Composure and composition: towards a cross-modal typology of affective content*

Maria Esipova
University of Oslo

New York Philosophy of Language Workshop
October 26, 2020

1. Intro

- "Expressives" (e.g., Potts 2005, 2007):

(1) Lea brought her {fucking, bloody, (god)damn} dog to the party.

- "Expressives"? (Potts 2005: *lovely* can be a positive-by-default expressive):

(2) Lea brought her {lovely, awesome, obnoxious, disgusting} dog to the party.

- Some similarities at first glance:

(3) If Lea brings her {fucking, bloody, (god)damn, lovely, awesome, obnoxious, disgusting} dog to the party, Mia will be happy.
= If Lea brings her dog to the party, Mia will be happy. *truth-conditional vacuity*
→ The speaker has a certain attitude towards Lea's dog. *"projecting" inference*

- Some fundamental differences on closer inspection, e.g., potential for lack of local compositional interaction:

(4) I hope this music (never) {fucking, bloody, goddamn, *lovely, *awesome, *obnoxious, *disgusting} stops!

- Goals of the talk:

G1 Discuss the distinctions between *fucking*-type (*f-type*) items and *lovely*-type (*l-type*) items, and how they should be captured in our analyses (section 2).

G2 Further separate f-type items into those that do not integrate syntactically and, thus, compositionally where they appear in the surface structure and those that do, but in a vacuous way (section 3).

G3 Show that the some of the same distinctions hold for expressions of affect other than lexicalized spoken items: facial expressions, prosody, hand gestures, etc. (section 4).

- Connection to big-picture questions:

Q1 What are the types of meaning (in particular, non-truth-conditional) we can express through linguistic means? (G1)

*Work in revision; early draft available here: `https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/005003` Thanks to participants of 'Mean & W(h)ine' at NYU, 'LING IT' at Princeton, 'SURGE' at Rutgers, 'Super Linguistics Research Group' at UiO.

Q2 How do the expressions encoding those various types of meaning integrate with the surrounding material at different levels of representation? I.e., what are the constraints on the meaning–form mapping, and what are they due to? (G1 & G2)

Q3 How do Q1 & Q2 manifest in phenomena that are not language proper and/or whose meaning-encoding potential has been outside or on the periphery of linguistic inquiry ("paralinguistic" basket)? What are the universals of meaning expression? (G3)

2. Truth-conditional vs. non-truth-conditional content

- **Summary of the section:**
  - Main point: we need to distinguish between truth-conditional (TC) and non-truth-conditional (NTC) meanings in our analyses (Potts 2007 does the job; Potts 2005; Schlenker 2007 don't).
  - Typology we will end up with:

Truth-conditional	**Non-truth-conditional**
• Can't be compositionally vacuous • Can be pragmatically TC vacuous • E.g.: Eng. l-type items (*lovely*)	• Can be compositionally vacuous • No TC effect • E.g.: purely expressive Eng. f-type items (*fucking* in (4)); expressive component of degree modifier f-type items (*fucking* in (13))

Table 1: Typology of affective meanings, v. 1

- **Empirical picture:**
  - Recap from the intro; both f-type and l-type items can be TC vacuous, but only f-type items can be compositionally inert:

(5) a. If Lea brings her {fucking, bloody, (god)damn, lovely, awesome, obnoxious, disgusting} dog to the party, Mia will be happy.
= If Lea brings her dog to the party, Mia will be happy. *TC vacuity*
→ The speaker has a certain attitude towards Lea's dog. *"projecting" inference*
b. I hope this music (never) {fucking, bloody, goddamn, *lovely, *awesome, *obnoxious, *disgusting} stops!

  - Further distinction between l-type and f-type items; the former can be TC non-vacuous (restricting) under their affective meaning, but the latter cannot:

(6) A: Which of her dogs is Lea bringing?
B: The {lovely, awesome, obnoxious, disgusting, #fucking, #bloody, *(god)damn} one.

- **Potts 2005:**
  - "Expressives" contribute "conventional implicatures" (CIs), like appositives and high

adverbs; f-type items are always expressive, l-type items can become expressive.

- Unlike other CIs, "expressives" can attach to any constituent at LF (unlike other CIs); e.g., in (7), *damn* is claimed to attach to the embedded clause:

(7) Nowhere did the instructions say that the damn machine didn't come with an electric plug!

- This is not good enough:
  - This LF promiscuity is dubious for multiple reasons.
  - The f-type items in (5b) don't seem to interact compositionally with anything in the rest of the utterance.
  - L-type items don't gain the power to be compositionally inert when they are TC vacuous.

