickly, however, it becomes difficult to disentangle what is innate from what is cultural because one reason for men's greater mortality later in life maybe that men seek medical help less

readily than females. Greater strength, aggression, and physical activity are part of the male stereotype. Some diseases are more frequently found in men because they are associated with male lifestyles, e.g. lung cancer, heart attacks, cirrhosis of the liver. However, now that it is more socially acceptable for women to drink, smoke, and engage in high-stress executive positions which have been associated with these illnesses, the gap between death rates for men and women from these causes has lessened.

Some evidence of how much is learned through socialization as a male or female child rather than part of genetic inheritance can be obtained from cases such as the one in which one of a pair of identical male twins was raised as a female. At the age of 7 months the twins were circumcised by electrocautery and one of the boys' penis was burned off by an overly powerful current. A consultant plastic surgeon recommended raising 'him' as a girl. When the child was 17 months old they changed 'his' name, clothing, and hairstyle and four months later 'he' underwent surgery to reconstruct 'his' genitals as female. When the twins were 4 years old, the mother remarked of the girl that she was amazed by how feminine she was. She said, 'I've never see a little girl so neat and tidy as she can be ...'. She is very proud of herself, when she puts on a new dress, or I set her hair. She just loves to have her hair set; she could sit under the drier all day long ...'. Thus, in the words of one feminist, 'One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.' I will have more to say later about how girls learn to talk like ladies.

Another area where biology and culture interact can be seen in features of speech such as pitch. On average, men have lower-pitched speaking voices than women. This difference is at least partly anatomical. Men have larger larynxes and their longer and thicker vocal cords vibrate at lower fundamental frequencies. Fundamental frequency is the main (though not the only) determinant of perceived pitch. It has also been observed that women use a wider pitch range than men. This is what gives rise to the stereotype that women are more excitable and emotional than men. However, male/female differences in pitch cannot be fully accounted for without reference to social factors. Adult Polish men, for instance, have higher-pitched voices than American men. Speakers can also be taught to use pitch levels which are not appropriate to the size and shape of their larynx. A well known

case is Margaret Thatcher, whose female voice was considered a liability to the public image of her the media wanted to project. In fact, one source noted that 'the selling' of Margaret Thatcher as a politician had been set back years by the mass broadcasting of Prime Minister's question time since she had to be at her 'shrillest' to be heard over the din. She undertook training both to lower her average pitch and to reduce her pitch range and was advised to try to maintain a steady pitch to carry her voice through rather than over the noise.

All speakers raise their pitch somewhat in public speaking to make themselves heard, but because most women's voices are already higher-pitched than those of men, they have less leeway to raise their pitch before listeners start to perceive them as shrill and emotional. Women have been typically excluded from media positions as announcers and broadcasters because it was thought that their voices lacked authority. Women were therefore seen as unsuitable for conveying information about serious topics such as the news. Apparently, it is still difficult to persuade the BBC to let women produce commentaries or voice-overs.

Significant differences between male and female pitch do not appear to emerge until puberty, but it has also been shown that the voices of adult deaf males who have never heard speech do not 'break' at puberty. All these things indicate that pitch is at least partly a matter of cultural convention. There may be a biological element to it too. Over time, human as well as animal males have developed low-pitched voices to sound dominant and aggressive, probably in order to compete with one another for access to female mating partners. When animals fight, the larger and more aggressive one wins. It was thus advantageous from an evolutionary point of view for males to try to alter their pitch to signal large body size. Before we look at how children are socialized in male or female roles, we need to examine in more detail the claims made by feminists that language reflects the sexism in society.

Man-made language?

We saw in Chapter 1 that one of the crucial factors in our construction of the world is language itself a human creation. But feminists argue that it is a language made by men *for* men in order

to represent their point of view and perpetuate it. In this world-view women are seen as deviant and deficient. Sexism in language can be demonstrated with many different kinds of evidence. Words for women have negative connotations, even where the corresponding male terms designate the same state or condition for men. Thus, *spinster* and *bachelor* both designate unmarried adults, but the female term has negative overtones to it. Such a distinction reflects the importance of society's expectations about marriage, and more importantly, about marriageable age. The Pope is also technically a bachelor, but by convention, he is not referred to as one since he is obliged not to marry. A spinster is also unmarried but she is more than that: she is beyond the expected marrying age and therefore seen as rejected and undesirable. These are cultural stereotypes.

The bias is far-reaching and applies even to our associations of *man* versus *woman*. No insult is implied if you call a woman an 'old man', but to call a man an 'old woman' is a decided insult. Where similar terms exist, such as *mother* or *father*, their meanings are different. To say that a woman *mothered* her children is to draw attention to her nurturing role, but to say that a man *fathered* a child is to refer only to his biological role in conception. The notion of mothering can be applied to other people and children other than one's own, whereas fathering cannot. More recently, the term *surrogate mother* has been used to refer to a woman in her biological role as mother. As I was writing this book, such a surrogate mother was the first woman to give birth to her own grandchildren. Now there are many kinds of mothers, e.g. *biological mother, surrogate mother, unwed mother, single mother, birth mother, working mother,* and even *natural mother*. The fact that these notions vary from our cultural stereotype of housewife-mother is signalled linguistically by the use of special terms to refer to them. We make inferences from such terms and use them in our thinking about men and women. There is no term *working father* because it is redundant. Likewise, we do not normally talk of *single* or *unwed fathers* because there is no stigma attached to this status for men.

Because the word *woman* does not share equal status with *man*, terms referring to women have undergone pejoration. If we examine pairs of gender-marked terms such as *lord/lady, baronet/ dame, Sir/Madam, master/mistress, king/queen, wizard (warlock)/*

witch, etc., we can see how the female terms may start out on an equal footing, but they become devalued over time. *Lord,* for instance, preserves its original meaning, while *lady* is no longer used exclusively for women of high rank. *Baronet* still retains its original meaning, but *dame* is used derogatorily, especially in American usage. *Sir* is still used as a title and a form of respect, while a *madam* is one who runs a brothel. Likewise, *master* has not lost its original meaning, but *mistress* has come to have sexual connotations and no longer refers to the woman who has control over a household. There is a considerable discrepancy between referring to someone as an *old master* as opposed to *an old mistress.* Both *hussy* and *housewife* have their origin in Old English *huswif,* but *hussy* has undergone semantic derogation. *King* has also kept its meaning, while *queen* has developed sexual connotations. *Wizard* has actually undergone semantic ameliora-tion, or upgrading: to call a man a wizard is a compliment, but not so for the woman who is branded (or in medieval times burned) as a witch.

