SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SYMBIOTIC GUESTS. NOTES ON ANALEPSIS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ON-LINE SYNTAX[*]

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Abstract

The empirical focus of this paper is on utterances that re-use syntactic structures from a preceding syntactic unit. Next utterances of this type are usually treated as (coordination) ellipsis. It is argued that from an on-line perspective on spoken syntax, they are better described as structural latency: A grammatical structure already established remains available and can therefore be made use of with one or more of its slots being filled by new material. A variety of cases of this particular kind of conversational symbiosis are discussed. It is argued that they should receive a common treatment. A number of features of the general host/guest relationship are discussed.

Keywords: Analepsis; On-line syntax; Structural latency.

> "Ein Blick in die erste beste Erzählung und eine einfache Ueberlegung muss beweisen, dass jede frühere Aeusserung des Erzählenden die Exposition aller nachfolgenden Prädikate bildet."
> (Wegener 1885: 46)[1]

1. Introduction

The notion of 'ellipsis' is often regarded with some skepticism by Interactional Linguists - the orientation to 'full' sentences is all too obvious (cf. Selting 1997), and the idea that speakers produce complete sentences just in order to delete some parts of them afterwards surely fails to account for the processual dynamics of sentence production and understanding (cf. Kindt 1985) in time. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that speakers often produce utterance units that could not be understood

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[1] 'A look at the first story that comes along and simple reflection will prove that any prior utterance of the teller is the exposition for all subsequent predications'. Quote from Knobloch (2013: 19).

as complete and meaningful without some reliance on the *structure* of the previous utterances. There are in fact numerous unit types discussed in Interactional Linguistics which are exactly of this kind, from certain answering formats over questioning repeats and self-repairs up to certain 'increments' (see below). In this paper, I want to argue that there is a common grammatical feature underlying these structural ties between earlier and later utterances, which I will call structural latency, and which I believe to be of central relevance to on-line syntax.

Many accounts of syntax, even when they argue within a non-generative, processual framework, still start from the idea of sentence production and comprehension as a one-unit-at-a-time issue. Speakers build up syntactic structures in time, and recipients process them as they emerge, until a syntactic unit is complete; after that, all mental representations are deleted, and the whole process starts anew, as if the syntactic mind of the interactional participants had been set to zero. Instead of this tabula rasa approach, I will argue that it is a much more realistic assumption that the time of mental activation of a syntactic structure is not co-extensive with the time of its production or reception. Rather, activated syntactic structures 'linger on', they remain available for next unit types for the construction of which they may or may not be made use of. If latently available patterns are re-used for next utterance units, this requires no additional effort of processing; rather, it is the unmarked case. Next utterances that are 'elliptical' do not lack structure, but are rather built into an existing structure.

While this sounds like a rather mentalistic approach to 'ellipsis' at first sight, I want to argue that quite on the contrary, interactional language provides us with a window into participants' knowledge of 'everyday syntax', since it shows us how participants use this knowledge in order to construe next utterances. Every 'elliptical' next utterance displays the speaker's analysis of the structure of the previous utterance from which this next utterance borrows its (latent) structure. By reformulating some structural parts of it, but not others, speakers demonstrably perform (or show to have performed) a syntactic analysis of the previous utterance.[2] The analysis of structural latency therefore clearly falls in the realm of Interactional Linguistics, if this branch of linguistics is understood as the study of "how languages are shaped by interaction and how interactional practices are molded through specific languages" (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2001: 3).

In this paper, I present some preliminary thoughts on how an approach to syntax that takes its temporal unfolding seriously and therefore can be labeled 'on-line syntax' (cf. Auer 2009) might deal with such very specific, though highly frequent, cases of analepsis. I will avoid the term 'ellipsis' since a large part of the linguistic structures that are commonly called elliptical have nothing in common with the strategies of on-line processing that I will be concerned with in the following; see Knobloch 2013: 35-36 for an argument along the same lines.[3]

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[2] Another way of accessing members' everyday syntactic knowledge are syntactic collaborations, as described, e.g. by Lerner (e.g. 1991). Also see Sacks (1992, I, 654 = Lecture 4, Fall 1967) on how the structures of interactional language reflect the co-participants' syntactic processing.

[3] An interactional account of other types of 'ellipsis' can be found in Imo (2013).

2. The symbiosis of conversation

Metaphorically, the relationship between the 'incomplete' TCU and its precedent can be thought of as one of (unilateral) symbiosis within the life-world of a conversation. Symbionts are non-invited, though often useful (occasionally also detrimental) guests whose host can live perfectly well with or without them. The symbionts have no life of their own, but once they attach themselves to a host, their life is unproblematic. The relationship is thus clearly hierarchical. It requires some kind of co-habitation of a space, i.e. some kind of proximity, which in conversation is established by sequential vicinity.

Beyond this metaphor, and other than in biology, linguistic symbionts do not have a structure at all without their host. They borrow their structure from it, and only replace some of its elements to become separate units bringing additional meaning into the conversation. We are thus not only dealing with context-dependency here (which is a much wider concept), but with structural copying. Therefore, the term ellipsis (ἔλλειψις 'omission') is not well suited to capture what is going on, because it is not precise enough. There are many types of ellipsis. Situational ellipsis (such as a *further up* uttered by somebody helping another person hang a picture on a wall) and conventionalized ellipsis (as in *I want more* - instead of *I want to have more*) may be the most important cases of omissions that do not depend on a prior linguistic context, and consequently do not fall under the host/symbiotic guest relationship. Therefore, several authors have suggested that instead of ellipsis, the Greek term *analepsis* ('taking up') may be better suited for this structural relationship (Hoffmann 1999; also cf. the term 'constructional copying', *Konstruktionsübernahme,* as used by Rath 1979: 140-159).

Du Bois' term "resonance" (Du Bois 2001) is also too broad to refer to the precise relationship described here, since it includes all sorts of ways an utterance may have an impact on a later one, including word repetitions triggered by the activation of the use of the same word previously but in a different syntactic function (priming).

From an on-line perspective on syntax, the host/symbiont relationship implies the continuing activation of a syntactic pattern (the one embodied by the host) beyond the time of its on-line production and comprehension. This pattern remains available for some time and can be re-used by the same or the next speaker for a subsequent (adjacent or non-adjacent) utterance. Host/symbiont relationships are therefore proof that although the structure of spoken language quickly decays in time (much sooner than its content), this decay is not co-extensive with the duration of the utterance activating the pattern but extends beyond it. The term structural latency reflects this.

For instance, the following intonation phrase (from natural German conversation), when taken in isolation, is not a well-formed sentence of German by any means:

```
(1)   und LUder          kuniGUNde  BERta und FRIEda die ANdern.
      and Luder ['slut']  Kunigunde  Berta and Frieda the others.
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It consists of a list-like series of four proper names and a subsequent Noun Phrase with a determiner and an adjective. The whole structure is introduced by a coordinating conjunction. Neither the grammatical case of the proper names nor of the

following noun phrase can be ascertained since there is either no overt marking (proper nouns) or the marking (*die*) is ambiguous; the latter form could be an accusative or a nominative. The structure contains no finite verb and does not make syntactic (or semantic) sense as such. But like most syntactic units in natural conversation, this utterance is embedded in a syntactic context. The immediately preceding intonation phrase will not help us (or the on-site recipient of this utterance) to assign a syntactic structure to (1):

```
(1)'  weil    das  sich  noch_n  bisschen   MÄNNlich anhört, °h
      because that REFL  still a little-bit males     sounds
      'because this sounds somewhat male after all .h'

      und LUder kuniGUNde BERta und FRIEda die ANdern.
      'and Luder Kunigunde Berta and Frieda the others.'
```

It is a subordinated causal clause that has no obvious relationship to the subsequent utterance. However, going back one step further in time reveals a linguistic structure which functions as a kind of precedent to the intonation phrase in question, rendering it fully acceptable and well-formed in syntactic terms:[4]

