Summary

**Question:** how should we approach secondary modality content like gestures, facial expressions, intonational morphemes?

**Answer:** as bona fide linguistic objects across the board

**Case studies:** conventionalized gestures and misc degree modifiers

**Background**

Recent literature focused on projection of non-conventionalized gestures (Ebert & Ebert 2014; Hunter 2018; Schlenker 2018a, a.o.):

- Conventionalized gestures and misc degree modifiers as bona fide linguistic objects across the board
- How should we approach secondary modality content
- Projection of degree modifiers

**Common assumption:** modality-specific rules for projection

**Schlenker 2018b:** predict if/how “iconic enrichments” project from:

- Non-conventionalized gestures rely on iconicity to convey meaning
- Conventionalized gestures can be:
  - **Subective modifiers:** project pragmatically if non-restricting
  - **Degen-int modifiers:** project pragmatically if non-restricting

**A super-linguistic approach**

Esipova 2019: the same principles guide projection in all modalities

- Architectural assumptions: λ model, late vocabulary insertion
- Projection pattern determined by how X composes, not how it’s exponed; modality effects only in phonology and pragmatics
- E.g., gestures in (1) can be construed as:
  - **Subective modifiers** (LARGE ≈ large): pragmatically project if non-restricting (truth-conditionally vacuous—Leffel 2014, adjusted) + prefer to be non-restricting if co-speech; cf. (2)
  - **Supplements:** (LARGE ≈ a large object): pass input unchanged + conventionally projecting proposition (e.g., Potts 2005); cf. (3)

- **(2) a.** If Lea brings her *lovely* dog, I’ll stay. → Lea’s dog is lovely. **NRM** inference (“cosupposition”)
  - b. If Lea brings her *lovely dog*, not her *nasty* one, I stay.

- **(3) a.** If Lea brings her dog, (who’s) a lovely creature, I’ll stay.
  - b. If Lea brings her dog, (who’s) a lovely creature, (who’s not her dog), (who’s a nasty creature, (who’ll stay). ≠ (2b); ≠ [If Lea brings her dog and it’s a lovely creature...]

**Non-conventionalized gestures rely on iconicity to convey meaning**

- Conventionalized gestures can be classified as:
  - **Subective modifiers:** project pragmatically if non-restricting
  - **Supplements:** project conventionally

- **Conclusion:**

  - **Degree modifiers cross-modally**

  - **Primary modality degree modifiers**
    - Adverbs and re-lexicalized expressives
  - **Degree modifiers and facial expressions**
    - OO can be a supplement or a degree modifier (cf. surprisingly)

**Selected references**