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Discourse dependency structures as constrained DAGs

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Abstract

I show that the semantic structure for discourses, understood as a dependency representation, can be mathematically characterized as DAGs, but these DAGs present heavy structural constraints. The argumentation is based on a simple case, i.e. discourses with three clauses and two discourse connectives. I show that only four types of DAGs are needed for these discourses.

1 Introduction

Within a multi-level approach to discourse processing, this paper focuses on the semantic level. This level reflects the discourse structure (how things are said, how the discourse is rhetorically organized). This structure plays an important role, e.g., it constrains both anaphora resolution and the attachment of incoming propositions in understanding. I assume that the informational content level (what is said) is based on first order logic.

A nice tool for the semantic level is dependency graphs. This is what is adopted in RST (rhetorical structures correspond roughly to dependency structures), but it is not the case in SDRT:\footnote{SDRT stands for Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (Asher, 1993) (Asher and Lascarides, 2003). It is an extension of DRT, Discourse Representation Theory (Kamp and Reyle, 1993). (S)DRS stands for (Segmented) Discourse Representation Structure. RST stands for Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thompson, 1987).} discourse structures, called SDRSs, are represented as boxes. Nevertheless, it is easy to translate the conditions of an SDRS into a dependency graph (Section 2.1).

Our goal in this paper is to determine to which mathematical object dependency structures for discourses correspond. In RST, it is a basic principle that this object is a tree. In SDRT, the issue is not discussed. I will show that this object is an ordered directed acyclic graph (DAG), which may be not tree shaped. Some authors, e.g. (Batesman, 1999) and (Blackburn and Gardent, 1998), have already brought forward discourse structures which are not tree shaped. However nobody says explicitly that discourse dependency structures are DAGs considering seriously all the consequences of this claim\footnote{For example, (Blackburn and Gardent, 1998) exhibits an example the structure of which is a “re-entrant graph”, see (6c). However, in (Duchier and Gardent, 2001), the semantic representations of discourses are always tree shaped.}.

Our argumentation is based on one of the simplest cases of discourses, namely discourses of type $S_1 \text{Conn}_a S_2 \text{Conn}_b S_3$ with two discourse connectives ($\text{Conn}_a/b$) and three clauses ($S_i$). A discourse connective $\text{Conn}$ can be either a subordinating or coordinating conjunction or a discourse adverbial. It denotes a discourse relation $R$, a predicate with two arguments. I will show (Section 3) that they are topologically only four types of DAGs for these discourses. This allows us to state that DAGs for these discourses are not arbitrary: they satisfy structural constraints (Section 5). I stipulate that this result can be extrapolated to discourses in which sentences are simply juxtaposed without discourse connective. It can also be foreseen that dependency structures for more complex discourses (e.g. discourses with more than three clauses) are also constrained DAGs.

This can be seen as an important result since many authors in the discourse community hang on trees as discourse structures, even if it means to use artificial trees as shown in Section 2.4. They reject DAGs because they view them as completely unconstrained (except the acyclicity constraint) and so as unusable in discourse processing. This is truly not the case. Semantic dependency structures for discourses are ordered DAGs but these DAGs present heavy structural constraints, which can help us to cut down the number of possibilities when processing discourses (although this issue is not discussed here).

Before getting to the heart of the matter, let us give some preliminaries.
2 Preliminaries

2.1 Translation of an SDRS into a DAG

Formally, an SDRS is a couple of sets \((U, Con)\). \(U\) is a set of labels of DRS or SDRS which may be viewed as “speech act discourse referents”. \(Con\) is a set of conditions on labels of the form:

- \(\pi : K\), where \(\pi\) is a label from \(U\) and \(K\) is a (s)DRS (labeling);
- \(R(\pi_i, \pi_j)\), where \(\pi_i\) and \(\pi_j\) are labels and \(R\) a discourse relation (structuring).

The set of conditions can be translated into a dependency graph by applying the following rules.

