

itself otherwise. We note $\alpha_1 \ll_{\mathcal{D}} \alpha_2$ the fact that $last_{\mathcal{D}}(\alpha_1) <_{\mathcal{D}} first_{\mathcal{D}}(\alpha_2)$ and there is no atomic constituent α' such that $last_{\mathcal{D}}(\alpha_1) <_{\mathcal{D}} \alpha' <_{\mathcal{D}} first_{\mathcal{D}}(\alpha_2)$.

Constraint (16) says that a constituent is *dcr-admissible* whenever every constituent terminated by a discourse CR is the attachment site of a constituent that immediately follows it and the attachment is not a topic shift.

- (16) Let $\alpha = \langle nodes, dr \rangle$ be a non-atomic constituent with respect to discourse \mathcal{D} . We say that α is *dcr-admissible* if and only if, for any $\beta \in nodes$ such that $dcr(last_{\mathcal{D}}(\beta))$,
1. there is some $\gamma \in nodes$ such that, for some R , $R(\beta, \gamma)$ or $R(\gamma, \beta)$ is in dr and $\beta \ll_{\mathcal{D}} \gamma$, and,
 2. there is no $\gamma \in nodes$ such that $Topic-Shift(\beta, \gamma) \in dr$ and $\beta \ll_{\mathcal{D}} \gamma$.

(16) makes room for the two types of configuration illustrated in Figure 13. It is a static constraint, which characterises the attachments that respect certain conditions. A dynamic rule, conform to SDRT's guidelines, is shown in (17). It says that, when attempting to attach β to α in λ , if the penultimate (LAST-1) constituent γ carries a discourse CR, then, normally, (i) $\alpha = \gamma$ (no-back-jump) and (ii) no *Topic-Shift* relation is allowed.

- (17) $?(\alpha, \beta, \lambda)_{LAST-1} = \gamma_{LAST} = \beta \ dcr(\gamma) > \alpha = \gamma \ \& \ Topic-Shift(\gamma, \beta, \lambda)$

(16) and (17) do not impose any particular discourse relation (they just ban *Topic-Shift*). Additional constraints, such as the description of specific relations, constructional patterns (12) or the speech act range of discourse CRs (14), contribute narrowing the space of possible interpretations.

Interestingly, (16) and (17) are stricter than the *Right Frontier* (RF) constraint, proposed in SDRT. The RF constraint says that a constituent can only be attached to the penultimate constituent or to a constituent that subordinates, directly or indirectly, the penultimate constituent. SDRT exploits Polanyi's (1985) distinction between subordination and coordination relations. Polanyi's intuition was that α subordinates β whenever β does not interrupt the discourse move associated with α . If β creates an interruption, then it is coordinated to α . The status of this distinction was never entirely clear. The interpretation we assume here is that β is subordinated to α whenever it develops or modifies what α says about its specific topic, for instance when it elaborates the contribution of α or introduces some proposition that puts this contribution into a different perspective (by justifying or attacking it, for instance). In contrast, coordination occurs when α 's specific topic is changed. For instance, although two constituents of a continuation elaborate a common topic, the second constituent does not elaborate what the first says about its specific topic. Given the RF constraint, it is in principle possible to jump to a higher, subordinating, constituent. This is precisely forbidden in the case of discourse CRs.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented and discussed a way of integrating discourse CRs in SDRT. Discourse CRs correspond to inter-sentential major continuations in Delattre's work. We have established that, in isolation, discourse CRs are preferentially interpreted as questions, not as assertions, even when they are acoustically copied from sentence pairs where they obviously convey an assertion. We interpret this somewhat paradoxical result as another manifestation of the generally assumed cue-based nature of discourse construction. However, in the case at hand, the situation is more abstract than in other cases because discourse CRs do not convey semantic or pragmatic 'values', but constrain the kind of attachment that the next constituent must undergo. We have analysed the attachment constraints in Section 4 and shown that they pertain to three different domains: constructions (typically for conditional interpretations, as with pseudo-imperatives), speech act variability (constituents hosting a discourse CR may, for instance, act as questions or commands) and local connexity (no back jump, no topic shift). We have exploited the unique combination of modularity and non-monotonicity found in SDRT to formulate our constraints, pointing on some occasions to possible departures from the received framework. In further work, we plan to explore the cognitive limits of discourse CR illocutionary 'camouflage', that is, the margin of tolerance in the interpretation of discourse CRs as questions, commands, exclamations, etc., depending on different combinations of phonetic properties.

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