Words like *biddy* and *tart* have changed dramatically since they were first used as terms of endearment. *Tart* meant a small pie or pastry and was later extended to express affection. Then it was used to refer to a woman who was sexually desirable and to a woman of the street. In general, it seems that English has many more terms to refer to a sexually promiscuous female than to a sexually promiscuous male. According to one count, there are 220 words for such women, while only twenty for men. Some of the more common derogatory terms applied to men, such as *bastard* and *son of a bitch,* actually degrade women in their role as mothers. Because it is men who make the dictionaries and define meanings, they persistently reserve the positive semantic space for themselves and relegate women to a negative one.

The prevailing world-view that everyone is male unless other-wise designated is manifested in various ways in language as well as in models of linguistic analysis. Some analyses assume maleness is the more basic semantic category and that females are therefore to be described as [− male]. (It is conventional in linguistics to enclose features which have plus or minus values within square brackets.) Thus, if we were to break down nouns such as *man* and *woman, boy* and *girl* into their semantic primitives (see Table 4.1), we would analyze them as follows. All the terms share the feature

of [animacy], which distinguishes them from inanimate objects such as tables and chairs, and the words *boy* and *girl* are distinguished from *man* and *woman* in terms of both sex as well as age. We also need the feature [human] to distinguish between human beings and other animate beings such as cats and dogs, which would be marked for [−human]. Again, we see a bias expressed in the distinction [−human] and [−adult], which suggests that the adult human life form or state is more basic, and that children are in a sense regarded as deficient adults, while animals are not on a par with humans. One could of course argue precisely the opposite from a biological point of view since all adults were once children, and pushing the argument further, humans are evolutionarily later life forms than animals. While such a feature analysis may seem elegant since it captures a number of semantic contrasts with a minimum of binary features, it is sexist and one can easily see that the cards are stacked against women, who have one negative feature, and little girls, who have two strikes against them. Is it surprising that grown women have objected to being called 'girls'?

It is not hard to see why women have been especially sensitive to gender differences in naming practices and forms of address since these are a particularly telling indicator of one's social status. To answer Shakespeare's question of 'what's in a name?', we could reply, a person's social place. To be referred to as 'the Mrs' or 'the little woman' indicates the inferior status to which men have allocated women. For many men in particular, feminism has been equated with what is perceived as a pointless and at times amusing or irksome insistence on the replacement of titles such as *Mrs* and *Miss* with *Ms* and other gender-marked terms such as *busboy* with *busperson*. Many articles and cartoons such as the one in Fig. 4.1 appear in the press about this, and most have a jocular tone to them, suggesting that somehow the proposed

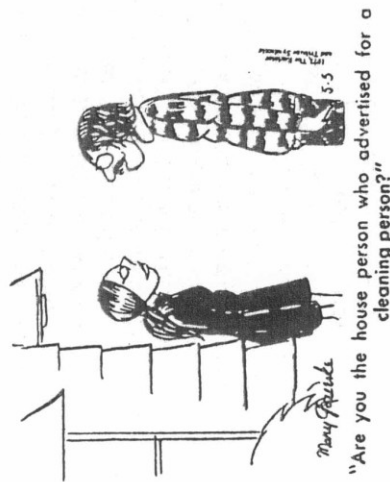"Are you the house person who advertised for a cleaning person?"

FIG. 4.1. House persons and cleaning persons

gender-neutral terms are ridiculous and preposterous. One press item, for instance, had the title 'Death of a salesperson', another from New Zealand 'Gone like the melting snowperson', and still others created terms such as *one upspersonship*. One male humorist suggested *Mush* (abbreviated *Mh*) as a title for unmarried men.

When I first began teaching in Britain, I was puzzled by the fact that males and females were indicated on student lists by using the initials and last names for the men, while women had the title *Miss* (or *Mrs*) added to their names. When I asked a colleague why this was the case, he replied that it was done so that we would know which students were male and female. He had no answer to my next questions, which were why on a class list it was even necessary to know, or why the women were singled out to have titles indicating their marital status. That was simply the way it had always been done, and it had never occurred to him that we should abandon this as a sexist practice.

This system of marking the females is still used at all levels of society. At the time I was appointed to my chair at Oxford, there were only three women holding the rank of full professor out of a total of more than 200 professors. (There are not many more women in such positions now!) In the diaries printed for academic staff, and in various other official lists of the university and the

TABLE 4.1. *Semantic-feature analysis of* man, woman, boy, *and* girl

man	woman	boy	girl
[+animate]	[+animate]	[+animate]	[+animate]
[+human]	[+human]	[+human]	[+human]
[+adult]	[+adult]	[−adult]	[−adult]
[+male]	[−male]	[+male]	[−male]

different colleges, the names of men are still given in this way or with a title, followed by a list of degrees and where they were obtained, so that, for instance, a man named John Smith who is professor of modern history would be listed as J. Smith, MA, Ph.D. (Edinburgh), Professor of Modern History. I and my women colleagues are given a title, either *Miss* or *Mrs*, rather than simply 'Professor' before our names. The term *Ms* is still not as widely used in Britain as it is in the United States (where since 1973 it has been sanctioned as an optional title), as can be seen in sporting events such as the Wimbledon tennis matches, where women players such as Chris Evert and Billy Jean King are referred to as *Miss Evert* (or more recently *Mrs Lloyd*) and *Mrs King*, but men are referred to with last name only.

Many feminists have pointed out that it is difficult even to trace the history of women because the history of most countries, as Virginia Woolf said in talking about England, is 'the history of the male line'. Fathers pass their names on to both male and female children, and when women marry they have traditionally taken the names of their husbands. Only men have a right to the permanency of their names. Traditional Scandinavian naming practices call attention to the importance of the male heir line since both the female and male children in a family would carry names such as *Johansson*, literally 'Johann's son', and even in Iceland, where names such as *Johansdottir* 'Johann's daughter' were used, the female child is still seen as a possession of the father. A common practice among some feminists has been to replace the father's last name with the name of a female friend or relative, or to drop the father's name. In this way, Julia Stanley has become Julia Penelope. Similar motivations are behind the change in designations witnessed among newly independent countries such as Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) and Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), and the practice among certain Black Muslims to take new names. In his autobiography Malcolm X makes the point that the names of Blacks were appropriated by their White masters. In changing their names, women and other minorities are asserting their right to be called by a name of their own choosing rather than one given by an oppressor. Names are a fundamental part of our identity.

Non-reciprocity of address to women is a feature of many societies. Javanese women use more deferential speech levels to

their husbands than they receive in return. I mentioned in Chapter 1 that there were four different Japanese pronouns for 'I'. When used by women, the terms represent a lesser degree of deference than when used by men. Traditionally, only men used the terms *boku* and *ore* to refer to themselves, although now some feminists have begun to use *boke*. To take some examples from Western societies, women teachers in some schools in Italy tended to be addressed as *signora* 'Mrs' or *signorina* 'Miss', but men received a title plus their last name. Some women did not regard this as unfair since they thought of *signora* as a term of respect and valued their role as women more than the role of professional. In one school, the headmaster announced a policy specifying that he would address the women by *signora* or *signorina* plus last name and the men by their first name. The male teachers could also address him by first name, but women were expected to call him *headmaster* or *Mr Headmaster*. Women in many non-English-speaking countries have proposed titles similar to *Ms*, such as the Danish *Fr.* to replace *Fru* 'Mrs' and *fröken* 'Miss', and the French *Mad.* to replace *Madame* 'Mrs' and *Mademoiselle* 'Miss'.