- **General insight:** we don't only use language to communicate and negotiate beliefs about the world, but also, e.g., as an immediate outlet for our feelings (*expressive meaning*) or to perform a variety of social functions (*social meaning*):
  - *Truth-conditional (TC) meaning:* true or false, negotiable, but can be presupposed or backgrounded ("at-issue" vs. "not-at-issue").
  - *Non-truth-conditional (NTC) meaning:* not meant to be true or false and, thus, non-negotiable; performative (goal achieved by virtue of uttering); sometimes not even communicative in nature (i.e., w/o an external observer in mind); the at-issue/not-at-issue distinction doesn't apply.

- **F-type items** are NTC; Potts 2007 captures this:
  - Expressives pass the expression they compose with unchanged (no TC effect), but alter the expressive index c_ε of the context of interpretation c that tracks the emotional states of the conversation participants, outputting a new context in which the speaker c_s is experiencing the relevant feeling, written as $\mathsf{feels}(c_s, c_\varepsilon)$ in (8) (the NTC effect).
  - This composition is performed by the $\bullet$ operator (see Potts 2007 for the technicalities); crucially, different from the $\bullet$ operator in Potts 2005 (the output is a new context c', not a special CI proposition).

(8) $[\![[\textsc{expr}\,[\alpha_{\langle\tau_1\ldots\tau_n,t\rangle}]]]\!]^c = \lambda X^1_{\tau_1}\ldots X^n_{\tau_n}.[\![\alpha]\!]^c(X^1)\ldots(X^n) \bullet \mathsf{feels}(c_s, c_\varepsilon)$
$= \lambda X^1_{\tau_1}\ldots X^n_{\tau_n}.[\![\alpha]\!]^{c'}(X^1)\ldots(X^n)$, where c'_s is experiencing a certain feeling in c'_ε

- **L-type items:**
  - Regular TC modifiers, e.g.:

(9) $[\![\textit{lovely}]\!]^c = \lambda P_{\langle e,st\rangle}\lambda x\lambda w.P(x)(w) \wedge \mathsf{likes}(c_s, x, w)$

  - Their speaker-oriented evaluative nature makes them prone to being *non-restricting modifiers* (NRMs) in the sense of Esipova 2019a (see also Morzycki 2008; Leffel 2014, a.o.), i.e., situationally TC vacuous in the context of a specific utterance, e.g.:

(10) a. *Context: The speaker believes that processed meat causes cancer.*
I shouldn't be eating so many deadly hot-dogs.
= I shouldn't be eating so many hot-dogs. *TC vacuity*
→ All hot-dogs are deadly. *NRM inference*
b. *Context: The speaker runs a chemistry lab and is talking to her assistant.*
All deadly substances are stored in this cabinet.
≠ All substances are stored in this cabinet. *TC non-vacuity*
↛ All substances are deadly. *no NRM inference*

– L-type items are often NRMs because (i) they don't make good restricting modifiers, and (ii) they are always licensed by relevance considerations (see, e.g., Schlenker 2005).

- We have captured the difference in the nature of TC vacuity of f-type items vs. l-type items (NTC to begin with vs. situational, pragmatic TC vacuity), but not the difference in their potential for local compositional inertness.

- **Ban on vacuous TC composition:** any TC contribution an expression that is not itself a standalone speech act makes has to interact compositionally with its sister('s arguments); in particular, *AFF doesn't exist:

(11) $[\![[^{*}\textsc{aff}\,[\alpha_{\langle\tau_1\ldots\tau_n,t\rangle}]]]\!]^c = \lambda X^1_{\tau_1}\ldots X^n_{\tau_n}.[\![\alpha]\!]^c(X^1)\ldots(X^n) \wedge \mathsf{feels}(c_s, c_\varepsilon)$

- **Sublexical NTC meanings:** a given lexical item can make both a TC and an NTC contribution. E.g., English f-type items often develop degree modifier uses (see also Esipova 2019c on degree modifiers cross-modally):

– Their degree meaning component is TC and typically TC non-vacuous:

(12) If the movie is {very, fucking, bloody, (god)damn} good, I'll stay till the end of the credits.
≠ If the movie is good, I'll stay till the end of the credits.

