

Effects of linguistic context on the acceptability of co-speech gestures

Christina Zlogar
Department of Linguistics
Harvard University
Boylston Hall, 3rd floor
Cambridge, MA 02138
czlogar@fas.harvard.edu

Kathryn Davidson
Department of Linguistics
Harvard University
Boylston Hall, 3rd floor
Cambridge, MA 02138
kathryndavidson@fas.harvard.edu

Appendices

A Stimuli for Experiment 1

This appendix contains all the stimuli (video transcript and written text) used for Experiment 1.

We use the following conventions: gestures will be written in all-capital letters, and we will indicate the spoken words that align with the gesture by placing them in square brackets. In the positive contexts, material which has been changed from or added to the corresponding neutral contexts has been bolded. By *proposition* we mean the inference licensed by the positive context that conveys the semantic content contributed by the co-speech gesture, and also by its corresponding speech cue (noting that the two are not strictly equivalent given the iconic, analog nature of the co-speech gesture).

(1) **Scenario:** Boy in treehouse

- *Neutral context:* Billy is sad because he's not with his friends. He starts to cry and his dad goes over to him. Their neighbor Eliza watches and then tells her friend Sarah what happened. Eliza says:
- *Positive context:* Billy is sad because he's not **up in the treehouse** with his friends. He starts to cry and his dad goes over to him. Their neighbor Eliza watches and then tells her friend Sarah what happened. Eliza says:
- *UP proposition:* The helping was done by lifting the son up.¹

¹ Example (1a) is modeled on an example in Schlenker (2018: 3) (rewritten in (i) using our notation):

- a. John [helped]_UP his son and now he's not crying anymore.
- b. John [helped]_UP his son get up into the treehouse and now he's not crying anymore.
- c. John helped his son and now he's not crying anymore.
- d. John helped his son get up into the treehouse and now he's not crying anymore.

(2) **Scenario:** Favorite athlete

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Tom are talking about the Olympics, and Eliza is telling Tom about her favorite new athlete who Tom hasn't heard of. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Tom are talking about the Olympics, and Eliza is telling Tom about her favorite new **basketball player** who Tom hasn't heard of. Eliza says:
 - *SHOOT proposition:* The scoring was done by shooting a basketball.
- a. The match she was in last night was incredible! She [scored]_SHOOT the winning point!
 - b. The basketball match she was in last night was incredible! She [scored]_SHOOT the winning point!
 - c. The match she was in last night was incredible! She scored the winning point!
 - d. The basketball match she was in last night was incredible! She scored the winning point!

(3) **Scenario:** Pet dog

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Emma are talking about their friend Sandy who is passionate about adopting animals. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Emma are talking about their friend Sandy who is passionate about adopting **Great Danes**. Eliza says:
 - *BIG proposition:* The dog was big.
- a. Sandy just got [a dog]_BIG yesterday, and I hear it's quite the handful!

(i) John [helped]_UP his son.

⇒ John helped his son by lifting him. (*cosupposition*)

Note that Schlenker writes the cosupposition (inference) triggered by (i) differently than we did above by including *John*, the subject of the VP, in the inference. To us, it seemed more instinctively natural to not include the subject of a VP modified by a co-speech gesture in its propositional content. However, it is not clear to us what the ramifications of this choice point are, and so we leave it to future research.

- b. Sandy just got [a big dog]_BIG yesterday, and I hear it's quite the handful!
- c. Sandy just got a dog yesterday, and I hear it's quite the handful!
- d. Sandy just got a big dog yesterday, and I hear it's quite the handful!

(4) **Scenario:** Library disturbance

- *Neutral context:* Eliza is talking to Martin about her friend Karen, who was studying in the library when she suddenly heard a commotion erupt in the distance. Martin asks what happened next, and Eliza says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza is talking to Martin about her friend Karen, who was studying in the library when she suddenly heard a commotion erupt **from a floor below**. Martin asks what happened next, and Eliza says:
 - *RUN-DOWN proposition:* The running was in a downward direction.
- a. Karen [ran]_RUN-DOWN to see what was happening!
 - b. Karen [ran down]_RUN-DOWN to see what was happening!
 - c. Karen ran to see what was happening!
 - d. Karen ran down to see what was happening!