- A condition \(R(\pi_i, \pi_j)\) is translated as a binary tree, the root of which is \(R\), the ordered leaves are \(\pi_i\) and \(\pi_j\). \(\pi_i\) is the first argument of \(R\) (it corresponds generally to the “nucleus” in RST), \(\pi_j\) its second argument (it corresponds generally to the “satellite” in RST).
- A condition \(\pi : K\) in which \(K\) is a SDRS leads to a sub-graph obtained by translating recursively the conditions in \(K\), this sub-graph is labeled \(\pi\).
- A condition \(\pi : K\) in which \(K\) is a DRS is simply translated as \(\pi\).

Figures 1 and 2 give examples of this translation mechanism.

2.2 Linear order

Subordinate conjunctions (noted as \(Con\)) are the only discourse connectives which allow us to invert the order of the sentences: a subordinate clause can be postposed (the linear order is then the “canonical” one \(S1 Conj, S2\)) or preposed (then the non canonical order is \(Conj S2, S1\)). Following works in MTT\(^3\), a trace of the linear order can be recorded in a semantic dependency representation, however it should not affect its structure. From this principle, the position of subordinate clauses should not affect semantic structures. That is to say that \(S1 Conj S2\) and \(Conj S2, S1\) are both represented as \(R(\pi_1, \pi_2)\) in which \(\pi_1\) is the semantic representation of \(S_i\).

What happens for a sentence with two subordinate clauses? Establishing the canonical order with only postposed subordinate clauses may generate ambiguities: for example, a sentence \(X\) of the type \(Conj_a S1, S2 Conj_b S3\), with a preposed subordinate clause and a postposed one, corresponds, in the canonical order, either to \(Y_1 = S2 Conj_a S1 Conj_b S3\) or to \(Y_2 = S2 Conj_b S3 Conj_a S1\).

As a consequence, our study on the semantics of sentences with two subordinate clauses can be limited to the study of such sentences in the canonical order. Since subordinate conjunctions are the only discourse connectives which allow us to invert the order of the sentences, our study on the semantics of discourses with three clauses and two discourse connectives can be limited to discourses which satisfy the linear order \(S1 Conn_a, S2 Conn_b, S3\).

In (Danlos, 2003), I have shown, using LTAG as a syntactic formalism, that \(X\) receives two syntactic analyses which allow us to compute \(Y_1\) and \(Y_2\). From the principle that the position of subordinate clauses does not affect semantic structures (see above), \(X\) does not yield any other semantics than \(Y_1\) and \(Y_2\), i.e. the semantics of \(X\) is included in the semantics of \(Y_1\) and \(Y_2\).

2.3 Compositionality principle

Let \(D_n\) be a DAG with \(n\) leaves representing the dependency structure of a discourse \(D_n\). It will be shown that the following principle is true: if \(D_p\) is a sub-graph of \(D_n\) with \(p\) leaves, \(1 < p < n\), then the discourse \(D_p\) corresponding to \(D_p\) can be inferred from the discourse \(D_n\). On the other hand, it will be shown that the converse principle is not always true, i.e. if a sub-discourse \(D_p\) can be inferred from \(D_n\), it does not always mean that the graph \(D_p\) is a sub-graph of \(D_n\).

2.4 Interpretation of dependency relations in trees

Two different ways can be used to interpret dependency relations in trees: the standard one used in mathematics and computer science, and the “nuclearity principle” put forward in RST (Marcu, 1996). Let us illustrate them with the tree in Figure 3. With the standard interpretation, the first argument (nucleus) of \(R_e\) is its left daughter (the tree rooted at \(R_e\)), while with the nuclearity principle, it is \(\pi_1\) (the leaf which is the first argument (nucleus) of \(R_e\)). Similarly, with the standard interpretation, the second argument (satellite) of \(R_e\) is its right daughter (the tree rooted at \(R_e\)), while with the nuclearity principle, it is \(\pi_2\) (the leaf which is the first argument (nucleus) of \(R_e\)). To put it in a nutshell, the arguments of a discourse relation can be intermediary nodes or leaves with the standard interpretation, while they can only be leaves with the nuclearity interpretation.