Women are also more likely than men to be addressed by their first names. Women often protest that male doctors call them by their first names even on the first consultation. Men, however, are more likely to be addressed by a title plus last name. It would, however, break the rules of address if women were to call their doctors by their first names. Patients are subordinate to doctors, but it seems that female patients are even more so. Doctors interrupt female patients and female doctors are interrupted more by male patients than male doctors, which suggests that to be a woman is to be a subordinate, no matter what professional level she attains. Some feminists recommend that women should begin using their male doctors' first names to draw attention to sexist practices. I recall being somewhat surprised to be addressed by first name in a letter written to me by the senior partner in an accounting firm, whom I had never met or spoken to before, even though I was a client of one of the junior female partners. So I wrote back to him and addressed him by his first name. The use of reciprocal first names in English-speaking countries and many other places too is indicative of intimacy and familiarity, while non-reciprocal use is indicative of unequal power.

Another example of the marking of women can be seen in the

use of titles such as *lady/woman/female doctor*. It is assumed that a doctor is a man, so a woman who is a doctor must somehow be marked as such, which conveys the idea that she is not the 'real' thing. Conversely, we have terms such as *male nurse*, where the male has to be marked because the norm is assumed to be female (compare also *widow* and *widower*). Similarly, the expectation is that men have careers, so that women who do so must be marked as the deviant *career woman*. In my college at Oxford, which was formerly all-male, I am often referred to as the college's 'lady professor'. Even after I became the college's first woman fellow, it was and still is common for speakers at college meetings to begin their remarks by saying, 'Gentlemen'. I routinely received announcements about events such as the annual fellows' wives' dinner asking me to indicate if I would be bringing my wife. I cannot count how many times when I was present among the still primarily male gatherings at my college that it was assumed I was either someone's wife or a junior research fellow. Not surprisingly, a lady fellow who is also a professor is marked by her presence in a context where all fellows are assumed literally to be fellows.

Other examples which show the markedness of females in relation to males can be found in the many cases where female terms are formed from the male terms by adding endings such as —*ess*, e.g. *actor/actress*, *major/majorette*. We can compare other terms such as *salesman/saleswomen/salesgirl* (though not *salesboy*). This is found in other languages too, such as German, where *der Student* 'the student' is male and *die Studentin* 'the student' is female. We can see in this example a significant difference between English and many other languages. English does not require the use of gender-differentiated forms of the definite article and other similar words. Other European languages have two or three so-called 'genders', masculine, feminine and neuter. All nouns, not just those referring to males and females, must be either masculine or feminine and the articles, adjectives, or other modifiers that go with them must be marked accordingly, as in French *la semaine dernière* 'the past week' (feminine) versus *le bureau nouveau* 'the new office' (masculine). Women use forms such as *je suis contente* 'I am happy' and *je suis allée* 'I went', while men say *je suis content* and *je suis allé*.

In these languages, however, gender is a grammatical category

similar to the four-way classification system for Dyirbal nouns which I discussed in Chapter 1. The fact that a noun is feminine, for instance, is no guarantee that the entity it refers to is feminine. A noun that is classified as feminine in one language might be masculine in another. For instance, French *la voiture* 'car' is feminine while German *der Wagen* is masculine. English, on the other hand, is a language which is said to have 'natural' gender; items which are referred to as 'she' are in fact (with a few exceptions to be noted below) feminine in the real world.

The contrast is humorously illustrated in this extract from one of Mark Twain's stories, where he confuses natural and grammatical gender in his suggestion that 'a young lady has no sex, while a turnip has' because the word for young woman is *das Mädchen*, neuter in gender.

Gretchen. Wilhelm, where is the turnip? [German *die Rübe*]
Wilhelm. She has gone to the kitchen.
Gretchen. Where is the accomplished and beautiful English maiden?
[German *das Mädchen*]
Wilhelm. It has gone to the opera.

The traditional distinction between 'natural' and 'grammatical' gender, however, is fraught with problems since there is 'leakage' from society even into languages with so-called grammatical gender. This has some consequences for the kinds of language reform which can be undertaken in particular languages, as I will show later. While German speakers do not, of course, conceive of trees as male, their leaves as sexless, and their buds as female simply because the corresponding words belong to the masculine, neuter, and feminine gender categories respectively (cf. *der Baum* 'the tree', *das Blatt* 'the leaf', *die Blume* 'the flower'), nevertheless, insulting terms for males often take the feminine article, e.g. *die Memme* 'male coward', *die Tunte* 'gay male' (but *der Zahn* 'sexually desirable young girl'). In English, which is supposed to be a language with 'natural' gender, ships, boats, cars, and, until recently, hurricanes were referred to as 'she'. Such usages reflect the male point of view which dictates that effeminate men are not masculine and that cars and boats, like women, are generally owned and controlled by men, while hurricanes are destructive and irrational forces, akin to Dyirbal's fire and dangerous things.

As I pointed out in Chapter 1, we must be careful not to make

simplistic equations between categories of the mind and categories of grammar. I showed how the Dyirbal classification drew on perceived as well as culturally derived similarities and associations which resulted in a grouping of women, fire, and dangerous things into one category. Fire belongs to this category since it is associated with the sun, and recall that sun is a member by virtue of a Dyirbal myth in which the sun is the wife of the moon. But can we conclude that Dyirbal speakers are induced by this linguistic schema to see a motivation behind these associations? Actually, there is some evidence to support this because one male speaker consciously linked fire and danger to women in saying 'buni [fire] is a lady. Ban buni [class II fire]. You never say bayi buni [class I fire]. It's a lady. Woman is a destroyer.' 'e destroys anything. A woman is a fire.' However, this requires further systematic testing, which is problematic since Dyirbal is a dying language and the classification system has been dramatically simplified or is no longer used by younger speakers.

Now we can ask what some of the consequences are of the linguistic fact that certain male terms include females. Where gender-differentiated pairs of words exist, such as *dog* and *bitch*, the male term can be taken to include the female. This has been applied to pronouns too. Grammarians tell us that the male pronouns and certain other terms such as *mankind, manpower, man-made*, and, of course, even *man*, as in *prehistoric man*, generic, we would not find sentences such as this one odd: *Man, being a mammal, breastfeeds his young*. French feminists have seized upon the shock value associated with such unexpected usages in their slogan *un homme sur deux est une femme* 'one man out of two is a woman'. Male terms used to include females are called 'androcentric generics'. Grammarians also tell us that *everyone should get his hat* is supposed to refer to both men and women, despite the use of the masculine pronoun *his*. In informal English, of course, the alternative, *everybody should get their hat*, exists even though it has been condemned as non-standard. However, many people have seen it as a more elegant replacement for masculine pronouns than using both *he* and *she*, i.e. *everyone should get his or her hat*. Some feminists have suggested new gender-neutral singular pronouns such as *tey* to replace *she* and *he*, or combining them as *s/he*. But do androcentric

generics actually influence the way we conceive of the entities they refer to?