```
(1)'' ich würde sagen die weißen    nennen wir chickendale    und CRISpy,
      I    would say  the white-ones call  we  Chickendale and Crispy
      'I'd say we call the white ones Chickendale and Crispy'

      weil    das  sich noch_n bisschen       MÄNNlich anhört, °h
      because that REFL still  a little-bit    males    sounds
      'because this sounds somewhat male after all .h'

      und LUder   kuniGUNde BERta und FRIEda die ANdern.
      and Luder   Kunigunde Berta und Frieda the others.
```

In her turn (reproduced in full in (1)'') the speaker makes a suggestion about how to name the chickens in the backyard; she suggests names for the roosters in her first utterance part (= first line), the second unit gives a reason for her name-choices (= second line), and the third utterance part suggests further names for the hens. It is not difficult to see that the first and third unit are related to each other in a non-reciprocal way. The first line is a sentence (self-contained syntactic unit) in its own right, well-formed in any syntactic context in which it may appear. After the initial matrix structure with a verbum dicendi (*ich würde sagen*), the dependent clause starts with an object NP (*die weißen*) followed by the finite verb (*nennen*), the pronominal subject (*wir*) and two coordinated predicative proper names (*Chickendale und Crispy*). Despite the fact that the NP *die weißen* depends on a previous utterance semantically, since the noun is lacking and the adjective modifies a referent which needs to be retrieved from the context (this is the discourse topic 'the chicken' introduced several turns ago), the utterance can easily be assigned a syntactic structure, and is syntactically complete and well-formed.

The same is not true for the third line; this syntactic unit is symbiotically built on the structure provided by the first one (even though it is not directly adjacent to it).

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[4] Here and in all subsequent conversational extracts, a line break indicates a new intonational phrase, as usual in the GAT transcription system used here (cf. Selting et al. 2011).

In order to construe it as a well-formed sentence regardless of context, at least[5] the finite verb *nennen* and the subject *wir* from the first TCU must be added:

```
und Luder  kuniGUNde  BERta und FRIEda [nennen wir] die ANdern.
and Luder, Kunigunde, Berta and Frieda call    we   the others
```

In this way, the proper nouns *Luder, Kunigunde, Berta* and *Frieda* can be assigned predicative function (and an inherent accusative case), and the NP *die andern* can be understood as an object (which receives an inherent accusative case).

This case of structural latency can be sketched as in the following figure:

Fig. (1)

| | | Obj | V_fin | Subj | Pred |
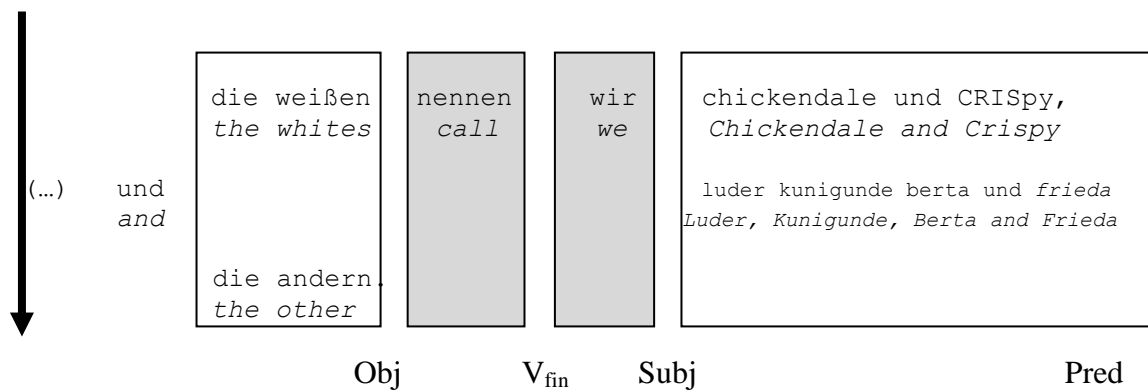
In the figure, lines of text represent the temporal sequencing of units and the boxes stand for paradigmatic slots[6]; the grey boxes that extend over several lines but are only filled in the first line stand for elements of the first utterance that remain relevant for the syntactic interpretation of the later one(s), without being repeated. The other boxes represent paradigmatic slots in which the original constituent is replaced by new lexical material. In the example, the first utterance, the host, activates a syntactic pattern with an object NP, a finite verb, a subject NP and a predicative noun phrase, which remains available for some time. The conjunction *und* 'and' (which is outside the latent structure) marks the transition into the symbiotic guest, which starts with a new filler for the (thereby topicalized or fronted) predicate, i.e. the list of names. The object NP *die andern* follows and closes the guest structure, resulting in a chiasmic structure. In this way, new elements are inserted into the already activated syntactic frame, while others (the subject and the finite verb) remain valid. The example shows, among other things,

(1)   that language users perform some kind of structural analysis on syntactic structures that become the host for a guest in order to produce this symbiont in an orderly manner. The analysis is very similar to immediate constituent

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[5] The syntactic construction still requires some kind of contextual embedding that justifies the topicalized (pre-verbal) predicative proper nouns; the same applies to the topicalized object NP in the first line.

[6] The graphical representation is of course inspired by Blanche-Benveniste (1990) and her *grille*-notation.

analysis into phrases as done by structural linguists. Substitution in paradigmatic slots is the basis of host/guest relationships;

(2)   that the latent elements of the host structure continue to be valid beyond utterance-time; the speaker re-uses this structure for the production of her next syntactic unit, and her recipients are able to integrate latent and overt structural elements into one whole;

(3)   that the order of the phrases does not need to be the same in the host and in the symbiotic guest.

In this sense, speakers and hearers in dialogue produce and partially reproduce syntax beyond single syntactic units. A sequence of units in dialogue that starts with some sort of syntactic projection and ends at a point in time in which latently available structures are no longer used will be called a **syntactic project** here. A syntactic project thus can extend over several syntactic units (Auer 2009), each ending with a syntactic completion point.

      Of course, what we have described so far is nothing but a simple (although, because of its chiastic structure, not entirely trivial) case of so-called co-ordination ellipsis (Klein 1993). However, from the perspective of on-line syntax, it raises a number of immediate questions:

- Why do some 'incomplete' units (such as the NP *die weißen* in *die weißen nennen wir chickendale und CRISpy* 'we call the white ones Chickendale and Crispy' without a noun after the adjective) require no syntactic precedent, while others (such as *die andern* in (1)) do?
- How is an 'incomplete' utterance able to lead the recipient back to the right structure in the preceding context in order to make it comprehensible as a syntactically well-formed utterance?
- How deep is the interactants' structural memory, i.e. how much time can elapse between the 'incomplete' utterance and its precedent in order for the latter to still be retrieved?

3. Types of structural latency

So far, the notion of latent syntax has been introduced on the basis of one particular kind of structural relationship between a host and its symbiotic guest. In the following I will show that structural latency and guest/host relations are a much more widespread phenomenon and are indeed fundamental for the syntax of spoken language. This section offers a preliminary typology, depending on whether the symbiont occurs

1)   post unit completion, as part of the same action (mostly same speaker)
2)   pre unit completion, as part of the same action (mostly same speaker)
3)   post unit completion, as part of a new action (different speakers)
4)   post wh-question, in a responsive action (different speakers).

The notion of an 'action' is of course not easy to define. In the present discussion, an action is that part of social practice that is accountable, i.e. members are able to say in

so many words what they are, have been, or will be doing, they can give reasons for their actions and they can be held responsible for them by others. Actions can, and usually do, contain auxiliary practices that may prepare, justify, correct or adjust them as they emerge (and while participants are inter-acting), yet which are not accountable by themselves but only by reference to these actions.

3.1. *Type 1: The symbiont occurs after first unit completion, and is part of the same action*

In the first type, as in example (1), the symbiotic guest is a non-invited guest; it is not required or predictable in the context of its occurrence. The speaker has already finished a syntactic gestalt, which is now followed by a new element by usually the same, but sometimes also another speaker. This new element brings in a new semantic or pragmatic aspect; it may be related on the pragmatic level to the preceding one in a variety of ways, but it does not constitute a new action. Highly frequent, simple examples involve the latency of the subject pronoun, as in the following case:

```
(2)    FASCHING  (father  and  daughter  on  the  phone  talking  about
       daughter's  carnival costume)

F:     ah  ich hab_n  zylinder von  der MAMmi auf,
       uhm I   have-a top-hat  from the mom   on
       'uhm I'm wearing one of mom's top hats'

M:     SEHR schÖn.
       very nice.