(5) **Scenario:** Writing

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Jamie are looking for Julia to join them for coffee. Jamie asks Eliza to check for her in the library. Eliza spots her there, comes back to Jamie, and says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Jamie are looking for Julia to join them for coffee. Jamie asks Eliza to check for her in the library. Eliza spots her there **on her computer**, comes back to Jamie, and says:
 - *TYPE proposition:* The writing was done by typing on a computer.
- a. I saw Julia over in the library [writing an essay]_TYPE — it looks like she's a little preoccupied right now.
 - b. I saw Julia over in the library [typing out an essay]_TYPE — it looks like she's a little preoccupied right now.
 - c. I saw Julia over in the library writing an essay — it looks like she's a little preoccupied right now.
 - d. I saw Julia over in the library typing out an essay — it looks like she's a little preoccupied right now.

(6) **Scenario:** The moon

- *Neutral context:* Bryan and Eliza are discussing how they spent their Sunday nights with their families. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context:* Bryan and Eliza are discussing how they spent their Sunday nights with their families. **Bryan found out that Eliza just got a new telescope.** Eliza says:
 - *TELESCOPE proposition:* The looking was done using a telescope.
- a. The moon was so gorgeous last night — we just sat outside [looking up]_TELESCOPE at it for awhile.
 - b. The moon was so gorgeous last night — we just sat outside and took turns with the telescope [looking up]_TELESCOPE at it for awhile.
 - c. The moon was so gorgeous last night — we just sat outside looking up at it for awhile.
 - d. The moon was so gorgeous last night — we just sat outside and took turns with the telescope looking up at it for awhile.

(7) **Scenario:** Check the time

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Sophie are talking about Eliza's recent date with Alex. Eliza complains:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Sophie are talking about Eliza's recent date with Alex, **who wore an expensive wristwatch.** Eliza complains:
 - *WRISTWATCH proposition:* The time-checking was done by looking at a wristwatch.
- a. Alex kept [checking the time]_WRISTWATCH during the date.
 - b. Alex kept [checking the time]_WRISTWATCH on his watch during the date.
 - c. Alex kept checking the time during the date.
 - d. Alex kept checking the time on his watch during the date.

(8) **Scenario:** Cleaning

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Mary are talking about their roommate Tom, who never seems to help with the housework. Mary says that Tom doesn't know how to clean anything, but then Eliza reminds her:
- *Positive context:* Eliza and Mary are talking about their roommate Tom, who never seems to help with the housework. Mary says that Tom doesn't know how to **vacuum**, but then Eliza reminds her:

- *VACUUM proposition*: The floor-cleaning was done by vacuuming.
 - a. Last Mother's Day, Tom surprised his mom by [cleaning the floor]_VACUUM without complaining.
 - b. Last Mother's Day, Tom surprised his mom by [vacuuming the floor]_VACUUM without complaining.
 - c. Last Mother's Day, Tom surprised his mom by cleaning the floor without complaining.
 - d. Last Mother's Day, Tom surprised his mom by vacuuming the floor without complaining.
- (9) **Scenario**: Jewelry
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Nina are gossiping about their coworker Alicia, and Nina says that she thinks Alicia has a lot of money. Eliza agrees and says:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza and Nina are gossiping about their coworker Alicia, and Nina says that she thinks Alicia has a lot of money **based on her new pair of earrings**. Eliza agrees and says:
 - *EARRING proposition*: The type of jewelry was earrings.
 - a. Alicia was wearing real diamond [jewelry]_EARRING at work this morning.
 - b. Alicia was wearing real diamond [earrings]_EARRING at work this morning.
 - c. Alicia was wearing real diamond jewelry at work this morning.
 - d. Alicia was wearing real diamond earrings at work this morning.
- (10) **Scenario**: Violin concert
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Jacob are talking about their niece's recital from the night before. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza and Jacob are talking about their niece's **violin** recital from the night before. Eliza says:
 - *VIOLIN proposition*: The performing was done on a violin.
 - a. Lisa [performed]_VIOLIN really well at the recital last night!
 - b. Lisa [performed]_VIOLIN really well at the violin recital last night!
 - c. Lisa performed really well at the recital last night!
 - d. Lisa performed really well at the violin recital last night!
- (11) **Scenario**: Backpack (Note: excluded from Exp. 1 data analysis due to name mismatch: *Alicia* versus *Stephanie*)
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and James are looking for their friend Stephanie at the library. James says that he needs some help carrying all the books he checked out. Eliza replies:

- *Positive context:* Eliza and James are looking for their friend Stephanie at the library. **They recognize her by her new backpack.** James says that he needs some help carrying all the books he checked out. Eliza replies:
- *BACKPACK proposition:* The bag is (more specifically) a backpack.
- a. I don't think Alicia can help — it looks like [her bag]_BACKPACK is super heavy.
- b. I don't think Alicia can help — it looks like [her backpack]_BACKPACK is super heavy.
- c. I don't think Alicia can help — it looks like her bag is super heavy.
- d. I don't think Alicia can help — it looks like her backpack is super heavy.