Experiments have shown that women feel excluded when they read texts with generic *he*. When people are asked to make drawings to go with such texts, they tend to draw men. Results such as these show that the structure of language can affect thought processes. They point to the psychological cost many women experience at being non-persons in their own language. Women are at the margins of the category of 'human beings'. Just as when we think of a prototypical bird, the chicken does not readily come to mind. It is somehow less of a bird than a robin or sparrow. Still, we must exercise caution because there are some Aboriginal Australian languages in which the unmarked gender is female. Unfortunately, we do not have adequate information about the social groups in which these languages are spoken. There are also some languages where a mixed group of people is referred to with a feminine plural pronoun, but in at least one of them, the feminine form is used because the presence of even one woman in a male group is enough to contaminate it, and therefore a marked pronoun must be used. From all these examples we can conclude that grammatical categories may lead us to perceive things in certain ways, so that women are in effect contaminated by their association with fire and dangerous things in Dyirbal, as well as in English, where terms marked as female may be used to express or create negative views of women. My quotation at the beginning of this chapter drew attention to the way in which our mental imagery associated with God is masculine. After all, God made man in *his* own image!

If the perception of women is culturally derived, then we might expect anthropological research to reveal some interesting cross-cultural differences in the position of men and women. While this is true, it must also be pointed out that, for the most part, women were ignored by anthropologists. Men were seen as a more legitimate object of study if one wanted to understand a culture. One of the earliest studies which set the tone for much of the discipline and established a working method which is still widely practiced today by anthropologists was devoted to an explication of the kula, a trading system organized across great distances in the south-western Pacific whereby bracelets went in one direction, and necklaces in the other. The kula network, a male activity, was

seen as fundamental to all aspects of the culture, while women's gathering×and×trading of brown leaves was not noticed until recently. Now, however, the women's exchange has been seen to play a crucial role in the community's life-stage rituals, which were run by women.

Nevertheless, there were some intriguing mentions in some of the early anthropological literature of cultures with male×and ×female languages. In Yana, an American Indian language, most words have distinct male×and female forms. The male forms are used exclusively by males speaking to other males, but the female forms are used not only by females speaking to other females, but also by females speaking to males and males speaking to females.

Learning to talk like a lady

Recently, much less attention has been focused on individual words used by men and women, and more on their conversational styles. We are all familiar with the stereotype that women 'gossip' and 'chatter' while men 'talk shop', but actual research reveals that men talk much more than women across a wide range of contexts, e.g. in husband–wife interaction, TV discussions, meetings, etc. Women are expected to remain silent, so when they do talk, it is noticed and commented upon negatively. The topics that women discuss are different from those of men, and typical female topics such as child-rearing and personal relationships are seen as trivial when compared with male topics such as sports, politics, etc. However, these judgements reflect the differing social values we have of men and women which define what men do as more important. A British newspaper carried the headline 'girl talk' to describe a meeting between Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi when the two were Prime Ministers in their respective countries. One study showed that women did not in fact talk more about topics which were independently rated as trivial by both men and women. Actually, nearly half of all the discussions undertaken by all-male, all-female, and mixed-sex groups were on topics that had been independently judged as trivial.

Studies have revealed quite different patterns of verbal interaction in all-male and all-female groups, which begin in early years when children play in same-sex peer groups. Boys tend to have a larger network than girls, who usually have one or two girlfriends

with whom they play regularly. To some extent the size of these groups may be determined by the different types of activities they engage in. It takes only three girls to skip rope or two to play house, while more boys are needed for team sports such as football. Extensive interaction in single-sex peer groups is probably a crucial source of the gender differentiation patterns found by sociolinguists.

Although much less attention has been paid to girls' networks than those of boys, there are observable differences in the way in which language is used in boys' versus girls' play. Girls use language to create and maintain cohesiveness, and their activities are generally cooperative and non-competitive. Differentiation between girls is not made in terms of power. When conflicts arise, the group breaks up. Bossiness tends not to be tolerated, and girls use forms such as 'let's', 'we're gonna', 'we could' to get others to do things, instead of appealing to their personal power. When they argue, girls tend to phrase their arguments in terms of group needs rather than in personal terms.

Boys, on the other hand, tend to have more hierarchically organized groups than girls, and status in the hierarchy is paramount. In boys' groups speech is used to assert dominance, to attract and maintain an audience when others have the floor. They issue commands to other boys rather than suggest what should be done. Certain kinds of stylized speech events, such as joking and story-telling, are valued in boys' groups. A boy has to learn how to get the floor to perform so that he can acquire prestige. Some of the most extensive sociolinguistic work on the verbal skills of male peer groups has been done in Black communities in the United States, where there are a number of competitive speech events such as sounding or playing the dozens in which insults (usually about mothers) are exchanged. Some of these are in the form of rhymed couplets and some are more like taunts or challenges, e.g. 'Your mother wears high-heeled sneakers to church'. The winner in these contests is the boy with the largest store of sounds and the best delivery. High value is placed on obscene language and swearing.

Some of these differences can be found in the following examples of talk in single-sex peer groups among Black working-class children between the ages of 8 and 13. In the first extract the boys are making slingshots from coat-hangers, and in the second the girls are making rings from old bottle-tops:

JEREMY PAXMAN:
Prime Minister, there aren't enough doctors or nurses. There aren't enough teachers. There are more cars on the road than when you came to power. The train service doesn't work. Violent crime is rising. Is that what you meant by the new Britain?

TONY BLAIR:
No. We accept there are all sorts of things we still have to do - to take each one of those things in turn. There are more doctors than when we came to power. There are about 17,000 more nurses. Crime is down 10%, burglary down 25%. I would say, we don't say we've done everything. We've made a start, we've laid foundations.

PAXMAN:
You said "over the five years of a Labour Government, we will rebuild the NHS."

BLAIR:
We made a specific pledge on waiting lists. And we said we'd start to put right the rebuilding of a National Health Service where it depended on need. And as a result we've actually got some 17,000 more nurses and more doctors.

PAXMAN:
But you said "over the five years of a Labour Government we will rebuild the NHS." Did you underestimate the task?

BLAIR:
I don't think we underestimated the task.

PAXMAN:
Why say you could do it in five years?

BLAIR:
We didn't.

PAXMAN:
You said you would rebuild the NHS in five years.

BLAIR:
We made it clear we couldn't do everything in the first term.

PAXMAN:
Why did you say it?

BLAIR:
If you look at the full text, we made it clear...