F:     bin geSCHMINKT,
       am  painted
       '(I) painted my face'

       und  hab_n  altes schacKETT von  dir an.
       and have_an old   jacket    from you on
       'and I'm wearing one of your old jackets'
```

Only one constituent of the first list-item, the host, is re-used, i.e., the subject pronoun, while all others are replaced. The resulting structure is a list, with its canonical three-part structure (Selting 1997); typically, the last and only the last list-element is introduced with a conjunction.

The second and third members of the list are symbiotically dependent on the first list-item, *ich hab n Zylinder von der Mammi auf*. The structure of this unit remains available after its complete production and enables the speaker to omit the first person pronoun in the preverbal subject position in the two subsequent units. Note that the sequencing of the three units makes the exploitation of more complex latencies impossible; the second unit, by selecting a different finite verb after the initial subject position (*sein* 'to be', used here together with the participle *geschminkt* 'painted' to produce a stative passive), terminates the availability of the structure $PRON_{1.SG(subj)}$ - $V_{fin=hab}$ - NP_{obj} ... established by the first. Had the third unit been produced immediately after the second, the finite verb slot would have been available for re-use as well, and could have been left unexpressed (*ich hab n Zylinder von der*

Mammi auf und n altes Schackett von dir an 'I'm wearing one of mom's top hats and an old jacket of yours'). The second list item therefore blocks the full availability of the first unit's structure from further use to the extent that it deviates from this structure (although it is still dependent on it). More generally speaking, activated syntactic patterns can only remain available as long as no contradicting structure has been activated in the meantime.

Fig. (2):

```
         ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
         │ ich  │ │ hab  │ │ n zylinder von   der MAMmi auf,       │
         │ I    │ │ have-│ │ a top-hat from   the mom   on         │
         │      │ │      │ │                                       │
         │      │ │ bin  │ │ geSCHMINKT,                           │
         │      │ │ am   │ │ painted                               │
         │      │ │      │ │                                       │
  und    │      │ │ hab  │ │ n altes schacKETT von dir an.         │
  and    │      │ │ have │ │ an old   jacket    from you on        │
         └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────────────────────────────────────┘

             Subj   V_{fin}
```

Semantically, the symbiotic guests in this example add relevant information, although they are all part of the same linguistic action of describing to the father what the daughter looks like.

Another case of the same type of list-related structural latency, as well as a further type of structural latency, can be observed in the following data extract:

```
(3) REALITY TV (speaker tells about his trip to Israel)

J:    ich hab  dann so_n    Ausflug (-) n nach jeRUsalem
      I   have then such=an excursion   t to   Jerusalem

      gemacht; =ne?
      made
      'I   then went  on like a trip (-) to to Jerusalem'

Z:    <<pp>hm>

(2.0)

J:    so_n   einTAgesausflug   nach jerUsalem,=
      such=a one-day-excursion to   Jerusalem
      'like a one-day trip to Jerusalem'

      =sch=      mir    alles       ANgekuckt;
      ((have)) I for-me everything looked-at
      'I looked at everything'

      die KLAgemauer    und so:,
      the wailing-wall  and so

      und die (-)
      and the (-)
```

```
den KREUZweg               von eh JEsus
the stations-of-the-cross of uhm Jesus

<<pp>un alles;>
and everything
```

Fig. (3):

ich *I*	hab *have*	dann *then*	so_n Ausflug (-) n nach jeRUsalem *such=an excursion (-) t to Jerusalem* so_n einTAgesausflug nach jerUsalem *such=a one-day-excursion to Jerusalem*		gemacht; *made*
Subj	V_fin	Advb		Obj_dir	V_part

Fig. (4):

	sch= *((have))I*	mir *for-me*	alles *everything* die KLAgemauer und so:, *the wailing-wall and so*	Angekuckt; *looked-at*
und *and*			die (-) *the (-)* den KREUZweg von eh JEsus *the stations-of-the-cross of uhm Jesus*	
un *and*			alles; *everything*	
	Subj	Obj_refl.indir.	Obj_dir	V_part

In the second syntactic project, the initial syntactic frame is *(hab[7]) isch mir alles angekuckt*, 'I looked at everything', the variable slot is an object NP: *Alles* 'everything' --> *die Klagemauer und so* 'the wailing wall and everything' --> *den Kreuzweg von Jesus* 'the stations of the cross of Jesus' --> *alles* 'everything', resulting in a list of things done in Jerusalem, as indicated by the final list item *und alles* 'and everything'.

The first syntactic project exemplifies a functionally different kind of analepsis, in which the relationship between the two items in the paradigmatic slot of the object noun phrase is that of precision-elaboration: The second object NP replaces

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[7] The sentence shows 'inversion' of the subject which is produced after the finite verb (cf. Auer/Maschler 2013). In addition, the sentence-initial final verb *hab* is phonetically reduced (*hab isch* via clitization *habsch* via allegro speech to *sch*). *Isch* is a regional form of Std.G. *ich* 'I'.

the first by being more specific, without treating it as a mistake. The syntactic frame of the first syntactic project is *ich hab dann ____ gemacht* 'I then went on ___', and the variable slot is the object NP *son Ausflug nach Jerusalem* 'like a trip to Jerusalem', in whose position the speaker inserts *son Eintagesausflug nach Jerusalem* 'like a one-day trip to Jerusalem'.

As already shown in Ex. (1), the host and symbiont need not be adjacent. In the following example, a speaker returns to a previous syntactic unit after his turn has been completed and responded to by his recipient. Although the recipient agrees with his statement, the speaker replaces the subject NP *die letzten festen Beziehungen* 'the last stable relationships' by the more downgraded and seemingly more precise *die etwas längeren Beziehungen* 'the somewhat longer relationships', arguably due to the long gap before the agreement token which foreshadows disagreement:

```
(4) TALK RADIO

DO:   ich    hatte  dich  ja     GRAde schon        gefragt,
      I      had    you   PART   just  already      asked,
      'I already asked you this before'

      äh     die letzten: Festen:    beziehungen,
      uhm    the last     stable     relationships
      'uhm your last stable relationships'

      liegen      (--) über)   ZEHN jahre    zurück     bei dir;
      lie              more-than ten years    back       with you
      'they go back more than 10 years in your case'

UW:   [ja]
      Yes

DO:   [also] (-)  die   etwas       LANgeren    beziehungen;
      well        the   somewhat    longer      relationships;
```

Fig. (5):

	die letzten: FESten: beziehungen, *the last stable relationships,*	liegen (--)über ZEHN jahre zurÜck bei dir; *lie more-than ten years* * back with you;*
also *well*	die etwas LÄNgeren beziehungen; *the somewhat longer relationships;*	
	Subj	Pred

Also ('well') marks transition into the substitution self-repair.

At this point of the discussion, we can ask if the symbiont/host relationship is governed by pragmatic principles of topic/comment structure, and if only topics can be 'elided' (as argued in most of the extensive literature on ellipsis based on written or

invented examples; cf. Klein 1993: 797 for a summary). It is useful to distinguish between old (situationally available) and new information on the one hand, and topic/comment structure on the other (with the topic of a sentence defining its 'aboutness' , Lambrecht 1994). In simple list structures such as (1) and (2), the non-verbalized elements - the finite verb/subject pronoun and the subject pronoun respectively - surely are old information, while the verbalized parts are new. In (3), however, *nach Jerusalem* clearly is old information and could have been left unexpressed. This makes a more precise formulation of the hypothesis about informational structure of the guest/symbiont relationship possible: The symbiont **contains** new information, but need not be coextensive with it. The reason is that the retractive operation implied by an elaboration, cf. fig. (3) or (5), is easier to process when the elaborated item which needs to be retrieved in the host utterance, is embedded into its context (cf. Pfeiffer 2014). In terms of topic/comment structure, in (1) and (2) the non-verbalized part of the utterances is also the topic, but it is an open question whether *die weißen* 'the white ones' is not topical as well. In ex. (4) the host sentence expresses an all-new (or all-old, reactivated) proposition. A small part of this proposition is replaced only; this is the topic part. The example therefore shows that the latent part of the second TCU need not be its rheme; rather, the speaker can also retract back to the theme part of his first utterance. The only restriction on analepsis in elaborating repair is that the information in the variable position in the syntactic project has to be new.[8]

Here is a another example of an elaborative analeptic turn expansion:

```
(5) TALK RADIO (topic: how the caller - XE - got into prostitution
because of a TV production about a prostitute)

XE:   und   äh    über  die   kam   halt  bei   we    are   family
      and   uhm   about her   came  PART  in     „we are family“

      mal   ne    Sendung
      once  a     TV production
      'there was  a TV production about her (the whore) in We Are
      Family'

      und das wurde dann halt auch äh (-) erWEItert,
      and that got then PART also uhm (-) enlarged

      ähm   mit   MEHreren    Sendungen,
      uhm   by    more        productions,

      und (.) sogar nem ganzen FILM,
      and (.) even  a   whole movie,

      [°h] und  die FRAU,
           and  this woman

DO:   [hmhm]

XE:   die fand (-)  äh ich fand  die so an: (--)  so interesSANT,
      her found (-) uhm I  found her so a: (--)   so interesting,
      'I found uhm I found her so interesting'
```

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[8] In corrective repairs, even old information can be replaced: See below (section 3.3 Type 3).

```
und auch  das miliEU,
and also  the milieu,

und ich wollte wissen was da ABgeht,
and I wanted to-know what there happens,
'so I wanted to know what is happening here'
```

Fig. (6):

die FRAU,
this woman
	die fand (-) äh ich fand die so an:(--) so
	                    interesSANT,
	*her found (-) uhm I found her so a: (--) so
	                    interesting,*

und auch das miliEU, *and also the milieu,*	!

<div align="center">OBJ   S</div>

Once again, the speaker re-uses the established syntactic pattern (prolepsis - *die Frau* - with a subsequent sentence introduced by a coreferential pronoun), but replaces *die Frau* by *das Milieu*. The type of structural latency is the same as in the previous example, and so is the retraction to the topical part of the first unit, the host. The relationship between the first and second unit, however, is not one of precision repair but one of semantic amplification.

Note that there is a slight mismatch between the symbiont (*und auch das milieu*) and the host into which it is inserted: Since the word *milieu* has neuter gender, while *die frau* in the first unit is feminine, the latent resumptive pronoun in the second unit does not agree with its predecessor (the correct form of the neuter accusative pronoun would be *das*):

```
das miliEU,      *die fand (-) äh ich fand *die so an: (--)
the milieu,      so interesSANT
                 her found (-) uhm I found her so a: (-) so
                 interesting,
                 'I found uhm I found her so interesting'
```

This lack of gender congruence remains unproblematic, however, which points to an interesting fact about participants' ways of doing everyday syntax. We will return to this below.

More complex cases of analepsis occur when more than one constituent slot in the host is re-used in the symbiotic guest ("gapping"). In the following example, the second speaker (L) re-uses the structure provided by the first one (J) in his analeptic next utterance. He replaces both the subject NP (*ne halbe Stunde --> ne viertel Stunde*) and the sentence adverbial (*wirklich --> vielleicht*). The two are not adjacent to each other, nor do they form one constituent. The example also makes clear that the relationship between host and symbiotic guest is not restricted to units produced by

the same speaker; it is possible that next speakers exploit a structure provided by the previous speaker for their next utterance when one linguistic action is co-produced (as in this case both J and L contradicting W).

```
(6)   FRÜHSTÜCK DER HERRENTENNISMANNSCHAFT

W:    also  ne    halbe stunde      warte ich   GERne, (.)
      well  a     half  hour        wait  I     gladly

      aber  nicht LÄNger.
      but   no    longer
      'well, I'll gladly wait for half an hour, but no longer'

J:    nee (.) ne halbe stunde ist wirklich zu  LANG.
      no      a  half  hour   is  really   too long
      'no, half an hour really is too long'

L:    selbst ne VIERtel stunde      vielleicht.
      even   a  quarter-of-an-hour  perhaps
      'perhaps even a quarter of an hour'
```

Fig. (7):

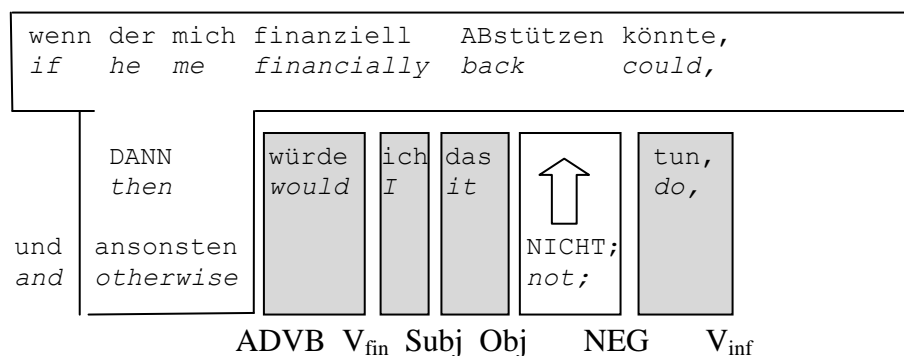|	ne halbe stunde *a half hour*	ist *is*	wirklich *really*	zu LANG. *too long*
selbst *even*	ne VIERtel stunde *a quarter-of-an-hour*		vielleicht. *perhaps*	
	SUBJ	V$_{fin}$	ADVB	Pred

Another complication of the host/symbiont relationship arises when the second TCU is a negation of the first, as in example (7). The original structure is re-used, and one slot is filled by a new constituent, but in addition, a negation particle is inserted (see the arrow in Fig. 8) into the latent structure before the non-finite verb (the right sentence brace).

```
(7)   TALK RADIO (caller works as a prostitute; the host asks here
      whether she would stop being a prostitute if she had a partner)

XE:   °h dann sag ich dir GANZ ehrlich,
         then say I to-you really honestly,
      'I tell you quite honestly'

      wenn der mich finanziell  ABstützen könnte,
      if   he  me   financially back      could,
      'if he were able to support me financially'

      DANN würde ich tun,
      then would I   do,
      'then I would do it'
```

```
          und ansonsten NICHT;
          and otherwise  not;
```

Fig. (8):

```
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ wenn der mich finanziell   ABstützen könnte,           │
│ if   he  me  financially   back      could,            │
└───┬────────────────────┬───────────────────────────────
    │                    │ ┌──────┐┌───┐┌───┐┌─────┐┌──────┐
    │         DANN        │ │ würde││ich││das││  ⇑  ││ tun, │
    │         then        │ │ would││I  ││it ││     ││ do,  │
    │                     │ │      ││   ││   ││NICHT;││      │
    │  und  ansonsten      │ │      ││   ││   ││not;  ││      │
    │  and  otherwise      │ └──────┘└───┘└───┘└─────┘└──────┘
                           ADVB  V_fin  Subj Obj   NEG      V_inf
```

The semantic relationship between the first (*wenn der mich finanziell abstützen könnte, dann würd ich das tun* 'if he were able to support me financially, then I would do it') and the second element (*ansonsten nicht* 'otherwise not') here is that of a contrast; after a yes/no question and a positive answer in the host structure, the symbiont formulates a condition under which the negative answer holds. Under the condition that 'he (her potential partner) is able to support her economically' she would quit working as a prostitute, but 'otherwise not'. The adverb *ansonsten* 'otherwise' has the capacity to reverse the polarity of a preceding conditional clause, and to bring the content of this clause into the interpretation of the symbiont. It can be seen as a lexical alternative of the elliptical format *wenn nicht* ('if not').

The following example is similar:

```
(8)   VERSICHERUNG (M has called her insurance broker after a series
      of break-ins; the insurances policy will not be prolonged
      unless she has an alarm installed. M complains that fitting an
      alarm would cause a lot of dirt; V, the representative of the
      insurance company, argues that builders remove the dirt, while
      burglars don't.)