(12) **Scenario:** Hat tip

- *Neutral context:* Eliza just moved to a new town, and is telling her friend Sue about her friendly neighbor, an older gentleman. She says:
- *Positive context:* Eliza just moved to a new town, and is telling her friend Sue about her friendly neighbor, an older gentleman **who tips his hat to people walking by.** She says:
- *HAT-TIP proposition:* The greeting was done by tipping a hat.
- a. He [greeted]_HAT-TIP us as he went to get the paper this morning.
- b. He [tipped his hat]_HAT-TIP to us as he went to get the paper this morning.
- c. He greeted us as he went to get the paper this morning.
- d. He tipped his hat to us as he went to get the paper this morning.

(13) **Scenario:** Gambling

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Louis are talking about how much fun they had on a recent trip to the casino with their friend Valerie. They all started with \$200. Louis asks Eliza how Valerie did overall, and Eliza replies:
- *Positive context:* Eliza and Louis are talking about how much fun they had on a recent trip to the casino with their friend Valerie. They all started with \$200. **Valerie preferred the tables with dice games.** Louis asks Eliza how Valerie did overall, and Eliza replies:
- *DICE proposition:* The gambling was done using dice/by playing a dice game.

- a. Valerie [gambled]_DICE all her money away at the casino last weekend!
- b. Valerie [gambled]_DICE all her money away at the dice game last weekend!
- c. Valerie gambled all her money away at the casino last weekend!
- d. Valerie gambled all her money away at the dice game last weekend!

(14) **Scenario:** Working out at the gym

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Paul are discussing their friend Melissa's recent efforts to get in shape. Eliza says:
- *Positive context:* Eliza and Paul are discussing their friend Melissa's recent efforts to **build up her muscle tone**. Eliza says:
- *FREE-WEIGHTS proposition:* The working out was done by lifting weights.
- a. Melissa goes to the gym three times a week to [work out]_FREE-WEIGHTS.
- b. Melissa goes to the gym three times a week to [weight lift]_FREE-WEIGHTS.
- c. Melissa goes to the gym three times a week to work out.
- d. Melissa goes to the gym three times a week to weight lift.

(15) **Scenario:** Making soup

- *Neutral context:* Eliza is telling Hannah about their friend Derek's recent unsatisfying culinary experience. Derek hates to be interrupted while cooking, especially when he's at the stove. Eliza says:
- *Positive context:* Eliza is telling Hannah about their friend Derek's recent unsatisfying culinary experience. Derek hates to be interrupted while cooking, especially when he's **stirring a pot** at the stove. Eliza says:
- *STIRRING proposition:* The soup-making was done by stirring.
- a. Derek was [making soup]_STIRRING when the doorbell rang.
- b. Derek was [stirring the soup]_STIRRING when the doorbell rang.
- c. Derek was making soup when the doorbell rang.
- d. Derek was stirring the soup when the doorbell rang.

(16) **Scenario:** Cold weather

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Ethan are talking about the recent snowstorm and how even their friend Josh, who usually never gets cold, had to put on his winter clothing. Eliza says:

- *Positive context:* Eliza and Ethan are talking about the recent snowstorm and how even their friend Josh, who usually never gets cold, had to put on his winter **hat and scarf**. Eliza says:
 - WRAP-SCARF *proposition:* The bundling-up was done by wrapping a scarf around his neck.
- a. Josh [bundled up]_WRAP-SCARF before going out to shovel the driveway.
 - b. Josh [bundled up]_WRAP-SCARF with a scarf before going out to shovel the driveway.
 - c. Josh bundled up before going out to shovel the driveway.
 - d. Josh bundled up with a scarf before going out to shovel the driveway.

(17) **Attention checks**

- (A) Hi, this is an attention check — click “completely natural” and go on to the next question!
- (B) Hi, this is an attention check — click “not completely natural” and go on to the next question!
- (C) Hi, this is an attention check — click “not completely natural” and go on to the next question!

B Gesture screencaps

This appendix shows screencaps for all 16 gestures used in the videos for Experiments 1 and 2.