PAXMAN:
It's in the manifesto.

BLAIR:
It is in the manifesto. We made a specific pledge, to get the waiting lists down by 100,000. We have achieved that pledge, but it is plain that we have to... It is plain that it was never going to be done overnight. Of course it will take time.

PAXMAN:
It was a mistake to say it then?

BLAIR:
No. We do have to rebuild the National Health Service. We are doing it.

PAXMAN:
You said "we WILL" rebuild the NHS in five years.

BLAIR:
What we said was that we will rebuild the National Health Service. And that is precisely what we are doing.

PAXMAN:
Over the five years of a Labour Government. It says so.

BLAIR:
We made it absolutely clear to people. The pledge we gave on health was a pledge that we would reduce waiting lists by 100,000. By no stretch of the imagination could you say that is every problem the National Health Service dealt with. We never pledged incidentally in the last manifesto a single extra nurse, but we have provided 17,000 more.

PAXMAN:
But you did pledge to...

BLAIR:
We didn't commit ourselves to providing any extra doctors or consultants but we have.

PAXMAN:
But you did pledge to rebuild the NHS in five years. You accept that hasn't happened. You've made a start on it.

BLAIR:
We certainly made a start on it. Incidentally, before you leave that, I made it absolutely clear throughout that we could not accomplish it all in one term.

PAXMAN:
Are you still committed to reaching the European average on health spending by 2003/2004?

BLAIR:
No, I didn't say we were committed to that.

PAXMAN:
You did say...

BLAIR:
I said that by the end of the second Comprehensive Spending Review, I wanted to reach the European average.

PAXMAN:
When is that?

BLAIR:
The first Comprehensive Spending Review comes to an end 2003/4 and then you have the next three-year period after that.

PAXMAN:
We are talking about 2006/2007?

BLAIR:
Yes. I made it clear again - because this refers to an interview on the Frost programme - we could only do that provided the economy remains strong.

PAXMAN:
That would be the intention - to reach the European average at that date, not the European average at the time you made the promise?

BLAIR:
Exactly.

PAXMAN:
It's a promise firmly...

BLAIR:
Assuming the strength of the economy. I can't write the Comprehensive Spending Review now.

PAXMAN:
So it's just an aspiration?

BLAIR:
It's what I said at the time. You probably have the words...

PAXMAN:
Yes...

BLAIR:
..Of what I said, you will see that I said that, provided the economy remains strong, then we should be able to reach the European average. And incidentally, if we do that, we will only be able to achieve the changes we want to the health service if we accompany it by far-reaching reform. Money is not all it needs.

PAXMAN:
But it is a firm commitment that by 2006/7, if the European average is 8% or 9%, it will be that in this country unless we have had economic collapse?

BLAIR:
No, I didn't say unless there was an economic collapse, I said provided the economy carried on being strong. I wasn't saying there would be a collapse.

PAXMAN:
Strong is a relative judgment.

BLAIR:
It is. It stands to reason that obviously you can't sit down and work out your spending plans now. But it is our objective to reach the European average, and it is our objective to carry on not merely raising health service spending but education spending as well. Which is why the choice in the election is so stark. The Conservatives are saying ₤20 billion worth of cuts and we're saying keep the investment going.

PAXMAN:
I assume you believe the economy will remain strong?

BLAIR:
I certainly do believe that, yes.

PAXMAN:
Can we look then at your longer term plans? There are proposals in here, and everybody understands that this is a longer term project you are embarked upon, but the plans here stretch ten years. So not just this government but the next government?

BLAIR:
It's sensible in public services to set out a longer term perspective, which is why we have for health, education, transport and so on.

PAXMAN:
But your budget plans only extend to 2003/4. Do you accept that at that point you'll have to cut spending plans or you will have to raise taxes?

BLAIR:
No, I don't accept that. The reason we've been able to get so much money going into the health service and schools now, why we have forward investment plans for schools, hospitals, crime, transport, is because we have had a strong economy and because of two other things which are absolutely vital. The first is a reduction of the national debt, which is reduced interest payments on debt. We were paying out more on interest payments on debt than on the school system when we came in. We're now spending £10 billion more on schools. Secondly, because unemployment is down, there are fewer benefit claimants. Many people have moved into work through programmes like the New Deal, and so we have saved several billion pounds like that as well.

PAXMAN:
So, it can be squared, this circle?

BLAIR:
Well, you can spend more money provided you have a) a strong economy, and b) you are making sure that you are not spending on the costs of economic and social failure. You referred to my manifesto at the last election. I think it was the opening point of the 10-point contract - was spending less on the bills of social and economic failure and more on investment in education.

PAXMAN:
You talk in the latest manifesto for this election about using the private sector to support public endeavour in the public services. What do you think the private sector could do that can't be done by the public sector?

BLAIR:
You have a very good example with the PFI programmes on both school and hospital building. They have been successful - we have built the hospitals on cost and on time. That is one example. Another example is in winter pressures. This year, particularly, we have been prepared to use the private sector where the public sector doesn't have enough facilities to do so.

PAXMAN:
You have been talking about a radical second term.

BLAIR:
Mm-hm.

PAXMAN:
You are now talking about more of the same.

BLAIR:
No, I am not talking about more of the same but building on what we have done. But that is not the only thing about the health service plan that is important. The plan is also important, for example, breaking down the demarcations between nurses and doctors and consultants. I see no reason why nurses can't prescribe more medicines, do some of the jobs that doctors or consultants have traditionally done. There are doctors already in this country today providing some of the minor surgery, consultants reorganising the entire way they work.

PAXMAN:
But when you talk about the spirit of entrepreneurship entering into the public services, does that indicate that you made a mistake in reversing many of the Conservatives' divisions between providers and purchasers, for example, or GP fund-holders?

BLAIR:
In the health service?

PAXMAN:
Yes

BLAIR:
No, I don't think so. The trouble with the fund-holder system was you had a two-tier system.

PAXMAN:
How will it manifest itself then?

BLAIR:
That is a classic example of a change that's not to do with the private sector, but the primary care trusts which bring together groups of local GPs and others, they are able far more effectively to organise their system and get decent health care for people. By 2004 , they will handle something like 75% of the entire NHS budget. That is a hugely radical change, but it is not in fact dependent on the relationship with the private sector. Having said that, I see no reason why you shouldn't break down barriers between the public and private sector and the voluntary sector.

PAXMAN:
What is the model here, Railtrack? No, It's not. We opposed rail privatisation and we are not following that in any of the work with the private sector we are doing.

PAXMAN:
What is the model then?

BLAIR:
I have given you an example - the private finance initiative for schools and hospitals is an example of the private and public sector working together.

PAXMAN:
A lot of people who work in the public sector have asked me - will you ask the Prime Minister why he is so in love with the private sector?

BLAIR:
I am not in love with the private sector. I simply believe in getting the job done by the most appropriate means.

PAXMAN:
But don't you remember your remarks about scars on your back?