V:    ((...)) und die (-) die ne aLARManlage einbauen,
              and those   who a  alarm        install
              'and those who install the alarm'

      die  saugen das dann auch WEG;
      they suck    that then also off
      'they also vacuum everything'

M:    ja; ja; naja;
      yes; yes; well;

V:    die diebe   ja   NICHT;
      the thieves PART not
      'the thieves don't'
```

The host is *die, die Alarmanlagen einbauen, die saugen das dann auch weg* ('those who install the alarm also suck it [the dirt] off afterwards'), the symbiont replaces the

subject noun phrase *die, die Alarmanlagen einbauen* by the semantically contrasting noun phrase *die Diebe*. In addition, the modal particle *ja* (appealing to common knowledge) is inserted before the negation particle, replacing the adverb/particle *auch* 'also'. Both alterations in the original unit may be a response to the recipient's skeptical *naja* 'well' occurring between the host and the symbiont.

Fig. (9):

die *those*	die *who*						
	ne *an*	aLARManlage *alarm*	einbauen, *install*				
die *they*			saugen *suck*	das *that*	dann *then*	auch *also*	WEG *off*
						⇧	
die Diebe *the thieves*						ja *PART*	NICHT *not*	
SUB	Vfin	OBJ	ADVB	PART	NEG	VPRT

Examples of insertions (as in (7), (8)), of slight alterations (as in (5)) and of changes in the linear order of constituents (as in (1)) show that the symbiotic guest can change the structure of the host retrospectively, although there are strong restrictions on these changes.

A final, complex example of type one analepsis demonstrates how structural latencies can be used by a rhetorically skilled speaker (here the moderator of a nocturnal talk radio show) to build a long, coherent turn, most likely not produced spontaneously.[9] The following extract is the beginning of the show from which ex. (4), (5) and (7) are taken.

```
(9)    TALK RADIO (moderator introduces the topic of the evening:
       prostitution)

ich möchte gerne mit euch natürlich dann (-) AUSgiebig  über dieses
I   would-like  with you of course then     extensively about this
                                °h äh,  milieu äh (-) SPREchen,
                                  uhm   milieu uhm    talk
'I would of course like then to talk with you a lot about this uhm
milieu'

SEHR gerne mit leuten, DIE im    rotlichtmilieu- (-) !AR!beiten,
very-much with people  who in-the red-light-milieu    work
'very much with people who work in the red light milieu'

mit HUren,
with whores,
```

---

[9] For more on the rhetorical use of retractions to slots in a previous utterance see Auer/Pfänder (2007).

```
mit STRIchern,
with hustlers,

°h mit (-) borDELLbesitzern;
  with (-) brothel-owners;

°hh ähm: (--) GERne  mit leuten, die im      rotlichtmilieu (-) verKEHren,
   uhm   (very-)much with people who in the red-light-milieu    mix,
'uhm (I'd like to talk very) much with people who mix in the red
light milieu'

oder auch (-) die OPfer   des    rotlicht (.) milieus geworden sind;
or   also (-) who victims of the red-light (.) milieu become have;
'or also, who have become victims of the red light milieu'

°hh ja (-) und: (-)   auch mit LEUten,
    well (-) and: (-) also with people,

deren PARTner    sich  im (--)     äh (-),
whose partners   REFL  in the (--) uhm (-),

rotlichtmilieu   heRUMtreiben,
red-light-milieu hang about,
'whose partners hang around in the uhm red light milieu'

und sich          da   °hh einen gewissen KICK (--) suchen;
and for-themselves there hh a     certain  kick (--) look-for;
'and are looking for a certain kick there'
```

Each next utterance (syntactic unit) here is linked to the preceding one by making use of some of its structural features and is therefore symbiotically integrated with it. This can be seen in the following summarizing figure, where only the variable slots are highlighted by boxes:

Fig. (10):
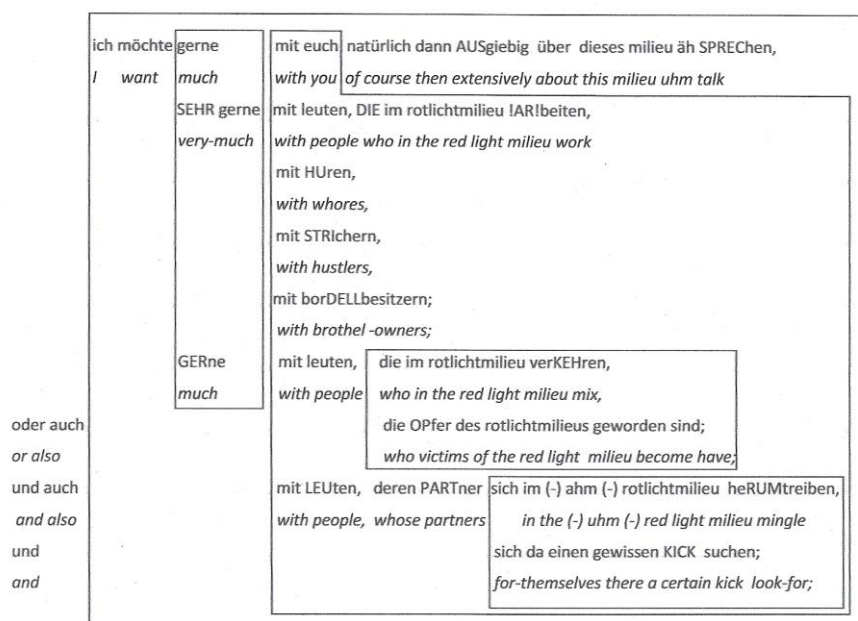
Let us summarize our findings up to this point. So far we have discussed one group of host/symbiont relationships in which the host provides a structure that the symbiotic guest can insert itself into, in one or more structural positions latently available for further use. In this first type, the host and the symbiotic guest belong to one verbal action and also to one syntactic project, and the host is syntactically complete before the speaker starts to produce the guest. We have shown

- that symbionts can occur temporally adjacent to the host or with some delay, provided that the intervening utterances do not cancel the availability of the initial structure
- that symbionts may be produced by the same speaker or (more rarely) by a next speaker,
- that the symbiont may re-use one or more constituent slots in the host
- that symbionts re-use a slot (or several) in the host for new, but not necessarily rhematic information
- that the semantic relationship between the host and the symbiotic guest may be (among others) one of elaboration (repair), of amplification (list production), or of contrast,
- and finally, that although the symbionts re-use the structure of the host, and therefore depend on it, slight incongruencies between the host structure and the one required by the symbiont are tolerated; or in a more incremental way of speaking, the latent structure provided by the host may be adapted retrospectively to the needs of the symbiotic guest. This is an observation that agrees with more formalist accounts of analepsis that come to the same conclusion (among them, Merchant 2001 and Kindt 2013), as against naive views according to which "the ellipsis would necessarily be licensed by strict morphosyntactic form identity" (Merchant 2004: 700).

3.2. *Type 2: The symbiont occurs before the first unit's completion and does not constitute a new action*

The second type is very similar to the first, but there is an important difference from the point of view of on-line syntax: The retraction occurs **before** the syntactic gestalt of the host has come to completion. This implies that the emergent structure is only partially available at the point where the host-guest relationship is established. In the following example, the available structure is that of a conjunction introducing the turn (*aber*) and a topical noun phrase with nominative case marking (*dein Freund* 'your friend'); near the beginning of a new syntactic project such a noun phrase is a typical candidate for the subject of the emergent sentence, which indeed is what it turns out to be:

```
(10) TALK RADIO

DO:   aber dein FREUND,
      but  your (boy-)friend

      oder  dein tsch* jetziger mann    hat es dann geSCHAFFT;
      or    your (?)   present  husband has it then managed-(to)
```

```
dich    da    RAUSzuholen;
you_acc (from-)there pull-out
```
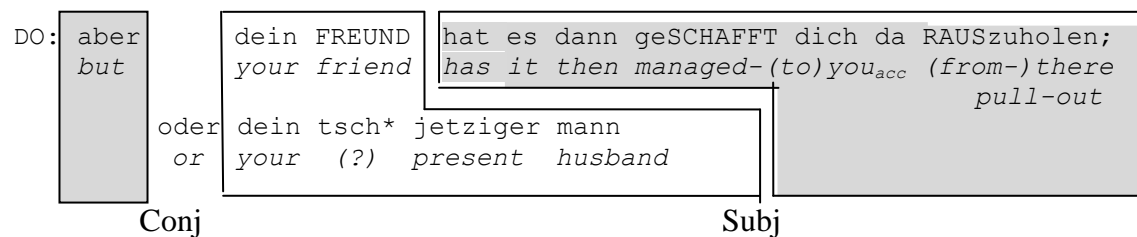
```
'but your boy-friend, or your present husband, he then managed
to pull you out of this'
```

Fig. (11):

```
┌────────┐  ┌───────────────────────────────┐ ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ aber   │  │    dein FREUND,               │ │                         │
│ but    │  │    your friend                │ │                         │
│        ├──┤ dein tsch* jetziger mann      │ │ hat es dann geSCHAFFT;  │
│        │or│ your  (?)  present husband    │ │ has it then managed-(to)│
└────────┘  └───────────────────────────────┘ └─────────────────────────┘
```
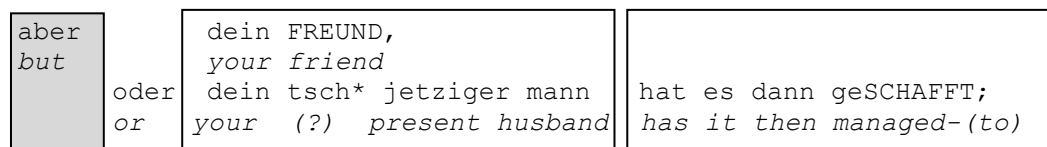
It is easy to transform the second type of host/ guest relationship into one of type one:

Fig. (11)' (fabricated)

```
      ┌───────┐  ┌──────────────┬────────────────────────────────────────┐
DO:   │ aber  │  │ dein FREUND  │ hat es dann geSCHAFFT dich da RAUSzuholen;│
      │ but   │  │ your friend  │ has it then managed-(to)you_acc (from-)there│
      │       │  │              │                                  pull-out │
      │       ├──┤ dein tsch* jetziger mann                                 │
      │       │or│ your  (?)  present  husband                              │
      └───────┘  └──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
         Conj                                        Subj
```

```
'but your friend  managed  to pull  you  out  of  this,  or  your
present husband'
```

From an on-line perspective, the only difference is that in the first case, the guest immediately follows the slot in the host that is to be re-used, before the (more or less projectable) remainder is actually produced, whereas in the second case, the retraction only starts once the host is complete. The two types involve different time structures and different trajectories in the emergence of the turn, with the first type being based on a shorter latency and a less extensive and sometimes more ambiguous latent structure than the second. Also, since the replacement of an element of the host by the symbiont happens within the turn of a speaker who visibly has not reached a completion point, this type seldom involves active participation by another speaker.

3.3. *Type 3: The symbiont occurs after the host's completion and constitutes a new action*

So far, I have discussed types of structural latency in which the host and symbiont are preferentially produced by the same speaker. There are, however, many other cases of structural latency in which speaker change between the first and the second element is frequent or obligatory. In this case, the symbiont constitutes a new conversational action, and the two speakers produce a conversational sequence together. A very simple example of this is a confirmation repetition: The second speaker repeats that constituent in the first speaker's turn which contains the new information (in this case

also invariably the comment/focus); the remainder of this first speaker's utterance remains latently available for the interpretation of the second.

```
(11) SPINNENTRANSPORT (phone call to a car rental)

B:    ich möchte ein AUto mieten. (-)
      I   would-like a car rent
      'I would like to rent a car.'

A:    ja? (-)
      yes?

B:    und zwar für eine fahrt von (-)äh  KREUzstadt  nach ZÜrich, (-)
      and PART for a    trip  from   uhm Kreuzstadt   to    Zurich,
      'and (I need it) for a trip from uhm Kreuzstadt to Zurich,'

A:    mm=

B:    =und für Einen TAG. (-)
       and for one day.

A:    einen TAG. (-)
      one    day.

      und WANN?
      and when?

B:    mm (-) so: (1.0) m (-) ja  Ende der     WOChe. (-)
             like              yes end  of-the week.

A:    Ende der   WOChe. (o.5)
      end of-the week

B:    mm,=
  ((etc.))
```

Fig. (12):

Prep   NP

The sequence (which shows many more structural latencies not discussed here, in addition to the confirmation repeats) is typical for business encounters in which the provider needs specific detailed information from the client in order to make an offer. In this context, confirmations are frequently given not in the form of a simple 'yes', but in the form of a repetition of the central information provided by the client. These repetitions clearly have a syntactic structure which embeds them into a latent structural context, as best shown by the example *für einen Tag → einen Tag,* where

the indefinite article in the repeated NP has the same case marking as the NP in the client's previous utterance.

Repetitions may of course also have different functions and constitute different activities. For instance, they may initiate repair (other-repair initiation):

```
(12)ORGA-KOMMITTEE
```

```
C:    bist du  morgen   auch in diesem: organisaTIONSkomitee jens?
      are  you tomorrow also in this    organizing-committee Jens?
      'will you also be part of this organizing committee tomorrow,
      Jens?'
```

```
J:    organisatIONSkomitee?
      organizing committee?
```

Fig. (13):

bist	du	morgen	auch	in	diesem:	organisaTIONSkomitee	jens?
are	*you*	*tomorrow*	*also*	*in*	*this*	*organizing-committee*	*Jens?*
!	!					organisatIONSkomitee? organizing *committee?*	

V_{fin} Subj   Advb Advb [Prep   Det   N]Pred
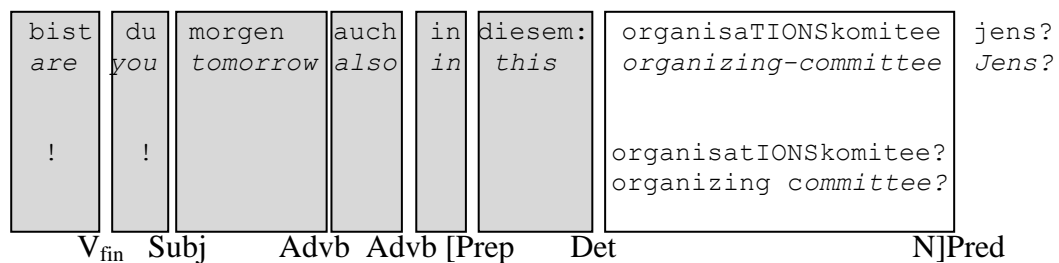
or signal surprise:

```
(13) SPARGEL
```

```
G:    und wir  haben vier kilo   spargel   geholt für fünfzehn maak h h h
      and we   have  four kilo   asparagus got   for fifteen marks
      'and we got eight pounds of asparagus for 15 DM h h h'
```