I will show (Section 4) that the standard interpretation should be adopted. The point I want to make now is that one could argue that the nuclearity interpretation should be adopted instead, but one should not feel free to use both interpretations for the same tree. This is however what is done by some authors. For example, in (Webber et al., 2003), the tree in Figure 4 is the discourse structure associated with (1).

\(^3\)MTT stands for Meaning to Text Theory, a dependency formalism for sentences (Mel’cuk, 2001).
(1) a. Although John is very generous -
   b. if you need some money,
   c. you only have to ask him for it -
   d. he’s very hard to find.

Let us show that some predicate-argument relations are
given by the nuclearity interpretation and other ones by
the standard interpretation in their tree. From (1), (2) can
be inferred. This is evidence that the arguments of the
discourse relation “concession” in their tree are a and d.
These predicate-argument dependencies are given by the
nuclearity interpretation.

(2) a. Although John is very generous,
   d. he’s very hard to find.

From (1), (3) can also be inferred. This is evidence that
the arguments of “elaboration” in their tree are a and the
tree rooted at “condition”. These dependencies are given
by the standard interpretation.

(3) a’. John is very generous -
   b. if you need some money,
   c. you only have to ask him for it.

Nevertheless, one should not feel free to use trees relaying
on a mixed interpretation (the standard and nuclearity ones), except if
the conditions governing the use of one or the other interpretation are formally defined.
In Section 4, I will make an attempt to lay down rules on the choice of one of these two interpretations according to the
“coordinating or subordinating” type of discourse rela-
tions. However, this enterprise leads to a failure: no general rule can be laid down. Mixed interpretation for
trees should thus be discarded. As a consequence, one
has to admit that discourse structures are DAGs, for example, the DAG in Figure 5 for (1). This DAG is conform
to our compositionality principle: it can be viewed as the
fusion of the dependency graphs for (2) and (3), while the
discourse in (1) can be viewed as the fusion of the
discourses in (2) and (3), with the factorization of John is very generous which corresponds to the factorization of
"a" in the DAG.

3 DAGs for S1 Conn a S2 Conn b S3

It is standardly assumed that the arguments of a discourse relation expressed through a discourse connective are
given by text units which are adjacent to the discourse connective (Mann and Thompson, 1987), (Duchier and
Gardent, 2001). However, there exist counter-examples
to this adjacency principle, see (7) below. So I make
a weaker assumption, that I call “left1-right2 principle” which states the following: the first (resp. second) argu-
ment of a discourse relation expressed through a discourse connective is given by a text unit which occurs
on the left (resp. right) of the discourse connective. This principle makes sense only for discourses in the canonical order. Recall (Section 2) that our study can be limited to discourses which satisfy the canonical linear order S1 Conn a S2 Conn b S3.

A consequence of the left1-right2 principle in discourses of the type S1 Conn a S2 Conn b S3, is that the first argument of R a is compulsorily π1, the only text unit which occurs on the left of Conn a. On the other hand, its second argument may vary depending on scope. More specifically, it may a priori be:

- either the representation of the whole right hand side of Conn a, i.e. the semantic representation of the text unit S2 Conn b S3. I call this case “wide scope” of Conn a or R a. It leads to DAG (A) in Figure 6.
- or the representation of one of the two clauses on the right of Conn a. This case leads either to tree (A1) = R a(π1, π2) or to tree (A2) = R a(π1, π3).

Similarly, the second argument of R b is compulsorily
π3, the only text unit on the right of Conn b, but depend-
ing on the scope of Conn b, its first argument may a priori be R b(π1, π2), see (B) in Figure 6, or π2 in (B1) =
R b(π2, π3) or π1 in (B2) = R b(π1, π3).