– Their affective component is still NTC and can still be compositionally inert:

(13) *Context: Daniel Craig, in an interview, when asked if Phoebe Waller-Bridge was a "diversity hire" for 'Bond':*
Look, we're having a conversation about Phoebe's gender here, which is fucking ridiculous. She's a great writer. Why shouldn't we get Phoebe onto Bond? (...) I know where you're going, but I don't actually want to have that conversation. I know what you're trying to do, but it's wrong. It's absolutely wrong. She's a fucking great writer. One of the best English writers around.
(`https://www.esquire.com/entertainment/movies/a29696991/daniel-craig-phoebe-waller-bridge-james-bond-diversity-hire/`)

- **Further discussion:**

– On lexicalization of TC vs. NTC: the distinction doesn't have to be about individual lexical items, it can be about instances of items, but in English the f-type vs. l-type distinction seems to be lexically rigid.

- On speaker's vs. external observer's meaning: an external observer can draw inferences about the speaker based on NTC content, and these inferences can be true or false; knowing this, the speaker can deliberately use NTC-meaning-bearing expressions, but this doesn't make these meanings TC.
- On compositionally non-vacuous NTC contributions: as things stand, nothing excludes them, but there is no need for them per se (the link between the feeling and its source can always be said to be pragmatic).
- NTC items ≠ "supplements", which are TC, but backgrounded (e.g., Potts 2005; AnderBois et al. 2013; Koev 2013), and have to link to something within the host utterance, however this link is established:
  - Appositives: their role is to communicate information, often new, and, thus, they can sometimes be TC non-vacuous (e.g., Schlenker 2013; Jasinskaja & Poschmann 2018) and can sometimes be objected to (e.g., Syrett & Koev 2015).
  - High adverbs: *surprisingly*/*sadly*/*frankly* ≠ 'I'm independently surprised/sad/frank'
- NTC items ≠ "presuppositions" of words like *stop* or *know*, i.e., content that is TC, but is presupposed in some tangible sense (e.g., a precondition for your utterance). Schlenker's (2007) attempt to reduce expressives to "indexical presuppositions", which are easy to globally accommodate due to the speaker being "an authority on [their] own mental states" is wrong (l-type items are indexical, but distinct from f-type items).

3. No local composition vs. vacuous local composition

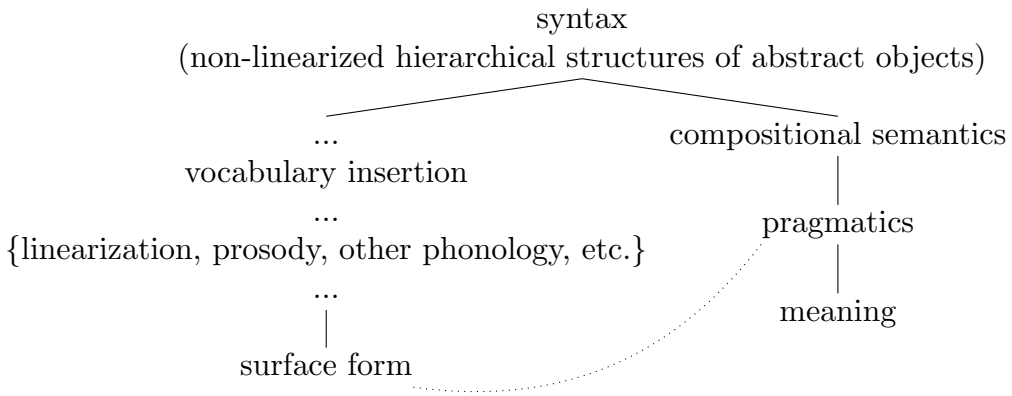
- **Summary of the section:**
  - Main point: both syntactically integrated and unintegrated NTC affective items exist (Russian data), so we need to allow vacuous semantic composition for NTC items.
  - Typology we will end up with:

<table>
<tr><th>Truth-conditional</th><th colspan="2">Non-truth-conditional</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">• Can't be compositionally vacuous
• Can be pragmatically TC vacuous
• E.g.: Eng. l-type items (lovely); Rus. derogatory/pejorative suffixes (-ašk-)</td><td colspan="2">• Can be semantically non-interactive
• No TC effect</td></tr>
<tr><td>Syntactically integrated</td><td>Syntactically unintegrated</td></tr>
<tr><td>• Can be compositionally vacuous
• E.g.: Rus. affectionate suffixes (-Vn'k- in (17)); expressive component of degree modifier f-type items (fucking in (13))</td><td>• No semantic composition with surrounding material
• E.g.: Rus. expressive particles (bljad')</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2: Typology of affective meanings, v. 2

- **Background assumptions:** inverted Y model of grammar + late vocabulary insertion:

(14)



- **Ban all vacuous composition?** It's not obvious that in examples like (4) f-type items are syntactically (and, thus, compositionally) integrated with the surrounding material.
- A few considerations from English:
  - *Fucking* and *bloody* can't be standalone speech acts, so there has to be some level of syntactic integration even in cases like (4), even if the linearization of these items is constrained solely by prosody.
  - English f-type items don't seem to be fully morphosyntactically inert (e.g., Ahn & Kalin 2018: *himself*/*%hisself*/*him-fucking-self*/*his-fucking-self*).
- Russian has both syntactically unintegrated (particles) and syntactically integrated (suffixes) affective items that are compositionally inert.
- **Russian NTC affective particles** expressing heightened emotions in (15) (also: *suka*, *sukabljad'*, *mat'tvoju*, *mat'vašu*):
  - compositionally inert;
  - linear position is only constrained prosodically;
  - morphosyntactically inert;
  - can be standalone utterances;
  - general semantics in (16).

(15) a. Gde (⟨**blja(d')**, **blin**⟩) moja (⟨**blja(d')**, **blin**⟩) ručka (⟨**blja(d')**, **blin**⟩)?!
where EXPR_{prt} my EXPR_{prt} pen EXPR_{prt}
≈'Where is my ⟨fucking, freaking⟩ pen?!'

b. ⟨Blja(d'), Blin⟩!
≈'⟨Fuck, Shoot⟩!'

(16) $[\![\text{EXPR}_{\text{prt}}]\!]^c = \lambda w.\mathsf{T} \bullet \mathsf{feels}(c_s, c_\varepsilon)$

- **Russian NTC affective suffixes** expressing immediate affection, as in (17):
  - compositionally inert (the sentiment in (17) is not towards water, bowls, fresh things, fast events, or walking events);
  - morphosyntactically integrated (subject to strict ordering constraints, exhibit lexical

idiosyncrasy, trigger and are subject to allomorphy);

- bound morphemes and, thus, can't be standalone utterances;
- sample semantics in (18).

(17) *Context: The speaker is talking to their dog.*

Ja sejčas nal'ju tebe svež-**en'k**-oj vod-**ičk**-i
I.NOM now pour.1SG.FUT you.DAT fresh-EXPR$_{suff}$-PTV.SG.F water-EXPR$_{suff}$-PTV.SG
v mis-**očk**-u, a potom my bystr-**en'k**-o pojdëm
in bowl-EXPR$_{suff}$-ACC.SG, and then we quick-EXPR$_{suff}$-ADV go.FUT.1PL
guljat-**en'k**-i.
walk.INF-EXPR$_{suff}$-INF
≈'I will now pour fresh water into a bowl for you, and then we will quickly go for a walk.'

(18) a. $[\![\textit{-očk-}]\!]^c = \lambda P_{\langle e,st\rangle}\lambda x\lambda w.P(x)(w) \bullet \mathsf{affectionate}(c_s, c_\varepsilon)$
b. $[\![\textit{mis-očk-a}]\!]^c = \lambda x\lambda w.\mathsf{bowl}(x)(w) \bullet \mathsf{affectionate}(c_s, c_\varepsilon)$

- **Russian TC affective suffixes:** Russian has many affective suffixes (more examples in (19); many of these are complex, I only separate out chunks that have identifiable meanings within a given word), but only those that express immediate affection (i.e., are NTC) can be compositionally inert (contra Steriopolo 2008, who treats all Russian affective suffixes as Pottsian expressives):
  - E.g., the affective suffixes in (20) cannot be used to express derogation towards the addressee or something/someone else in the extralinguistic context; these are like English l-type items.
  - Only suffixes that can express immediate affection (*-Vn'k-*, *-Vn'-Včk-*) can go on non-nominal categories.

(19) a. mam-**očk**-a
mother-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
b. mam-**ul'**-a
mother-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
c. mam-**ul'-ečk**-a
mother-AFF-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
d. mam-**ul'-en'k**-a
mother-AFF-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
e. kot-**ik**
cat-AFF
(affectionate)
f. kot-**ič-ek**
cat-AFF-AFF
(affectionate)
g. kot-**in'k**-a
cat-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
h. koš-**ak**
cat-AFF
(derogatory)
i. sobač-**k**-a
dog-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
j. sobač-**en'k**-a
dog-AFF-NOM.SG
(affectionate)
k. sobač-**ar**-a
dog-AFF-NOM.SG