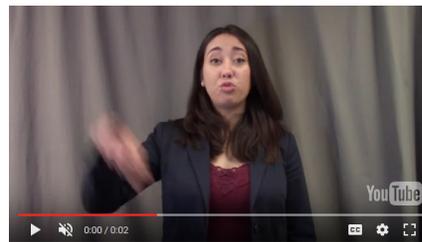
Scenario 1: UP



Scenario 2: SHOOT



Scenario 3: BIG



Scenario 4: RUN-DOWN



Scenario 5: TYPE



Scenario 6: TELESCOPE



Scenario 7: WRISTWATCH



Scenario 8: VACUUM

Figure 1: Screencaps of co-speech gestures: Scenarios 1–8.



Scenario 9: EARRING



Scenario 10: VIOLIN



Scenario 11: BACKPACK



Scenario 12: HAT-TIP



Scenario 13: DICE



Scenario 14: FREE-WEIGHTS



Scenario 15: STIRRING



Scenario 16: WRAP-SCARF

Figure 2: Screenscaps of co-speech gestures: Scenarios 9–16.

C Stimuli for Experiment 2

This appendix contains all the stimuli (video transcript and written text) used for Experiment 2.

We use the following conventions: gestures will be written in all-capital letters, and we will indicate the spoken words that align with the gesture by placing them in square brackets. Minimal differences between context types are bolded. By *proposition* we mean the inference licensed by the positive context that conveys the semantic content contributed by the co-speech gesture, and also by its corresponding speech cue (noting that the two are not strictly equivalent given the iconic, analog nature of the co-speech gesture).

(1) Scenario: Boy in treehouse

- *Neutral context*: Billy is sad because he's not **with his friends**. He starts to cry and his dad John goes over to him. Their neighbor Eliza watches and then tells her friend Sarah what happened. Eliza says:
- *Positive context*: Billy is sad because he's not **up in the treehouse with his friends**. He starts to cry and his dad John goes over to him. Their neighbor Eliza watches and then tells her friend Sarah what happened. Eliza says:
- *Infelicitous context*: Billy is sad because he's not with his friends. He starts to cry and his dad John goes over to him. Their neighbor Eliza watches and then **says to Billy's dad**:
- *UP proposition*: The helping was done by lifting the son up.
 - a. John [helped]_UP his son and now he's not crying anymore.
 - b. John helped his son get up into the treehouse and now he's not crying anymore.

(2) Scenario: Favorite athlete

- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Tom are talking about the Olympics, and Eliza is telling Tom about her favorite new **athlete** who Tom hasn't heard of. Eliza says:
- *Positive context*: Eliza and Tom are talking about the Olympics, and Eliza is telling Tom about her favorite new **basketball player** who Tom hasn't heard of. Eliza says:
- *Infelicitous context*: Eliza and Tom are talking about the Olympics, and Eliza is telling Tom about her new favorite **team she's rooting for**. Eliza says:

- *SHOOT proposition*: The scoring was done by shooting a basketball.
 - a. The match she was in last night was incredible! She [scored]_SHOOT the winning point!
 - b. The basketball match she was in last night was incredible! She scored the winning point!
- (3) **Scenario**: Pet dog
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Emma are talking about their friend Sandy who is passionate about adopting **animals**. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza and Emma are talking about their friend Sandy who is passionate about adopting **Great Danes**. Eliza says:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Eliza and Emma are talking **to** their friend Sandy who is passionate about adopting animals. Eliza says:
 - *BIG proposition*: The dog was big.
 - a. Sandy just got [a dog]_BIG yesterday, and I hear it's quite the handful!
 - b. Sandy just got a big dog yesterday, and I hear it's quite the handful!
- (4) **Scenario**: Library disturbance
- *Neutral context*: Eliza is talking to Martin about her friend Karen, who was studying in the library when she suddenly heard a commotion erupt **in the distance**. Martin asks what happened next, and Eliza says:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza is talking to Martin about her friend Karen, who was studying in the library when she suddenly heard a commotion erupt **from a floor below**. Martin asks what happened next, and Eliza says:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Eliza is talking to **Karen** about her friend **Martin**, who was studying in the library when **he** suddenly heard a commotion erupt in the distance. **Karen** asks what happened next, and Eliza says:
 - *RUN-DOWN proposition*: The running was in a downward direction.
 - a. Karen [ran]_RUN-DOWN to see what was happening!
 - b. Karen ran down to see what was happening!
- (5) **Scenario**: Writing
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Jamie are looking for Julia to join them for coffee. Jamie asks Eliza to check for her in the library. Eliza spots her **there**, comes back to Jamie, and says:

- *Positive context*: Eliza and Jamie are looking for Julia to join them for coffee. Jamie asks Eliza to check for her in the library. Eliza spots her **there on her computer**, comes back to Jamie, and says:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Eliza and Jamie are looking for Julia to join them for coffee. Jamie asks Eliza to check for her in the library. Eliza **doesn't see her there**, comes back to Jamie, and says:
 - *TYPE proposition*: The writing was done by typing on a computer.
- a. I saw Julia over in the library [writing an essay]_TYPE — it looks like she's a little preoccupied right now.
 - b. I saw Julia over in the library typing out an essay — it looks like she's a little preoccupied right now.
- (6) **Scenario**: The moon
- *Neutral context*: Bryan and Eliza are discussing how they spent their Sunday nights with their families. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context*: Bryan and Eliza are discussing how they spent their Sunday nights with their families. **Bryan found out that Eliza just got a new telescope**. Eliza says:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Bryan and Eliza are discussing how they spent their Sunday **mornings** with their families. Eliza says:
 - *TELESCOPE proposition*: The looking was done using a telescope.
- a. The moon was so gorgeous last night — we just sat outside [looking up]_TELESCOPE at it for awhile.
 - b. The moon was so gorgeous last night — we just sat outside and took turns with the telescope looking up at it for awhile.
- (7) **Scenario**: Check the time
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Sophie are talking about Eliza's recent date **with Alex**. Eliza complains:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza and Sophie are talking about Eliza's recent date **with Alex, who wore an expensive wristwatch**. Eliza complains:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Eliza and **Alex** are talking about Eliza's recent date with **Sophie**. Eliza complains:
 - *WRISTWATCH proposition*: The time-checking was done by looking at a wristwatch.
- a. Alex kept [checking the time]_WRISTWATCH during the date.
 - b. Alex kept checking the time on his watch during the date.

(8) **Scenario:** Cleaning

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Mary are talking about their roommate Tom, who never seems to help with the housework. Mary says that Tom doesn't know how **to clean anything**, but then Eliza reminds her:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Mary are talking about their roommate Tom, who never seems to help with the housework. Mary says that Tom doesn't know how **to vacuum**, but then Eliza reminds her:
 - *Infelicitous context:* Eliza and **Tom** are talking about their roommate **Mary**, who never seems to help with the housework. **Tom** says that **Mary** doesn't know how to clean anything, but then Eliza reminds **him**:
 - *VACUUM proposition:* The floor-cleaning was done by vacuuming.
- a. Last Mother's Day, Tom surprised his mom by [cleaning the floor]_VACUUM without complaining.
 - b. Last Mother's Day, Tom surprised his mom by vacuuming the floor without complaining.

(9) **Scenario:** Jewelry

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Nina are gossiping about their coworker Alicia, and Nina says that she thinks Alicia has **a lot of money**. Eliza agrees and says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Nina are gossiping about their coworker Alicia, and Nina says that she thinks Alicia has **a lot of money based on her new pair of earrings**. Eliza agrees and says:
 - *Infelicitous context:* Eliza and **Alicia** are gossiping about their coworker **Nina**, and **Alicia** says that she thinks **Nina** has a lot of money. Eliza agrees and says:
 - *EARRING proposition:* The type of jewelry was earrings.
- a. Alicia was wearing real diamond [jewelry]_EARRING at work this morning.
 - b. Alicia was wearing real diamond earrings at work this morning.

(10) **Scenario:** Violin concert

- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Jacob are talking about their niece Lisa's **recital** from the night before. Eliza says:
- *Positive context:* Eliza and Jacob are talking about their niece Lisa's **violin recital** from the night before. Eliza says:
- *Infelicitous context:* Eliza and **Lisa** are talking about their **nephew Jacob**'s recital from the night before. Eliza says:

- VIOLIN *proposition*: The performing was done on a violin.
 - a. Lisa [performed]_VIOLIN really well at the recital last night!
 - b. Lisa performed really well at the violin recital last night!
- (11) **Scenario**: Backpack
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and James are looking for their friend Alicia at the library. James says that he needs some help carrying all the books he checked out. Eliza replies:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza and James are looking for their friend Alicia at the library. **They recognize her by her new backpack.** James says that he needs some help carrying all the books he checked out. Eliza replies:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Eliza and **Alicia** are looking for their friend **James** at the library. **Alicia** says that **she** needs some help carrying all the books **she** checked out. Eliza replies:
 - *BACKPACK proposition*: The bag is (more specifically) a backpack.
 - a. I don't think Alicia can help — it looks like [her bag]_BACKPACK is super heavy.
 - b. I don't think Alicia can help — it looks like her backpack is super heavy.
- (12) **Scenario**: Hat tip
- *Neutral context*: Eliza just moved to a new town, and is telling her friend Sue about her friendly neighbor, **an older gentleman**. She says:
 - *Positive context*: Eliza just moved to a new town, and is telling her friend Sue about her friendly neighbor, **an older gentleman who tips his hat to people walking by**. She says:
 - *Infelicitous context*: Eliza just moved to a new town, and is telling **her new neighbor, an older gentleman**, about her **best friend Sue**. She says:
 - *HAT-TIP proposition*: The greeting was done by tipping a hat.
 - a. He [greeted]_HAT-TIP us as he went to get the paper this morning.
 - b. He tipped his hat to us as he went to get the paper this morning.
- (13) **Scenario**: Gambling
- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Louis are talking about how much fun they had on a recent trip to the casino with their friend Valerie. They all started with \$200. Louis asks Eliza how Valerie did overall, and Eliza replies:

- *Positive context:* Eliza and Louis are talking about how much fun they had on a recent trip to the casino with their friend Valerie. They all started with \$200. **Valerie preferred the tables with dice games.** Louis asks Eliza how Valerie did overall, and Eliza replies:
 - *Infelicitous context:* Eliza and **Valerie** are talking about how much fun they had on a recent trip to the casino with their friend **Louis**. They all started with \$200. **Valerie** asks Eliza how **Louis** did overall, and Eliza replies:
 - *DICE proposition:* The gambling was done using dice/by playing a dice game.
 - a. Valerie [gambled]_DICE all her money away at the casino last weekend!
 - b. Valerie gambled all her money away at the dice game last weekend!
- (14) **Scenario:** Working out at the gym
- *Neutral context:* Eliza and Paul are discussing their friend Melissa's recent efforts **to get in shape**. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza and Paul are discussing their friend Melissa's recent efforts **to build up her muscle tone**. Eliza says:
 - *Infelicitous context:* Eliza and **Melissa** are discussing their friend **Paul's** recent efforts to get in shape. Eliza says:
 - *FREE-WEIGHTS proposition:* The working out was done by lifting weights.
 - a. Melissa goes to the gym three times a week to [work out]_FREE-WEIGHTS.
 - b. Melissa goes to the gym three times a week to weight lift.
- (15) **Scenario:** Making soup
- *Neutral context:* Eliza is telling Hannah about their friend Derek's recent unsatisfying culinary experience. Derek hates to be interrupted while cooking, especially **when he's at the stove**. Eliza says:
 - *Positive context:* Eliza is telling Hannah about their friend Derek's recent unsatisfying culinary experience. Derek hates to be interrupted while cooking, especially **when he's stirring a pot at the stove**. Eliza says:
 - *Infelicitous context:* Eliza is telling **Derek** about their friend **Hannah's** recent unsatisfying culinary experience. **Hannah** hates to

be interrupted while cooking, especially when **she's** at the stove.

Eliza says:

- STIRRING *proposition*: The soup-making was done by stirring.
- a. Derek was [making soup]_STIRRING when the doorbell rang.
- b. Derek was stirring the soup when the doorbell rang.

(16) **Scenario**: Cold weather

- *Neutral context*: Eliza and Ethan are talking about the recent snowstorm and how even their friend Josh, who usually never gets cold, had to put on **his winter clothing**. Eliza says:
- *Positive context*: Eliza and Ethan are talking about the recent snowstorm and how even their friend Josh, who usually never gets cold, had to put on **his winter hat and scarf**. Eliza says:
- *Infelicitous context*: Eliza and **Josh** are talking about the recent snowstorm and how even their friend **Ethan**, who usually never gets cold, had to put on his winter clothing. Eliza says:
- WRAP-SCARF *proposition*: The bundling-up was done by wrapping a scarf around his neck.
- a. Josh [bundled up]_WRAP-SCARF before going out to shovel the driveway.
- b. Josh bundled up with a scarf before going out to shovel the driveway.

(17) **Attention checks**

- (A) Hi, this is an attention check — click “completely natural” and go on to the next question!
- (B) Hi, this is an attention check — click “not completely natural” and go on to the next question!
- (C) Hi, this is an attention check — click “not completely natural” and go on to the next question!

References

Schlenker, Philippe. 2018. Gesture projection and cosuppositions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 41. 295–365.