We are now ready to study the combinatory coming
from the fusion of DAGs (Ai) and (Bj). The goal is to
distinguish the DAGs which correspond to coherent discourses S1 Conn a S2 Conn b S3 from those which do not
(i.e. which cannot be linguistically realized).

A) Graph (A): This graph is linguistically realized in
(4a)7. The wide scope of Conn a = because can be seen
in the dialogue in (4b-c) in which the answer is Because
S2 Conn b S38. In conformity with our compositionality
principle, (A) includes the sub-graph R b(π2, π3) and S2
Conn b S3 can be inferred: if (4a) is true, then it is true that
Fred played tuba while Mary was taking a nap. The
reader will check that the adverbial Conn a = therefore in
(4d) has also wide scope.

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6In this figure, as well as in other subsequent figures, the
label for the sub-graph is omitted.

7To indicate that it is stressed when spoken, the word while
is written in capital letters in (4).

8When while is not stressed, the question in (4b) may be
given as answer only Because S2. The interpretation of (4a)
corresponds then to DAG (C) in Figure 6.
(4) a. Mary is in a bad mood because Fred played tuba while she was taking a nap.
b. - Why is Mary in a bad mood?
c. - Because Fred played tuba while she was taking a nap.
d. Fred wanted to bother Mary. Therefore, he played tuba while she was taking a nap.

B) Graph (B): This graph is linguistically realized in (5a). The wide scope of $\text{Conn}_b = \text{in order that/ to}$ can be seen in the dialogue in (5b-c) in which the question is *Why S1 Conn$_b$ S2?* In conformity with our compositionality principle, (B) includes the sub-graph $R_b(\pi_1, \pi_2)$ and S1 Conn$_b$ S2 can be inferred from (5a). The adverbial Conn$_b$ = therefore in (5d) has also wide scope.

(5) a. Fred played tuba while Mary was taking a nap in order to bother her.  
    b. - Why did Fred play tuba while Mary was taking a nap? 
    c. - In order to bother her. 
    d. Fred played tuba while Mary was taking a nap. 
    Therefore, she is in a bad mood.

C) Graphs (A1) and (B1): The fusion of (A1) and (B1) leads to DAG (C) in Figure 6. This DAG is not tree shaped: $\pi_2$ has two parents. It is linguistically realized in (6a), in which S2 is said to be “factorized” since both S1 Conn$_a$ S2 = Mary is in a bad mood because her son is ill and S2 Conn$_b$ S3 = Her son is ill. Specifically, he has an attack of bronchitis can be inferred from (6a), which is in conformity with our compositionality principle since (C) includes both (A1) = $R_a(\pi_1, \pi_2)$ and (B1) = $R_b(\pi_2, \pi_3)$. A similar situation is observed in (6b) and (6c).

(6) a. Mary is in a bad mood because her son is ill. Specifically, he has an attack of bronchitis.
    b. Fred played tuba. Next he prepared a pizza to please Mary.
    c. Fred was in a foul humor because he hadn’t slept well that night because his electric blanket hadn’t worked.  

D) Graphs (A1) and (B2): The fusion of (A1) and (B2) leads to DAG (D) in Figure 6. This DAG is not tree shaped: $\pi_1$ has two parents. It is linguistically realized in (7a), in which S1 is said to be “factorized” since both S1 Conn$_a$ S2 = Fred prepared a pizza to please Mary and S1 Conn$_b$ S3 = Fred prepared a pizza. Next he took a nap can be inferred, in conformity with our compositionality principle. A similar situation is observed in (7b) and (7c).

(7) a. Fred prepared a pizza to please Mary. Next, he took a nap.
    b. Fred prepared a pizza, while it was raining, before taking a walk.
    c. Fred is ill. More specifically, he has an attack of bronchitis. Therefore, Mary is in a bad mood.

In discourses analyzed as (D), S3 is linked to S1 (which is not adjacent) and not to S2 (which is adjacent). Therefore, these discourses are counter-examples to the adjacency principle adopted in RST.