(augmentative + derogatory)

l. sobač-**enci**-ja
dog-AFF-NOM.SG
(pejorative)

m. starič-**ok**
old.man-AFF
'old man' (affectionate)

n. starik-**an**
old.man-AFF
'old man' (derogatory)

o. starik-**ašk**-a
old.man-AFF-NOM.SG
'old man' (pejorative)

p. zver'-**ug**-a
animal-AFF-NOM.SG
(augmentative + derogatory)

q. zmej-**uk**-a
snake-AFF-NOM.SG
(derogatory)

r. dev-**ax**-a
girl-AFF-NOM.SG
(augmentative + derogatory)

(20) a. Vygonite ètogo ⟨starik-**an**-a, starik-**ašk**-u⟩ i ego ⟨sobač-**ar**-u, sobač-**enc**-iju⟩ von.
kick-out.IMP.PL this.ACC.SG.M ⟨old.man-DEROG-ACC.SG, old.man-PEJOR-ACC.SG⟩ and his ⟨dog-DEROG-ACC.SG, dog-PEJOR-ACC.SG⟩ out
≈'Kick out this ⟨stupid, pathetic⟩ old man and his ⟨stupid, pathetic⟩ dog.'

b. Vpustite ètogo ⟨starik-**an**-a, starik-**ašk**-u⟩ i ego ⟨sobač-**ar**-u, sobač-**enc**-iju⟩.
let-in.IMP.PL this.ACC.SG.M ⟨old.man-DEROG-ACC.SG, old.man-PEJOR-ACC.SG⟩ and his ⟨dog-DEROG-ACC.SG, dog-PEJOR-ACC.SG⟩
≈'Let in this ⟨stupid, pathetic⟩ old man and his ⟨stupid, pathetic⟩ dog.'

- So, we have to allow for vacuous composition at all levels of syntactic integration, but still only for NTC meanings.
- **Further discussion:**
  - Can the TC affective component of Russian suffixes be TC non-vacuous? I.e., can such suffixes be restricting? It's more constrained than for standalone modifiers, but probably not completely impossible (but it's complicated):

(21) A: Čto za starik k tebe prixodil?
what.kind old.man to you came
'Who was that old man who visited you?'
B: Da tak, starik??(-ašk-a).
CONJ.ADVERS so old.man-ATT-NOM.SG
≈'Nothing important, a pathetic old man.'

4. Beyond words

- **Summary of the section:**
  - Main point: expressions of affect via facial expressions, prosody, gestures, etc. are often treated as "paralinguistic", but they exhibit some of the same typological distinctions as words and provide further insights on surface integration of affective content.
  - Typology we will end up with:

Truth-conditional		**Non-truth-conditional**	
• Semantically interactive • Can be TC vacuous or backgrounded		• Can be semantically non-interactive • No TC effect	
Low syntactic integration	**High syntactic or discourse-only integration**	**Syntactically integrated**	**Syntactically unintegrated**
• Can't be compositionally vacuous • Can be pragmatically TC vacuous • E.g.: Eng. l-type items (*lovely*); Rus. derogatory/pejorative suffixes (*-ašk-*); ?docked expressions of negative attitude via face and prosody (*CONTEMPT* in (28))	• High non-vacuous composition or discourse-level-only semantic interaction • Typically backgrounded • E.g.: Eng. high adverbs (*surprisingly* in (23)); high-adverb-like mirative facial expressions (*OO* in (23))	• Can be compositionally vacuous • E.g.: Rus. affectionate suffixes (*-Vn'k-* in (17)); expressive component of degree modifier f-type items (*fucking* in (13))	• No semantic composition with surrounding material • Can be **prosodically integrated**, e.g.: Rus. expressive particles (*bljad'*); punctuated gestures and prosody (*CLAP* in (30a)) • Can be **prosodically unintegrated**, e.g.: undocked mirative facial expressions (*OO* in (22))

Table 3: Typology of affective meanings, v. 3

- **Meta info:**
  - Media files accompanying this section: `https://osf.io/jh58v/`
  - Notational conventions:
    - When relevant, nuclear pitch accents are marked by an acute accent on the stressed vowel (*v́*), without indicating the type of the pitch accent.
    - Labels for prosodic modulations and co-speech facial expressions are written as superscripts, with overlining roughly indicating their temporal alignment.
    - Labels for hand gestures are written in all caps; co-speech gestures are written as subscripts with underlining roughly indicating their temporal alignment.
    - When provided, illustrations are placed at the approximate onset of the target item.
- **Mirative facial expression *OO*** (also, mirative prosody, but the two can make their contributions independently; see Esipova 2019c for more):
  - **NTC *OO***, expressing immediate surprisal (≈*Wow/Oh my god!*):
    - conveys surprisal about something utterance-external;
    - syntactically unintegrated with the host utterance (like Russian NTC particles);
    - prosodically unintegrated with the host utterance (unlike Russian NTC particles).