```
      (2.0)
```

```
A:    vier kilo?
      four kilos?
```

Fig. (14):

wir	haben	vier	kilo	spargel	geholt	für fünfzehn maak
we	*have*	*four*	*kilo*	*asparagus*	*got*	*for fifteen marks*
!	!	vier *four*	kilo? *kilos?*			

Subj V_{fin} [NUM   MASS   N]Obj V_{PART} Advb
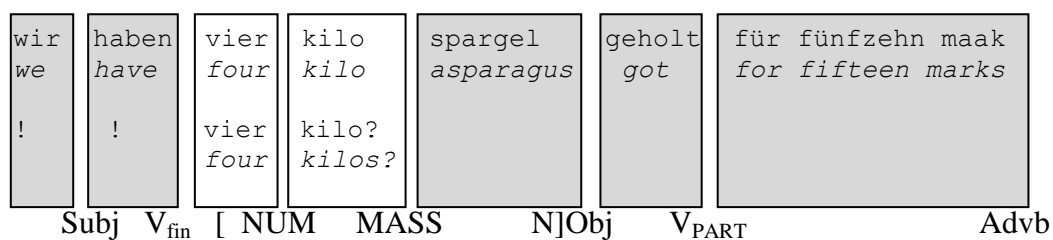
Additional functions of repetitions include the elicitation of confirmation.[10]

Other than in confirmation repeats, repair-initiating repeats can single out any lexical, and in peripheral cases even grammatical items of the host, i.e. they are not restricted to new information. Surprise markers of course only make sense after a news-telling, and they repeat the new information or a part of it.

In both examples (12) and (13), the latent grammatical structure provided by the host needs to be adapted retrospectively to make the repeated item fit in. (These obligatory adaptations are marked by '!' in the boxes.) In the first case, the pronoun 'you' must be replaced by 'I' due to a deictic shift, and in the second example, 'we' needs to be replaced by 'you'. As a consequence, the inflected forms of the verb need to be adapted as well. Of course, the address term *Jens* in the first example must also be deleted when 'Jens' speaks in answering C's question. These retrospective adaptations due to speaker change and the concomitant requirement to re-code the participant roles are typical of structural latencies of type 3 and 4.[11]

But symbiotic guests that occur in a second speaker's utterance can of course also involve non-repetitive re-uses of the latent grammatical pattern. Consider the last two utterances of the following exchange:

```
(14)LEGAG

T:      °h WAS (.) gibt es denn SONST neues bei euch;
        what    is  there PART else new    with you
        'what else is news from you'

R:      (och)  eigentlich nix NEUes;=ne,=
        (well) actually nothing new; no

        =eXAmen    machen     wer  alle (so).
        exams      do         we   all (like)
        'we're all going to take our exams'
```

---

[10] These repetitions with rising intonation are sometimes called echo questions, although the term is used ambiguously (Rost-Roth 2001).

[11] As in all cases of structural latency discussed here, the full counterpart of the contextually reduced (analeptic) utterance is seldom found in the corpora, and if it is produced, it does not always have the same meaning as the reduced form. This can be shown in example (12). The full version

    bin ich morgen auch in diesem Organisationskomitee?

would be highly marked; a more frequent version would be a reformulation in the format of an embedded question:

    Ob ich morgen auch in diesem Organisationskomitee bin?
    'Whether I will also be part of this organizing committee tomorrow?'

Both versions would signal surprise, or they may be an understanding check; they would fail to single out one word in the sentence and could not initiate single item repair. The analeptic repair initiation is therefore highly functional in identifying the reparandum.

When a wh-question is used to initiate repair of *Organisationskomitee*, two versions are possible. In one case

    Welches Organisationskomitee?

the initial question word is case-marked as a nominative while the original embedding of the word (*in diesem Organisationskomitee*) is marked for the dative, as required by the governing preposition. Therefore, no structural copying is involved. In the alternative wh-repair question

    In welchem Organisationskomitee?

the question word occurs in the determiner slot of the latent prepositional phrase *in diesem Organisationskomitee*, and therefore echos the syntactic format of the preceding TCU.

```
T:    ihr AUCH;
      you too
```

In this example, which is reminiscent of (7) above, but involves two participants and two sequentially organized actions, the analeptic utterance *ihr auch* 'you too' is a news receipt token which implies surprise (in addition to including T into the group of those who are taking exams, of course). Due to speaker change, the 1st person plural pronoun *we* is replaced by 2nd person plural *ihr* and *auch* 'too' is inserted:[12]

Fig. (15):

examen	mach-(en)	wer	⇧	alle
exams	*do*	*we*		*all*
	!	ihr	auch	
		you	*too*	
Obj	V_fin	Subj	Advb	
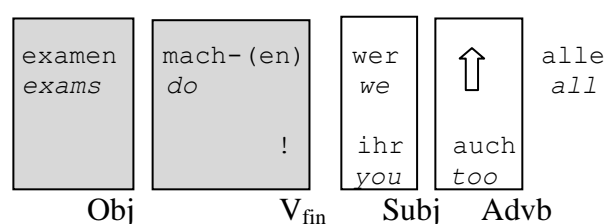
In addition to two-part sequences in which host and symbiont are distributed among the first and second speaker, we also observe cases belonging to the third type of structural latency, in which it is the first speaker who in the **third** position builds a next utterance on the pattern of his/her first utterance, i.e. after an intervening activity by the other speaker. A case in point are series of questions, each answered before the next one is asked, as they occur, for example, in medical examinations:

```
(15) SCHMERZEN(J S. 10)

E:    tun deine HÄNde weh?
      do  your  hands ache?

M:    nö.
      no

E:    deine geLENke?
      your  joints?

M:    ja.
      yes
```
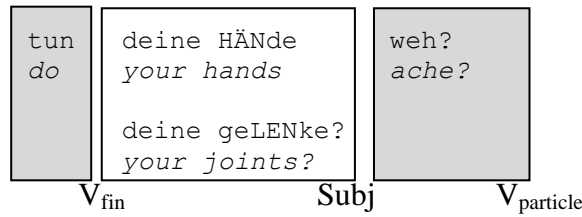
---

[12] Note once more that the full version of the host would not be equivalent to the analeptic one, in this case due to a different information structure: *Examen macht ihr auch?* means 'in addition to other things, you are also taking your exams' (i.e. the object noun in the theme position is in the scope of the particle *auch*). In the analeptic version, it is the personal pronoun *ihr* which is in the scope of *auch*. In order to make the two versions equivalent, the fronted object NP needs to exchange places with the personal pronoun*: Ihr macht auch Examen?* It is important to bear in mind that the host/symbiotic guest relationship is a structural one. The symbiont borrows the structure of the host, but it has its own semantics and pragmatics.

Fig. (16):

tun *do*	deine HÄNde *your hands* deine geLENke? *your joints?*	weh? *ache?*

V_{fin}   Subj   V_{particle}

3.4. *Type 4: The symbiont occurs after a wh-question, to which it is a projected answer*

The last type of structural latency to be discussed here is a special case of the third type. The host in this case is a wh-question, and the symbiont an answer to it. This special case is characterized by a particularly close and grammaticized relationship between the host and the symbiotic guest which is structurally marked by the wh-question. It is this wh-constituent that opens the slot into which the answer has to be inserted.
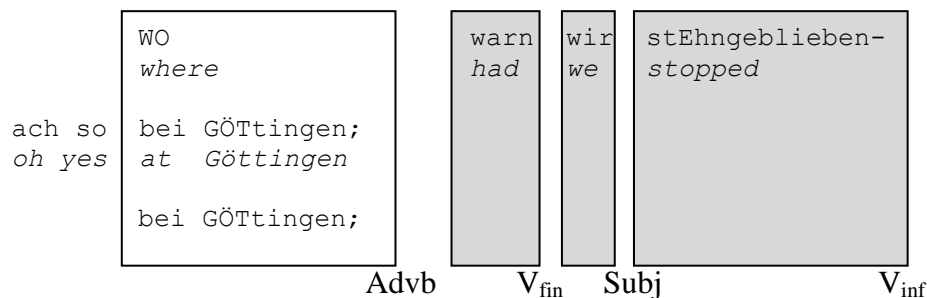
```
(16) GÖTTINGEN

A:    WO    warn  wir  stEhngeblieben-
      where had   we   stopped
      'where where we?'

      ach so [bei GÖTtingen;
      oh yes  at  Göttingen
      'oh yes, Göttingen'