The DAG (D) exhibits crossing dependencies and it does correspond to coherent discourses. (D) is thus a counter-example to the stipulation made by (Webber et al., 2003), namely “discourse structure itself does not admit crossing structural dependencies”.

E) Graphs (A2) and (B1): The fusion of (A2) and (B1) leads to DAG (E) in Figure 7, in which $\pi_3$ has two parents. I cannot find any discourse corresponding to (E), i.e. with S3 factorized, although I wrote down all possible examples I could think of. Laurence Delort, who works on (French) corpus neither. I cannot prove that something does not exist, I can just stipulate it. However there is some evidence, coming from syntax, which supports my stipulation when Conn$_a$ and Conn$_b$ are both subordinating conjunctions (Conn$_t$). Namely, no standard syntactic analysis of sentences of the type S1 Conn$_a$ S2 Conn$_b$ S3 can lead, in a compositional way, to an interpretation in which S3 is factorized. As I see no reason to make a difference between subordinating conjunctions and other discourse connectives at the semantic level (see note 11), I extrapolate this result to other discourse connectives.

F) Graphs (A2) and (B2): The fusion of (A2) and (B2) leads to DAG (F) in Figure 7. This graph cannot represent a discourse S1 Conn$_a$ S2 Conn$_b$ S3 since it does not include $\pi_2$.

So far, we have examined only cases where a discourse relation has two arguments. It remains to examine what is called “multi satellite or nucleus cases” in RST, in which a discourse relation is supposed to have more than two arguments.

G) Graphs (A1), (A2) and (B2): The fusion of (A1), (A2) and (B2) leads to DAG (G) in Figure 7. This DAG could be said to be linguistically realized in (8a): since

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9When *while* is not stressed, the interpretation of (5a) may correspond to DAG (D) in Figure 6.

10This discourse is a modified version (including discourse connectives) of an example taken in (Blackburn and Gar dent, 1998). These authors acknowledged that the structure of this discourse is a “re-entrant graph”.

11Among discourse connectives, (Webber et al., 2003) distinguish “structural connectives” (e.g. subordinating conjunctions) from discourse adverbials including then, also, otherwise, . . . . They argue that discourse adverbials do admit crossing of predicate-argument dependencies, while structural connectives do not. I don’t make any distinction between discourse connectives at the semantic level, but I emphasize that (7b) comprises only structural connectives (subordinating conjunctions) and its structure exhibits crossing structural dependencies.

12Recall that I feel entitled to make this claim because I have studied in detail the syntactic analyses of sentences of the type S1 Conn$_a$, S2 Conn$_b$, S3 in (Danlos, 2003).
both $SI_{Conn_a} S2$ and $SI_{Conn_a} S3$ can be inferred from (8a), one may be willing to lay down both $R_a(\pi_1, \pi_2)$ and $R_a(\pi_1, \pi_3)$, i.e. to consider (8a) as a multi-satellite case with $R_a = Elaboration$. $R_b = Narration$ links $\pi_2$ and $\pi_3$. The following question arises: is $R_b$ in a dependency relation with $R_a$? It is hard to give an answer for (8a). However the answer seems positive for (8b), which could also be analyzed as a multi-satellite case with $R_a = Elaboration$. $R_b = Narration$ links $\pi_2$ and $\pi_3$. This leads to DAG ($G'$) in Figure 7. However, consider (8c) which differs from (8b) only by the use of or instead of and. Graphs (G) or ($G'$) would not do justice to (8c): neither $R_a(\pi_1, \pi_2)$ nor $R_a(\pi_1, \pi_3)$ can be laid down. (8c) can only be represented as DAG (A) with $R_a = Explanation$ and $R_b = Disjunction$.

(8) a. Guy experienced a lovely evening last night. More specifically, he had a fantastic meal. Next he won a dancing competition.\(^\text{13}\)
   b. Mary is in a bad mood because she had'nt slept well and it is raining.
   c. Mary is in a bad mood because she had'nt slept well or it is raining.