BLAIR:
That was about pushing through change in the public sector and of how difficult it is. But if you talk to a big private sector manager who pushed through change there, they would find it difficult there. What I was talking about was the nature of change. It is difficult. Let me give you an example. With when we started off with the literacy and numeracy strategy, we had a lot of opposition from teachers and others. The teachers have done brilliantly, we have put through that strategy and we have the best ever primary school results the country has seen. So change can be difficult. There are people - some of the complaints of doctors, for example, relate to NHS Direct or the walk-in centres, where people can come in and get immediate access to decent health care.

PAXMAN:
Let me ask you a question about

BLAIR:
And I'm not in love with the private sector, I just believe that where you can use the private sector, use it.

PAXMAN:
Do you think that a company can make too much in profits?

BLAIR:
In what sense do you mean?

PAXMAN:
Do you think profits can be ever unjustifiably large?

BLAIR:
I think they can be if they are monopoly profits, which is why we taxed the privatised utilities, got the exess profits and put that to work in the New Deal. But I don't believe that if you are acting in a competitive market, that it's the job of government to come along and tell a company - you are making too much profit.

PAXMAN:
Do you believe that an individual can earn too much money?

BLAIR:
I don't really - it is not - no, it's not a view I have. Do you mean that we should cap someone's income? Not really, no. Why? What is the point? You can spend ages trying to stop the highest paid earners earning the money but in an international market like today, you probably would drive them abroad. What does that matter? Surely the important thing is to level up those people that don't have opportunity in our society.

PAXMAN:
But where is the justice in taxing someone who earns Ł34,000 a year, which is about enough to cover a mortgage on a one-bedroom flat in outer London, at the same rate as someone who earns Ł34 million. Where is the justice?

BLAIR:
The person who earns Ł34 million, if they're paying the top rate of tax, will pay far more tax on the Ł34 million than the person on Ł34,000

PAXMAN:
I am asking you about the rate of tax.

BLAIR:
I know and what I am saying to you is the rate is less important in this instance than the overall amount of tax that people would pay. You know what would happen, if you go back to the days of high top rates of tax. All that would happen is that those people, who are small in number actually, and you can spend a lot of time getting after the person earning millions of pound a year, and then what you don't do is apply the real energy where it's necessary on things like the children's tax credit, the Working Families Tax Credit, the minimum wage, the New Deal, all the things that have helped people on lower incomes.

PAXMAN:
But where is the justice in it?

BLAIR:
When you say where is the justice in that, the justice for me is concentrated on lifting incomes of those that don't have a decent income. It's not a burning ambition for me to make sure that David Beckham earns less money.

PAXMAN:
But Prime Minister, the gap between rich and poor has by widened while you have been in office.

BLAIR:
A lot of those figures are based on a couple of years ago before many of the measures we took came into effect. But the lowest income families in this country are benefiting from the government. Their incomes are rising. The fact that you have some people at the top end earning moreż

PAXMAN:
..Benefiting more!

BLAIR:
If they are earning more, fine, they pay their taxes.

PAXMAN:
But is it acceptable for gap between rich and poor to widen?

BLAIR:
It is acceptable for those people on lower incomes to have their incomes raised. It is unacceptable that they are not given the chances. To me, the key thing is not whether the gap between those who, between the person who earns the most in the country and the person that earns the least, whether that gap isż

PAXMAN:
So it is acceptable for gap to widen between rich and poor?

BLAIR:
It is not acceptable for poor people not to be given the chances they need in life.

PAXMAN:
That is not my question.

BLAIR:
I know it's not your question but it's the way I choose to answer it. If you end up going after those people who are the most wealthy in society, what you actually end up doing is in fact not even helping those at the bottom end.

PAXMAN:
So the answer to the straight question is it acceptable for gap between rich and poor to get wider, the answer you are saying is yes.

BLAIR:
No, it's not what I am saying. What I am saying is that my task isż

PAXMAN:
You are not saying no.

BLAIR:
But I don't think that is the issueż

PAXMAN:
You may not think it is the issue, but it is the question. Is it OK for the gap to get wider?

BLAIR:
It may be the question. The way I choose to answer it is to say the job of government is make sure that those at the bottom get the chances.

PAXMAN:
With respect, people see you are asked a straightforward question and they see you not answering it.

BLAIR:
Because I choose to answer it in the way that I'm answering it.

PAXMAN:
But you are not answering it.

BLAIR:
I am answering it. What I am saying is the most important thing is to level up, not level down.

PAXMAN:
Is it acceptable for gap between rich and poor to get bigger?

BLAIR:
What I am saying is the issue isn't in fact whether the very richest person ends up becoming richer. The issue is whether the poorest person is given the chance that they don't otherwise have.

PAXMAN:
I understand what you are saying. The question is about the gap.

BLAIR:
Yes, I know what your question is. I am choosing to answer it in my way rather than
x yours.

PAXMAN:
But you're not answering it.

BLAIR:
I am.x

PAXMAN:
You are answering another question.

BLAIR:
I am answering actually in the way that I want to answer it. I tell you why I want to
answer it in this way. Because if you end up saying no, actually my task is to stop the
person earning a lot of money earning a lot of money, you waste all your time and
xenergy, taking money off the people who are very wealthy when in today's world, they
probably would move elsewhere and make their money. What you are not asking me
about, which would be a more fruitful line of endeavour, is what are you doing for the
poorest people to give them a boost.

PAXMAN:
Let's talk about tax. You have promisedż

BLAIR:
Why don't we talk about the poorest of society and what we are doing for them.

PAXMAN:
I assume you want to be Prime Minister. I just want to be an interviewer. Can we stick to
that arrangement?

BLAIR:
Fine.

PAXMAN:
You promised that you won't raise the basic level of income tax and won't raise the
higher rate of income tax. You have conceded that national insurance is a tax based upon
income. Why won't youż

BLAIR:
So are a lot of things, so is capital gains tax

PAXMAN:
Why won't you give a guarantee about national insurance?

BLAIR:
Because I am not entering into a situation where we start writing a budget.

PAXMAN:
Why are you prepared to make a guarantee about income tax?

BLAIR:
Because the specific manifesto pledges we made last time on income tax we have repeated.

PAXMAN:
But you also gave an assurance on national insurance, not in the manifesto, but Gordon Brown gave it, that the ceiling wouldn't be raised

BLAIR:
Yes, but if we end up going through each of the reliefs?

PAXMAN:
Why could you do it last time and not this time?

BLAIR:
We are. We are making precisely the same tax pledges in our manifesto as we did last time.

PAXMAN:
No you are not. With the greatest of respect, last time you promised the ceiling on national insurance would not be raised, or the Chancellor did.

BLAIR:
What Gordon Brown was asked was about the abolition of the national insurance ceiling in the context of the 1992 shadow budget. I have been asked this question ad nauseam in the campaign and what I have answered is that we have not clobbered higher tax earners, we have no intention of doing so. But if you start on national insurance, then you are on to inheritance tax?

