Gestural Presuppositions*

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For Ebert_and_Ebert_2014, co-speech gestures contribute supplementary meanings, analyzed as 'appositive impositions' (AnderBois_et_al._to_appear). Thus (1)a is analyzed as in (1)b-c, with p corresponding to at-issue and p^* to non-at-issue proposals (the gesture co-occurs with the bracketed constituent). We suggest that some gestural enrichments are better analyzed as presuppositions.

(1) a. I brought **[a bottle of water]** to the talk.

    b.   At-issue: the speaker brought a bottle of water to the talk
            Non-at-issue: the bottle is big

    c. $\exists z \wedge z = \ulcorner \text{☞ } g \urcorner \wedge \exists x \wedge \text{bottle}_p(x) \wedge \text{SIM}_{p^*}(x, z) \wedge \text{bottle}_{p^*}(z) \wedge \text{bring}_p(\text{speaker}, x)$

Appositives are highly restricted in downward-monotonic environments, but gestural enrichments aren't, as shown by (2)a-(3)a-(3)a, which contrast with (2)b-(3)b-(4)b (experimental data would be needed to establish the facts rigorously). Furthermore, in these environments gestural enrichments project like presuppositions: they 'project out' of conditionals/modals, and yield universal inferences under *no_NP* (Chemla_2009). We suggest that they are presuppositions that can be justified on the basis of the clause or predicate they attach to; underlining gestural presuppositions, (2)a/(3)a have the LFs *if p ∧ p', q/unlikely p ∧ p,* and both yield the presupposition $p \Rightarrow p'$; while (4)a has the LF *[No P](Q∧Q')* and yields *[Every P](Q⇒Q').*

(2) a. If the session chairman brings **[a bottle of beer]**, I'll feel free to bring one too.
    => if the session chairman brings a bottle of beer, it will be a small one.

    b. ? If the session chairman brings a bottle of beer, which is **[this]** large, I'll feel free to bring one too.

(3) a. It's unlikely that the next speaker will bring **a bottle of beer** to his talk.
    =>? if the session chairman brings a bottle of beer, it will be a large one

    b. #It's unlikely that the next speaker will bring a bottle of beer, which is **[this]** large.

(4) a. No philosopher brought **[a bottle of beer]** to the workshop.
    =>? when a philosopher brings a bottle of beer, it is usually a large one

    b. #No philosopher brought a bottle of beer, which is **[this]** large.

Potts_2005 argues that supplements cannot contain bound elements. But gestural enrichments can–just like presupposition triggers.

(5) a. No philosopher brought **[his bottle of beer]** to the workshop.
    =>? each philosopher had a large bottle of beer

    b. No philosopher brought **[a beer he liked]** to the workshop.
    =>? each philosopher likes the kind of beer that comes in large bottles

A supplement-based analysis could provide an account, but at a cost.
(i) It could posit that gestural supplements can come with a covert version of the indicative/counterfactual mood in (6); but without independent evidence, this is stipulative.

(6) a. If the session chairman brings a bottle of beer, which <u>will be</u> **[this]** large, I'll feel free to bring one too.

   b. No philosopher brought a bottle of beer, which <u>would have been</u> **[this]** large.

(ii) Alternatively, it could posit that in (2)-(3)-(4) the supplement modifiers the bare NP rather than the entire indefinite; but it would still need to explain how the modified NPs in (5) can contain a bound element.
        Finally, unlike presuppositions, supplements must be 'non-trivial' (Potts_2005). It is dubious that gestures must be too:

(7) a. Yesterday a philosopher bought **[a bottle of beer]**. I thought he'd drink it over dinner. But this morning, he

   brought **[his bottle of beer]** to the workshop!

   b. Yesterday a philosopher bought a bottle of beer, which was **[this large]**. I thought he'd drink it over dinner.

   But this morning he brought his bottle of beer, #which was **[this large]**, to the workshop!

References

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