(22) *Context: The speaker just learnt that Lily, who always says how much she hates cooking, made that marmalade they were about to taste.*

Not sure I want to taste this marmalade anymore!$^{\overline{\text{OO}}}$

– **TC *OO***, high-adverb-like, conveying non-immediate surprisal (≈*surprisingly*; see: drove.mp4, good.mp4, lily.mp4, loves.mp4):
  - conveys surprisal about the content of the host utterance;
  - focus-sensitive;
  - prosodically docks to (the focus marking pitch accent on) its focus associate;
  - thus, some level of syntactic integration is likely (although a discourse-level-integration-only analysis is possible).

(23) a. *Context: Everyone brought something they made themselves to the Friendsgiving party, but it's not always obvious who made what. Lily, who's known to be a terrible cook, made that marmalade everyone liked. A: Who made the marmalade? B:*
  (i) Surprisingly, Líly made the marmalade.
  (ii)  $\overline{\text{Líly}}^{\overline{\text{OO}}}$ made the marmalade.

b. *Context: Everyone brought something they made themselves or bought to the Friendsgiving party. Lily, who's known to be a terrible cook, brought that marmalade everyone liked. A: Where did Lily get the marmalade? B:*
  (i) Surprisingly, Lily máde the marmalade.
  (ii) Lily $\overline{\text{máde}}^{\overline{\text{OO}}}$ the marmalade.

c. *Context: Everyone brought something they made themselves to the Friendsgiving party, but it's not always obvious who made what. Lily, who always says that she hates sweets, made that marmalade everyone liked. A: What did Lily make? B:*
  (i) Surprisingly, Lily made the mármalade.
  (ii) Lily made the $\overline{\text{mármalade}}^{\overline{\text{OO}}}$.

– **degree modifier *OO*** (≈*surprisingly*):
  - the degree component is typically TC non-vacuous;
  - thus, composes non-vacuously with the expression it modifies;
  - prosodically docks to the expression it modifies;
  - has a backgrounded affective (mirative) component (additional affective meanings can be expressed by other movements of the face/head).

(24) a. The movie was {surprisingly good, $\overline{\text{good}}^{\overline{\text{OO}}}$,  $\overline{\text{THUMBS-UP}}^{\overline{\text{OO}}}$}.

b. Mia got {surprisingly drunk, $\overline{\text{drunk}}^{\text{OO}}$,  $\overline{\text{DRUNK}}^{\text{OO}}$}. (drunk.mp4)

– A naturally-occurring example of degree modifier facial expressions (and prosody) and undocked NTC mirative facial expressions (and prosody):

(25) And then I have like $\overline{\text{a contraction}}^{\text{HIGH-DEGREE}}$. If you've ever had a baby, you know, like, $\overline{\text{there's contractions}}^{\text{LOW-DEGREE}}$, and $\overline{\text{then there are contractions}}^{\text{HIGH-DEGREE}}$. I knew it was real, I was like, 'Oh my God, that is $\overline{\text{a contraction}}^{\text{HIGH-DEGREE}}$'. (contraction.mp4; 'Mama Doctor Jones', `https://youtu.be/dMeiPyuV_Y4?t=222`)

- **Docked expressions of negative attitude** can be analyzed as l-type modifiers (TC; non-vacuously compose with the constituent they prosodically dock to):

  – Contempt, disgust, etc. expressed via face:

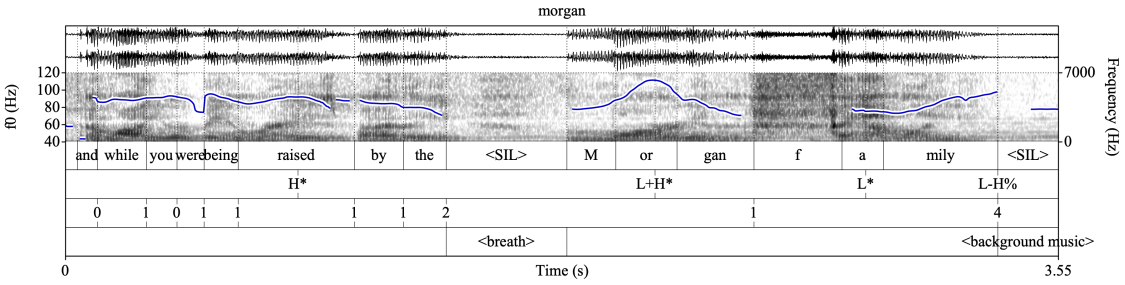
(26) a. Lea is bringing  $\overline{\text{her dog}}^{\text{EYEROLL}}$ to Kim's party.
→ The speaker has a certain attitude towards Lea's dog.
b. Lea is bringing her dog to $\overline{\text{Kim's party}}^{\text{EYEROLL}}$.
→ The speaker has a certain attitude towards Kim's party.