PAXMAN:
I'm only asking about national insurance.

BLAIR:
I know but that's where you would end up. What I can't do is sit here and write a budget, I am afraid.

PAXMAN:
I am merely asking you why you could give this guarantee last time but you can't give it this time and whether any reasonable person wouldn't suppose that you therefore propose to increase national insurance contributions.

BLAIR:
They shouldn't.

PAXMAN:
Why not?

BLAIR:
Because we are not writing a budget now. We have a record of four years to stand on where we haven't done any of these things. Indeed, we have been careful to make sure that the highest income earners are not put at risk or their incentives reduced. I have no intention of going back on that now.

PAXMAN:
Isn't it intellectually incoherent to say what you will do with one tax and not another tax, which is levied on almost the same basis?

BLAIR:
No, it's not intellectually incoherent, you are simply choosing what you will and won't say.

PAXMAN:
Wouldn't a reasonable person conclude that the reason you don't wish to say it is because you plan to raise it?

BLAIR:
No, they wouldn't, because you could go through 250 different reliefs and I can't sit here and write a budget.

PAXMAN:
I am not asking you to write a budget.

BLAIR:
You are.

PAXMAN:
I am asking about national insurance contributions.

BLAIR:
I know but if I give you answers on national insurance and write the budget on that, why not move on to capital gains tax, inheritance tax, corporation tax, another 250 different reliefs.

PAXMAN:
All right. Let's talk about the euro. Famously, there are five tests, which have to be met before we can join the euro. Gordon Brown has said the Treasury will be the custodians of those tests. Can you overrule the Treasury?

BLAIR:
You wouldn't overrule them, it would be a collective decision of government.

PAXMAN:
But the Treasury are the custodians of the test?

BLAIR:
Of course they are, cos they're the Treasury.

PAXMAN:
So Gordon Brown decides when they would be met?

BLAIR:
No, the Treasury. When they say they're the custodian of the test, obviously as the Treasury, they are going to decide - are those tests in a technical sense met, and the collective decision of the government will be whether they are met or not.

PAXMAN:
So Gordon Brown decides whether we have a referendum or not?

BLAIR:
No, Gordon Brown doesn't‽ Again, I have been over this. The whole of the government takes a collective decision. When we say the Treasury‽

PAXMAN:
The Treasury decides whether the tests are met?

BLAIR:
The Treasury are the custodians of the tests and it's obvious why they should be. In circumstances where there are economic conditions and economic tests, it's right that we make it clear to people that there is not going to be any political fiddling about with these tests, they have to be met in a genuine economic way.

PAXMAN:
And Gordon Brown is the man who will make that judgment?

BLAIR:
The judgment is made by the government as a whole but of course Gordon will make the judgment with me and make it on the basis of the government as a whole.

PAXMAN:
A re we to take it that the agriculture secretary, the culture secretary and so on will have a view on whether these tests have been met?

BLAIR:
No. What it means is what it says. The Treasury are the custodians of the tests and that is to make it clear to people that these are not going to be politically interfered with. They have to be economically sound. But the decision as to whether to recommend entry into the euro has obviously got to be taken by the Government as a whole. I was asked this question a couple of weeks ago - are you going to be involved? Well, of course.

PAXMAN:
But essentially you are rubber stamping Gordon Brown's decision?

BLAIR:
No. I am not saying that and neither is he.

PAXMAN:
But he decides whether the tests have been met or not?

BLAIR:
The Treasury, because they are economic tests, the Treasury are the custodians of these tests, obviously, to make sure that it's not simply done on a political basis but is a genuine economic decision. The decision then, the judgment as to whether we recommend entry into the euro, is taken by the government as a whole. Gordon, who has been a brilliant Chancellor, I have no doubt at all, will make sure those tests are properly adhered to.

PAXMAN:
You will rubber stamp it then?

BLAIR:
I haven't said that, Jeremy.

PAXMAN:
This takes us to the whole question of your judgment, Prime Minister.

BLAIR:
I have not made that judgment yet.

PAXMAN:
You haven't made that judgment and clearly you will exercise your judgment on that.
Let's take a couple of examples of your judgment. Keith Vaz shouldn't be sacked from his
job because he hasn't been guilty of anything. Why did you sack Peter Mandelson?

BLAIR:
For the reasons I gave at the time.

PAXMAN:
Which were?

BLAIR:
Which were that people had been misled and whether it was inadvertent or not, it was
right, he felt and I felt, that he should go.

PAXMAN:
He didn't do anything wrong. The inquiry found he did nothing wrong.

BLAIR:
I said at the time that Peter went that I was sure that the inquiry would find that he had
done absolutely nothing improper at all.

PAXMAN:
Do you still think he misled you?

BLAIR:
I don't think it was a case of him misleading me. As a result of answers that were given,
people were misled. That chapter is closed.

PAXMAN:
It's not entirely closed. This is a man who is a close and trusted ally of yours. I suggest
to you you panicked.

BLAIR:
Well, I am sorry but you are wrong. The reasons I gave are the reasons that are still
valid.

PAXMAN:
But he didn't do anything wrong.

BLAIR:
I said at the time I believed he had done nothing improper.

PAXMAN:
So why did you sack him?

BLAIR:
For the reason I gave at the time - that people had been misled and it was right that, in
those circumstances, he went. It was a tough decision and a harsh decision.

PAXMAN:
So why didn't you sack Keith Vaz?

BLAIR:
Because Keith Vaz didn't have anything to do with misleading people. The Hammond inquiry found he had acted, not merely had he not acted improperly, but he had acted entirely properly throughout. So it would have been grossly unjust to have dismissed him.

PAXMAN:
Keith Vaz is a good minister?

BLAIR:
He has been an excellent European minister, and it's sad that the moment the Hammond inquiry found those allegations were unproven, the media moved on to other allegations. It is difficult for him in circumstances where people aren't prepared to look at whether the allegations are proven or not. I believe that strongly.

PAXMAN:
You talked about him in the past tense "has been".

BLAIR:
He has been.

PAXMAN:
Is he in your next government?

BLAIR:
I am not reshuffling on any basis, Jeremy. The election has not happened.

PAXMAN:
When we look at some of these matters, particularly Mr Mandelson and Mr Vaz, essentially their mistake was to cosy up to the Hinduja brothers. Why should they beżhave anything done against them for that when you have done the same thing.

BLAIR:
I totally agree with you. That's why Keith Vaz is still a minister, or was still a minister until parliament was dissolved.

PAXMAN:
But Peter Mandelson isn't?

BLAIR:
Because I told you at the time it wasn't to do with the Hinduja passports. So when you say to me was there something corrupt in relation to the Hindujas? No, there was not

PAXMAN:
Of course there was not. He was cleared in the inquiry. Yet you sacked him.