It seems clear that (8b) and (8c) should be represented at the semantic level as the very same graph. This graph can only be (A), which is the only possibility for (8c). For the sake of homogeneity and compatibility with SDRT, (8a) should also be represented as (A)\(^\text{14}\). Recall moreover that (4a) with wide scope of $Conn_a$ is also represented as (A). All in all, (A) happens to be a semantic structure which is shared by discourses whose informational content shows quite different relations between the eventualities at stake. Is it a problem? I would say no, because, from (A), semantic to content rules, based on the values of $R_a$ and $R_b$, can make the difference: they can compute the following (simplified) logical forms, which show that the discourses in (8) and (4a) do not have the same type of informational content as far as the relations between eventualities are concerned, although they share the same (dependency) semantic structure:

- for (8a) with $R_a = Elaboration$ and $R_b = Narration$: $e_1 \land e_2 \land e_3 \land precede(e_2, e_3) \land subevent(e_1, e_2) \land subevent(e_1, e_3)$
- for (8b) with $R_a = Explanation$ and $R_b = Joint$: $e_1 \land e_2 \land e_3 \land cause(e_1, and(e_2, e_3)) \rightarrow e_1 \land e_2 \land e_3 \land cause(e_1, e_2) \land cause(e_1, e_3)$
- for (8c) with $R_a = Explanation$ and $R_b = Disjunction$: $e_1 \land e_2 \land e_3 \land cause(e_1, or(e_2, e_3)) \rightarrow e_1 \land e_2 \land e_3 \land (cause(e_1, e_2) \lor cause(e_1, e_3))$
- for (4a) with $R_a = Explanation$ and $R_b = Circumstances$: $e_1 \land e_2 \land e_3 \land overlap(e_2, e_3) \land cause(e_1, overlap(e_2, e_3))$

We have touched here a crucial question in discourse processing (within a multi-level approach): to what extent should the semantic (dependency) level (how things are said) echo the informational content level (what is said)? I don’t pretend to give a general answer to this fundamental question. However we have seen that the same semantic dependency structure (or SDRS) can lead to quite different informational contents according to the values of the discourse relations at stake. What is called multi-satellite case in RST, e.g. (8a) or (8b), leads to a logical form in which the same eventualty variable, here $e_1$, occurs conjunctively multi-times as the argument of the same predicate, e.g. $pred_a(e_1, e_2) \land pred_a(e_1, e_3)$ with $pred_a = subevent$ in (8a) and $pred_a = cause$ in (8b). It is unnecessary to represent such a case at the semantic level trough a predicate - a discourse relation - with more than two arguments. The multi-satellite analysis in RST comes from the following principle: if a subdiscourse $D_p$ can be inferred from a discourse $D_n$, with $1 < p < n$, then the graph $D_p$ must be a sub-graph of $D_n$. This principle is simply wrong. On the other hand, the converse implication is true.

H) Graphs (A1), (B1) and (B2): The fusion of (A1), (B1) and (B2) leads to a DAG which could be said to be linguistically realized in (9). This discourse allows us to infer both $SI_{Conn_b} S3$ and $S2_{Conn_b} S3$. So it would be classified as a multi-nucleus case in RST. However, by the same argumentation as previously, it should be represented as (B).

(9) Fred washed the dishes and Guy cleaned up the bathroom, while Mary was taking a nap.

I) Graphs (A1), (A2) and (B2): The fusion of these graphs lead to DAG (I) in Figure 8. I cannot find any example corresponding to this DAG.

J) Graphs (A2), (B1) and (B2): Along the same lines, the fusion of these graphs lead to a DAG for which I cannot find any instance.