(27) Sam went  $\overline{\text{skiing with his parents}}^{\text{DISGUST}}$. (Schlenker 2018)

(28) I don't have $\overline{\text{friends}}^{\text{CONTEMPT}}$. (friends.mp4; 'Sherlock', S02E02)

– Contempt expressed through prosody only:

(29) And while you were being raised by the $\overline{\text{Morgan family}}^{\text{CONTEMPT}}$, I only had a memory of a family. (morgan.mp4; 'Dexter', S01E12)



- **Undocked expressions of negative attitude:** similarly to *OO*, NTC expressions of contempt, anger, etc. via face or prosody can occur throughout the utterance w/o

integrating with it compositionally or prosodically.

- **General motif:** affective facial expressions and prosodic modulations typically originate as NTC, often uncontrolled expressions of affect ("non-linguistic"?), but we can use them in a more controlled way, to express TC meanings ("linguistic"?).
- **Prosodically integrated vs. unintegrated NTC expressions:**
  - So far for non-word expressions of affect: either (compositional interaction + prosodic integration) or (no compositional interaction + no prosodic integration).
  - But choppy meter and clapping hand gestures do integrate prosodically with host utterances; in text: periods and/or clapping emoji (see LaBouvier 2017; Tatman 2017 on sociolinguistic and linearization properties of such emoji, respectively):

(30) a. Wíll$_{\text{CLAP}}$ yóu$_{\text{CLAP}}$ pléase$_{\text{CLAP}}$ stóp$_{\text{CLAP}}$?!
b. Will. You. Please. Stop.
c. Will 👏 you 👏 please 👏 stop 👏?

  - Thus, prosodic integration (or lack thereof) of syntactically unintegrated NTC content depends on phonological/phonetic factors.
- **Further discussion:**
  - Punctuated hand gestures/emoji can come with additional meaning components, TC or NTC, e.g.:
    - Irritated impatience + telling the addressee to hurry up (cf. compositionally integrated *SNAP* in (32))?

(31) Wé$_{\text{SNAP}}$ háve$_{\text{SNAP}}$ fíve$_{\text{SNAP}}$ mínutes$_{\text{SNAP}}$!

(32) I've got twenty minutes, so can we SNAP-SNAP?
(snap.mp4; 'Drew Lynch', cited from Harris 2020)

    - Heightened emotional state + TC or NTC 'This is America!'?

(33) THIS 🇺🇸 IS 🇺🇸 NOT 🇺🇸 A 🇺🇸 FUCKING 🇺🇸 MONARCHY 🇺🇸
https://t.co/Vg85LGcaLd

— Sarah Lerner (@SarahLerner) July 8, 2017 (Tatman 2017)

  - Are docked expressions of disgust/contempt l-type items, or is the link between them and the expression they prosodically dock to discourse-level only (cf. Hunter 2019 for co-speech gestures)? Can they be TC non-vacuous (restricting)? Maybe occasionally, but it's bound to be uncommon/degraded; even non-affective restricting co-speech gestures are degraded (Esipova 2019b):

(34) *The speaker knows that the addressee knows that Pam has two brothers, ...*
a. *...only one of whom wears glasses.*
?If Pam is bringing her bróther$_{\text{GLASSES}}$, I'm not coming.
b. *...only one of whom the speaker dislikes.*

??If Pam is bringing her bróther$^{\text{CONTEMPT}}$, I'm not coming.

– Also: affective modulations of typed and drawn text.

5. Outro

- Take-away:
  - One distinct way of being truth-conditionally vacuous is not being truth-conditional at all, which cannot be reduced to being backgrounded, presupposed, or pragmatically non-restricting. Expressing immediate emotions is a type of non-truth-conditional meaning that can be performed via linguistic means.
  - Non-truth-conditional meanings can compose vacuously with the material the expressions that carry them integrate syntactically with, but truth-conditional meanings cannot. Why? Cognitive load?
  - Non-word ways of expressing affect can also be non-truth-conditional ("non-linguistic"?) or truth-conditional ("linguistic"?), and we can and should be studying them with the same tools and rigor as words.