BLAIR:
I said at the time it was not in respect of that. I said at the time of the Hammond inquiry, that that indicated that no-one had acted improperly in relation to passports. Which is why the stuff about the Hindujas was all nonsense. They were given their passports properly and not even that quickly, and as the inquiry found, no-one did anything wrong.

PAXMAN:
But these letters from you to the Hinduja brothers, two men with something of a cloud over them in India, you are comfortable with all of those, are you, "yours ever, Tony"?

BLAIR:
I am comfortable with them. They are leading members of the Asian community, and you say "this cloud"¿

PAXMAN:
Would you take money from them again?

BLAIR:
I didn't take money from them at all. They did donate money, as the Hinduja Foundation has donated money to many causes in this country. I'll just say in relation to the so-called shadow hanging over them, that is in relation to allegations that, to the best of my recollection, are something like 20 years out of date.

PAXMAN:
Do you think it's appropriate your party takes money from people with a shadow over them like that in India?

BLAIR:
My party hasn't taken money from them.

PAXMAN:
Would you be happy if they did?

BLAIR:
I don't believe it would be right for us to take money from people except in circumstances where we are satisfied that that is appropriate. But, as a matter of fact, we haven't taken any money from them.

PAXMAN:
So the answer would be yes?

BLAIR:
No. We haven't taken any money from them.

PAXMAN:
Can we look at the campaign. When you look back to the launch of that campaign at St Olave's and St Xavier's school, how soon did you realise it was a mistake?

BLAIR:
I don't think it was a mistake to launch my first campaign in a school.

PAXMAN:
Come on! Seriously, there must have been a point where you are there in front of the stained glass windows and you thought you were the vicar of St Albions!

BLAIR:
I tell you what I thought. The thing I did think was - I hoped people would pay attention to what I was saying. That was a naive view because they didn't in the end.

PAXMAN:
No - it was an audience of teenage girls. What have they got to do with negative equity? It was a mistake, wasn't it?

BLAIR:
No, I don't believe it was a mistake to launch in a school. It was sensible and people should pay attention to what we said, rather than whether there was a stained glass window behind me or girls in the front row of the audience or not.

PAXMAN:
You don't regret it? You weren't embarrassed?

BLAIR:
No. There are far more important issues in the campaign than that.

PAXMAN:
You didn't see the comical side of it?

BLAIR:
I certainly saw the comical side in the newspapers the next day. But then you have to have a sense of humour in my business.

PAXMAN:
It's nice Gordon Brown to take the rap for it?

BLAIR:
I didn't know that he had done.

PAXMAN:
Yes, he has.

BLAIR:
It would be unjust if he did.

PAXMAN:
On the subject of Gordon Brown, is he your natural successor?

BLAIR:
I think that How many days are we from the election? Three days from the election? It's unwise for me to speculate as to whether I will have this job after Thursday.

PAXMAN:
I assume you will be leader of the Labour Party.

BLAIR:
Well, and certainly not to start speculating who my successor may be. I have said on many occasions he is in my view one of the most brilliant people in British politics, he has done a fantastic job as Chancellor. It is not an ignoble ambition to be prime minister of this country. But as he says and I say, let's win the election.

PAXMAN:
You make him sound like the heir apparent.

BLAIR:
I don't make him sound like anything, I simply say what I've always said.

PAXMAN:
When you have been fighting this campaign, there hasn't been a point where you haven't been ahead. Have you ever felt the slightest twinge of sympathy for poor old William Hague?

BLAIR:
I don't feel any sympathy for what he is putting forward. The Conservatives basically learned nothing from the defeat in ż97. They are putting forward policies for massive cuts in public investment, for return toż Hang on! You talk about sympathyż PAXMAN As leader of a party, presented as the underdog throughout the campaign.

BLAIR:
I sympathise with anyone who is leader of the Conservative Party. I don't sympathise with somebody putting forward policies that I believeż

PAXMAN:
That you don't agree with!

BLAIR:
Not just that I don't agree with but that I genuinely think damage the country. Their policy on Europe, which hasn't received much scrutiny, is one that would have this country on the exit door for Europe. A policy of cutting a quarterż

PAXMAN:
With the greatest of respect, we have spoken to him about Conservative policies, we don't need to talk to you about them.

BLAIR:
You are talking about the choices in the election. Just as you are the interviewer, I am supposed to give the answers. The answer is that it is actually important to defeat the Conservatives in this election because the policies they are standing for, like taking a quarter of university budget away, are policies worth defeating.

PAXMAN:
Could you ever have too big a majority?

BLAIR:
I haven't got any majority yet. I have not and will not speculate.

PAXMAN:
You have a majority of 179 in the last parliament.

BLAIR:
Not this election.

PAXMAN:
Could you have too big a majority after this election?

BLAIR:
I am not speculating on the majority because I don't have one. You guys in the media can speculate about it.

PAXMAN:
I am not asking you to speculate but this is a straightforward question. Could you have too big a majority?

BLAIR:
I know what you are asking me. I am not getting into the business of predicting majorities. Or saying whether I think this majority is right or that majority is wrong. Any politician in my position, going into an election campaign, is out and hungry for every piece of support. I am asking for the support because I believe in the policies I am putting forward. You people in the media can speculate on the size of the majority. The opinion polls can and the bookmakers can. But it's the public who is the boss. They will making the decision. We should leave it to them to make the decision on the basis of what they believe.

PAXMAN:
Could too many of them decide to vote for you?

BLAIR:
You are not putting that question forward seriously?

PAXMAN:
I am!

BLAIR:
That I should sit here...?

PAXMAN:
Is it a danger having too big a majority?

BLAIR:
We don't have any majority yet!

PAXMAN:
No, you haven't had the election yet!

BLAIR:
Exactly which is why let's talk about the issues instead of this stuff about - is the majority going to be this or that when we haven't got one.

PAXMAN:
I'm merely asking you, Prime Minister, whether you think there is any danger of having too big a majority.

BLAIR:
There is a danger if people don't come out and vote for what they believe in. I hope they vote for that.

PAXMAN:
For the health of democracy, you don't think there is a question at issue here about how big a majority is healthy?

BLAIR:
Surely the single biggest question in a democracy is to get people to vote for what they believe in. The idea the Conservative Party can come along, every strategy having failed in this campaign, their campaign useless because they have lost all the arguments on policy, and say to the public we can't think of a good reason for voting for us, but please Labour might win on Friday, so lend us your vote and give us a bit of a shot. It is unbelievable they should come forward with that. You asked me if I felt sorry for William Hague. I feel sorry for people leading the Conservative Party in its present state, but I

don't feel sorry for people putting forward the policies they are putting forward. If the public want us to put that money into schools and hospitals, if they want us to strengthen the economy - come out and vote for it. Don't vote for the Conservative Party out of sympathy, when they are going to reverse the very policies people support.

PAXMAN:
Prime Minister, thank you very much.