No other fusion of graphs (A1) and (B1) leads to a DAG which corresponds to a coherent discourse. So we have arrived at the following result:

The dependency structure of a discourse $SI_{Conn_a} S2$ $S2_{Conn_b} S3$ is one of the four DAGs (A), (B), (C) and (D). (A) and (B), which are tree shaped, cover wide scope cases (and multi satellite or nucleus cases in RST). (C) and (D),
which are not tree shaped, cover multi parent cases (factorization of a sentence). (D) exhibits crossing dependencies.

Before commenting on this result, let us come back to the interpretation of dependency relations in trees.

4 Interpretation of dependency relations in trees (concluding episode)

First, let us underline the following point. Interpreting tree shaped graphs (A) and (B) with the nuclearity principle amounts to interpreting (A) as (C), and (B) as (D)

But then, cases with wide scope are not taken into account, which is unacceptable. Therefore, the standard interpretation of dependency relations in a tree is needed.

Next, the following question arises: is it possible to state that the dependency relations in a tree should be computed sometimes by the standard interpretation and some other times by the nuclearity one? In the tree (B), this question is instantiated in the following way: should the first argument of R₂ be given sometimes by the standard interpretation (it is then the tree rooted at Rₐ) and some other times by the nuclearity principle (it is then π₁, and (B) is equivalent to (D))

An answer to this question is sound only if it is possible to define formally “sometimes”. The only sound answer consists in stating that there exist two types of discourse relations: the dependency relations are computed with the standard interpretation for the first type, and computed with the nuclearity interpretation for the second one. The only types of discourse relations which have been put forward up to now are the “coordinating and subordinating” types (Hobbs, 1979), (Asher and Lascarides, 2003), (Asher and Vieu, 2003). Laurence Delort in (Delort, 2004) has examined, in the framework of SDRT, my DAGs (A)-(D) in studying for each relation Rₐ or R₆ if it could be of the coordinating and/or subordinating type. Her results are summarized in Table 1. This table shows that (B) is possible only when R₆ is coordinating and (D) only when Rₐ is subordinating (in both cases, R₆ can be equally coordinating or subordinating). Therefore, it is possible to lay down the following rule: the dependency relations in the tree (B) are computed with the standard interpretation when R₆ is coordinating, and with the nuclearity interpretation when Rₐ is subordinating.

However, let us examine the situation for the tree (A). From Table 1, the reader can check that no rule can be laid down for the dependency relations in (A) when R₆ is coordinating: they can be computed with either the standard or the nuclearity interpretation. These two cases are illustrated in (10) with R₆ = Contrast and Rₐ = Narration: (10a) should be analyzed with the standard interpretation of (A) with wide scope of Connₐ, while (10b) should be analyzed with the nuclearity interpretation of (A), i.e. as (C) with S2 factorized.

Next he went to see a movie.

In conclusion, a mixed interpretation for trees must be discarded: the coordinating or subordinating type of discourse relations does not allow us to choose between the standard and nuclearity interpretations. As a consequence, since the standard interpretation is needed for wide scope cases, the nuclearity principle should be discarded.

5 Analysis of the result and conclusion

The result I arrived at does not take into account the discourse connectives / relations at stake. However, for a given pair of connectives, it may happen that only some of the DAGs among (A)-(D) are observed. For example, if Connₐ is an adverbial and Conn₆ a subordinate conjunction, then (B) with wide scope of R₆ should be excluded. On the top of part of speech considerations, the lexical value of each connective may exclude some of these DAGs. Finally, the distinction between coordinating and subordinating discourse relations must be taken into account. Table 1 from (Delort, 2004) presented as in Table 2 shows that a given DAG among (A)-(D) never corresponds to the 2×2 = 4 possibilities given by the combinatory Rₐ/₆ coordinating or subordinating discourse relation.

To put it in a nutshell, there is a maximum of four ordered DAGs representing the semantic structures of discourses S1 Connₐ S2 Conn₆ S3. I stipulate that this result can be extrapolated to cases where sentences are simply juxtaposed without discourse connective.