References

Ahn, Byron & Laura Kalin. 2018. What's in a (English) reflexive? In Sherry Hucklebridge & Max Nelson (eds.), *Proceedings of the 48th Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS 48)*, Amherst, MA: GLSA. URL `http://byronahn.com/papers/Ahn-Kalin-NELS48-proceedings.pdf`.

AnderBois, Scott, Adrian Brasoveanu & Robert Henderson. 2013. At-issue proposals and appositive impositions in discourse. *Journal of Semantics* 32(1). 93–138. doi: 10.1093/jos/fft014.

Esipova, Maria. 2019a. *Composition and projection in speech and gesture*: New York University dissertation. URL `https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/004676`.

Esipova, Maria. 2019b. Composition and projection of co-speech gestures. In Katherine Blake, Forrest Davis, Kaelyn Lamp & Joseph Rhyne (eds.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT) 29*, 111–137. doi: 10.3765/salt.v29i0.4600.

Esipova, Maria. 2019c. Towards a uniform super-linguistic theory of projection. In Julian J. Schlöder, Dean McHugh & Floris Roelofsen (eds.), *Proceedings of the 22nd Amsterdam Colloquium*, 553–562.

Harris, Alexis. 2020. Prosodic integration of pro-speech gestures. Junior Paper, Princeton University.

Hunter, Julie. 2019. Relating gesture to speech: reflections on the role of conditional presuppositions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 42(4). 317–332. doi: 10.1007/s10988-018-9244-0.

Jasinskaja, Katja & Claudia Poschmann. 2018. Attachment in syntax and discourse: towards an explanation for the variable scope of non-restrictive relative clauses. In Sireemas Maspong, Brynhildur Stefánsdóttir, Katherine Blake & Forrest Davis (eds.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT) 28*, 433–453. doi: 10.3765/salt.v28i0.4438.

Koev, Todor. 2013. *Apposition and the structure of discourse*: Rutgers University

dissertation. URL https://ling.rutgers.edu/images/dissertations/Koev-2013-Dissertation-Final-Version.pdf.

LaBouvier, Chaédria. 2017. The clap and the clap back: How Twitter erased Black culture from an emoji. In *Vice*. May 16, 2017. URL https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/jpyajg/the-clap-and-the-clap-back-how-twitter-erased-black-culture-from-an-emoji.

Leffel, Timothy. 2014. *The semantics of modification: Adjectives, nouns, and order*: New York University dissertation. URL https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/002212.

Morzycki, Marcin. 2008. Nonrestrictive modifiers in nonparenthetical positions. In Christopher Kennedy & Louise McNally (eds.), *Adjectives and adverbs: Syntax, semantics, and discourse* Studies in Theoretical Linguistics, 101–122. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The logic of conventional implicatures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199273829.001.0001.

Potts, Christopher. 2007. The expressive dimension. *Theoretical linguistics* 33(2). 165–198. doi: 10.1515/TL.2007.011.

Schlenker, Philippe. 2005. *Minimize restrictors!* (Notes on definite descriptions, condition C and epithets). In Emar Maier, Corien Bary & Janneke Huitink (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 9*, 385–416.

Schlenker, Philippe. 2007. Expressive presuppositions. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33(2). 237–245. doi: 10.1515/TL.2007.017.

Schlenker, Philippe. 2013. Supplements without bidimensionalism. Ms., Institut Jean-Nicod and New York University. URL http://www.semanticsarchive.net/Archive/jgwMjNmM/.

Schlenker, Philippe. 2018. Iconic pragmatics. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 36(3). 877–936. doi: 10.1007/s11049-017-9392-x.

Steriopolo, Olga. 2008. *Form and function of expressive morphology: a case study of Russian*: The University of British Columbia dissertation. doi: 10.14288/1.0066282.

Syrett, Kristen & Todor Koev. 2015. Experimental evidence for the truth conditional contribution and shifting information status of appositives. *Journal of Semantics* 32(3). 525–577. doi: 10.1093/jos/ffu007.

Tatman, Rachael. 2017. Where do the claps go when you write like this? In *Making Noise & Hearing Things* blog. July 13, 2017. URL https://makingnoiseandhearingthings.com/2017/07/13/.