B:           [bei GÖTtingen;
               at Göttingen
```

Fig. (17):

	WO *where* ach so bei GÖTtingen; *oh yes* *at Göttingen* bei GÖTtingen;	warn *had*	wir *we*	stEhngeblieben- *stopped*

            Advb   V_{fin}   Subj   V_{inf}

In this case, both the participant who asked the 'where'-question and his recipient answer simultaneously. Both answers fill the slot defined by the wh-question, while the remaining part of the prior unit remains implicitly available.

(17) VERSICHERUNG

```
V:    wie alt SAN sie bitte;
      how old are you please

A:    SECHSundzwanzig
      twenty six
```
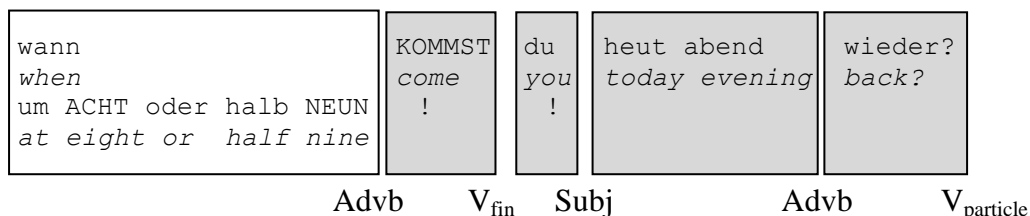
Fig. (18):

```
┌─────────────────────┐ ┌────┐┌────┐─────────
│ wie alt             │ │SAN ││sie │bitte;
│ how old             │ │are ││you │please
│                     │ │    ││    │
│ SECHSundzwanzig     │ │ !  ││ !  │
│ twenty six          │ │    ││    │
└─────────────────────┘ └────┘└────┘
                         Pred   V_fin  Subj
```
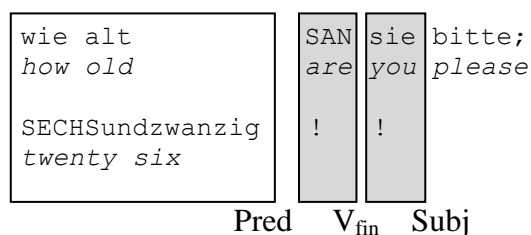
(18) FASCHING

```
M:    un wann  KOMMST du    heut abend    wieder?
      and when come   you   today evening back?
      'and when will you be home this evening?'

F:    um ACHT oder halb NEUN,
      at eight or  half nine
      'at eight or half past eight'
```

Fig. (19):

```
┌──────────────────────────┐ ┌────────┐ ┌─────┐ ┌──────────────┐ ┌──────────┐
│ wann                     │ │ KOMMST │ │ du  │ │ heut abend   │ │ wieder?  │
│ when                     │ │ come   │ │ you │ │ today evening│ │ back?    │
│ um ACHT oder halb NEUN   │ │ !      │ │  !  │ │              │ │          │
│ at eight or  half nine   │ │        │ │     │ │              │ │          │
└──────────────────────────┘ └────────┘ └─────┘ └──────────────┘ └──────────┘
            Advb              V_fin      Subj          Advb         V_particle
```

The last two examples once more require the recoding of the participant roles. Structural latencies are more than one-to-one structural copies; instead, they allow for the necessary adaptions that enable next speakers to answer in a short and effective way, using already established syntactic patterns, but in a way which is sensitive to speaker change.

In answers to wh-questions, making use of the syntactic structure of a preceding syntactic unit is the unmarked case. As Ford and Thompson (2010) show, providing a full version instead, which does not depend on the prior utterance structurally, is often indicative of some kind of additional, delicate layer of meaning beyond the information requested (for instance, the question may be heard as an implicit reproach). In contrast, yes/no questions by definition can be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no', which does not require any reliance on the structure of the question. However, very often, this shortest version of an answer is not enough. Alternatively (or additionally), they may be responded to by a phrase that the re-uses

the focus constituent and inserts a more precise formulation, or, in the case of a negative answer, in which the focus constituent is replaced by the correct alternative:

```
(19) SEGLERINNEN (topic: a restaurant in which A wants to dine out
with her family the same evening)

A:    is es bei euch in der NÄhe;
      is it at  you  in the vicinity
      'is it close to your place?'

B:    ne, in KONschdanz.
      no, in Constance.
```

Fig. (20):
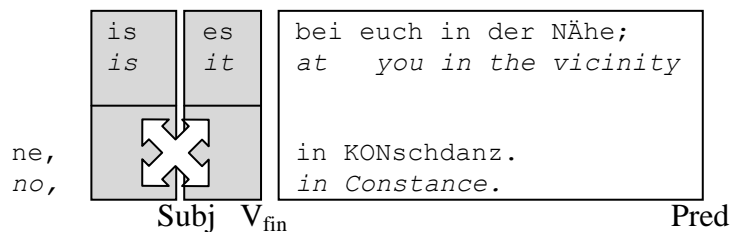
Since German yes/no-questions often are marked by the sentence-initial placement of the finite verb, a chiastic reordering is required to make the analeptic answer fit with the structure of the preceding host.

4. Conclusions

A high number of the intonational phrases which can be detected in conversational language do not correspond to syntactically self-contained units, i.e. they cannot be assigned external syntax when looked at in isolation. The reason why these intonational phrases are nonetheless unproblematic to understand for hearers is that they borrow their external syntactic structure from a structure activated beforehand, i.e. from a directly or indirectly preceding host. Formulating the same issue in a time-sensitive way, i.e. from earlier to later utterances, we can say that all structural units activate syntactic patterns that remain available for use in a subsequent utterance for some time. This structural latency opens up the possibility for next utterances to re-use these patterns without repeating them explicitly, and without additional processing costs.[13] This particular type of 'ellipsis' (often called analepsis) was the topic of this paper.

Four types of structural latency and analepsis were discussed, each with a list of examples and subtypes (which was not meant to be exhaustive). The first two types

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[13] Hence the inconclusive psycholinguistic research on the processing of analepsis which "raises some doubts about the cognitive adequacy of an expansion-based approach" (Rickheit/Sichelschmidt 2013: 164, translation P.A., with further references). Or, in other words: "There is no need to add what is linguistically lacking in ellipsis since it is already there cognitively" (Lötscher 2013: 205, translation P.A.).

typically occur within a speaker's turn, although co-constructions are possible as well. The re-use of a paradigmatic slot in an already activated and latently available structure may occur during or after the complete production of the host. Both types of retractions can be used for corrective or elaborative repairs, for list constructions, for amplifications, for building up contrasts, etc. Some of them come close to the more traditional syntactic category of coordination ellipsis, although syntactic coordination is not always involved. In two further types of structural latency, reminiscent of what is traditionally known as adjacency ellipsis, the precedent and the analeptic unit are typically produced by different speakers (but again, productions by the same speaker are observed as well). The main difference is that in these cases, the host and the symbiotic guest belong to two different actions. Together, they constitute a conversational sequence, e.g. statement/confirmation, statement/agreement, yes/no-question/answer, news telling/ news receipt. Type 4 is special in that the pragmatic relationship between guest and host is that of a wh-question/answer sequence, and in that the structural slot of the host which is replaced by the guest is grammatically marked by the wh-question word.

Structural latency is the raison d'être of retrospectively oriented utterances that on their own could not be assigned structure. I have suggested an analogy from biology to capture the relationship between these seemingly structure-lacking utterances and their structure-providing predecessors, i.e. that of symbiosis. Symbionts live together with their guests in a natural habitat and are dependent on them for their survival. In the same way, analeptic units 'live' together with their predecessors in the natural habitat of conversation, and could not be interpreted structurally if it was not possible to relate them to their predecessor. The host/symbiont relationship is fundamental for (spoken) language and is the basis of a multitude of pragmatic objects in conversation, from list-elements over repairs to answers. Their pragmatics are multiple, but their structural basis can be described in a simple, uniform way. It allows us to access syntactic knowledge as it is used by ordinary conversationalists for building their utterances in time.

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