It can be considered that there is only a few DAGs corresponding to coherent discourses with three clauses

First, recall that the left1-right2 principle (Section 3) discards right away a number of DAGs, for example (K) in Figure 8 (in (K), R₆ is not the mother of π₁). Secondly, among the DAGs which satisfy the left1-right2 principle, some are not instantiated, e.g. (E), and also (F). A look

15With the nuclearity principle, the second argument of Rₐ in (A) is π₂, and the first argument of R₆ in (B) is π₁.

16For the other dependency relations in (B), both interpretations give the same result.
on the topology of the ordered DAGs (A)-(D) allows us to bring forward this other structural constraint: $R_a$ must “left-dominate” $\pi_2$. The definition of left-dominance in a tree is the following (Danlos, 2003): a node X left-dominates a node Y iff Y is a daughter of X (immediate dominance) or there exists a daughter Z of X such that Y belongs to the left-frontier of the tree rooted at Z. For example, $R_a$ left-dominates $\pi_1$, $R_b$ and $\pi_2$ in (A), while $R_b$ left-dominates $R_a$, $\pi_1$ and $\pi_3$ in (B).

Let us here examine the consequences of this left-dominance constraint in non formal terms. $R_a$ must be the mother of $\pi_1$ and must left-dominate $\pi_2$. This means that $R_a$ establishes some semantic representation of a discourse with four clauses and three discourse connectives: what would be a discourse in which the second clause is not linked at all to the first one?

It has the following consequence: the semantic representation of a discourse with four clauses and three discourse connectives cannot be DAG (L) in Figure 8. In (L), $R_a$ does not left-dominate $\pi_2$, or informally, there is no link between $S_1$ and $S_2$. (L) includes two crossing dependencies.

I have just half-opened the door towards an extension of this study to discourses with more than three clauses. I stipulate that the conclusion of this forthcoming study will be the same. Namely, semantic dependency structures for discourses are ordered DAGs which satisfy heavy structural constraints, which can help us to cut down the number of possibilities when processing discourses.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank Laura Kallmeyer for her many valuable comments.

References


18 Left-dominance is a notion more restrictive than dominance (e.g. $R_a$ dominates $\pi_1$, $R_b$ and $\pi_2$ in (A)) and less restrictive than the nuclearity principle (e.g. by this principle, $R_a$ dominates only the leaves $\pi_1$ and $\pi_2$ in (A)).

19 This result can be seen as a weaker version of the adjacency principle for the first two clauses of a discourse.

20 The link between the first two clauses can be given by a third sentence, as in (11) in which $S_3$ establishes a joint link between $S_1$ and $S_2$ through its plural subject. The DAG for (11) is (B) with $R_a$ = Joint and $R_b$ = Comment.

(11) It is raining. Ted arrived late. These two facts irritated Mary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$R_a$ coor.</th>
<th>$R_a$ sub.</th>
<th>$R_b$ coor.</th>
<th>$R_b$ sub.</th>
</tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>(D)</td>
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Table 1

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<th></th>
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<th>$R_a$ subordinating</th>
<th>$R_b$ coordinating</th>
<th>$R_b$ subordinating</th>
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<td>subordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A), (B), (C)</td>
<td>(A), (D)</td>
<td>(B), (C)</td>
<td>(C), (D)</td>
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Table 2

Figure 1: Translation of an SDRS into a DAG

Figure 2: Translation of the SDRS for (12) into a DAG

(12) 1 Max experienced a lovely evening last night.
2 He had a fantastic meal.
3 He ate salmon.
4 He devoured lots of cheese.
5 He won a dancing competition.
concession [although] a
elaboration d

condition [if] b
c

elaboration a

condition [if] d
b
c

Figure 3: Binary tree

Figure 4: Artificial tree for (1)

Figure 5: DAG for (1)

Figure 6: DAGs (A), (B), (C) and (D)

Figure 7: DAGs (E), (F), (G) and (G')

Figure 8: DAGs (I), (K) and (L)