UCCA's Foundational Layer: Annotation Guidelines v2

http://www.cs.huji.ac.il/~oabend/ucca.html

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1 General Principles for Annotation

- 1. A UCCA annotation task consists of the annotation of multiple sentences, usually a paragraph or several paragraphs long. When you receive a task, take a few minutes to read the entire text, in order to understand the context.
- 2. UCCA divides the text into units (stretches of text; not necessarily contiguous), each referring to a relation, a participant in a relation or a relation along with its participants. The types of relations we annotate are listed below.
- 3. The units must cover all the tokens, except punctuation tokens which are not annotated.
- 4. Units may contain other sub-units, giving rise to a hierarchical structure.
- 5. Each unit is assigned a category, reflecting its role in a super-ordinate relation in which it participates. The category does not necessarily reflect the meaning of the unit taken in itself. For instance, all the units in **boldface** have the same category, as they all describe "horse" in finer detail:
 - "A beautiful horse"
 - "A police horse"
 - "A horse with no name"
 - "The horse that won the race"
 - "A winning horse"
- 6. UCCA does not annotate ambiguity. When reading ambiguous text, decide on the most likely interpretation in your opinion and use it for annotating the entire passage.

2 A Bird's Eye View of the Categories

Units may be analyzed according to one of the following models:

Model #1: Scenes

- 1. A Scene is some description of an action, movement or state (including abstract actions or states). It generally has a time when it happened, a location, and a ground (the circumstances in which the description was uttered or written). In concrete cases, a Scene can be imagined as a single mental image or a short script.
 - "Woody walked in the park" (1 Scene)
 - "I got home and took a shower" (2 Scenes)
- 2. A Scene has a main relation (exactly one), which determines the type of the Scene and what happened in it. This main relation can be either a STATE (S) if the Scene is constant in time; or a PROCESS (P) an action, movement or some other relation that evolves in time.
- 3. Each Scene is considered a unit, and is therefore, like all units, also assigned a category as a whole. The category of the Scene unit reflects the role of that unit in the super-ordinate relation it participates in (see below).
- 4. Scenes may contains any number of Participants (A). These are the principal participants in the main relation of the Scene (including locations). Participants may refer either to physical or abstract entities.
 - "John_A boiled [an egg]_A"

- "Programming_A is widely taught nowadays"
- 5. In static Scenes, the main relation is annotated as a STATE. The State unit should not include its auxiliary verbs if present.
 - "John_A is tall_S"
 - "[The apple tree]_A is in_S [the garden]_A"
 - "[An apple]_A weighs_S [200 g]_A"
 - "[This apple]_A does weigh_S [200 g]_A"
 - "John_A is [a writer]_S"
 - " $[Big_S (dogs)_A]_E dogs_C$ "
- 6. In dynamic Scenes, the main relation is marked as a PROCESS (P). The Process unit should not include its auxiliary verbs if present.
 - "John_A kicked_P [the ball]_A"
 - "John_A has been kicking_P [the ball]_A since breakfast"
- 7. ADVERBIALS (D) are relations that do not introduce another Scene, but semantically modify the Scene or its Process or State. Common cases of Ds are modal relations (like "can", "may" or "want"), manner relations (like "quickly" or "patiently") and relations that specify a sub-event (like "begin" or "finish").
 - "John_A began_D swimming_P"
 - "John_A may_D come_P [to the party]_A"
 - "[His workers]_A treat_P him_A [with disrespect]_D"
 - "John_A cleverly_D answered_P [the manager's question]_A"

See Chapter 6 for how to distinguish Ds and As in edge cases.

- 8. Units whose primary purpose is to specify the time in which the Scene occurred should be marked as TIME (T). However, if time is described by introducing another Participant or another Scene, it should receive a Scene or Participant category instead. Frequency and duration are also considered TIME.
 - "John_A may_D come_P later_T"
 - "John_A may_D come_P [at around eight]_T"
 - "I_A get_F treated_P regularly_T"
 - "[John_A [showed up]_P]_H during_L [[the_E filming_C]_P]_H" (two Scenes! see below)

Model #2: Non-Scene Units

Some relations do not evoke a Scene on their own, and give rise to *Non-Scene units*. We distinguish between several types of such units.

1. CONNECTORS (N) relate two or more entities (annotated as Centers) in a way that highlights the fact that they have a similar type or role. They are usually conjuncts such as the English "and", "or", "instead of" or "except" or the German "sowie", "ebenso" and "genauso wie".

- "[John_C and_N Mary_C]_A went_P [to school]_A together_D"
- "I_A 'Il_F have_P [coffee_C and_N cookies_C]_A"
- 2. ELABORATORS (E) add some information about one specific entity or relation, without changing its semantic type. These either include inherent attributes (attributes that cannot change because they define the entity), or one of several types of relations specified below. The unit which is elaborated on, and which determines the type of the unit, is marked as a CENTER (C).
 - "Queen $_C$ of $_R$ England $_E$ " (describes a type of a queen; the fact that she is the queen of England is inherent to her being a queen)
 - "His_E father_C"
 - "Chocolate_E cookies_C", "Metal_E belt_C" (the substance something is made of)

Other types of relations that are considered Es:

- Determiners ("the last king of Scotland")
- Class descriptor: Units comprised of a sub-unit that specifies the name of the entity in question, and another unit specifies which category it belongs to. In these cases, the specific unit is marked with *C* and the class descriptor is marked as *E*.
 - "[the name] $_E$ [John] $_C$ "
 - "the state_E of Washington_C"
 - "[the year] $_E$ [1966] $_C$ "
- 3. If it is hard to say which of the sub-units adds information to which, both units should be marked as Cs. That is, if there is no one unit that determines the type of entity, all units that determine its type should be marked as Cs.

A frequent example of that is part-whole relations: Units comprised of a sub-unit that specifies the whole, and one that specifies a sub-part of it.

- "bottom_C of_R [the_E sea_C]_C"
- "tip $_C$ of $_R$ [the $_E$ iceberg $_C$] $_C$ "
- "See-*C* boden*C*" *de*

Model #3: Inter-Scene relations

- 1. Linkage is the term for inter-Scene relations in UCCA. There are four major types of relations in which Scenes may participate, and therefore four types of categories Scene units may receive. The next three items describe these types.
- 2. **Elaborator Scenes:** an E-Scene adds information to a previously established unit. Usually answers a "which X" or "what kind of X" question. Es should place the C they are elaborating as a *remote* A (see below). A way to check where a Scene is an E-Scene is to ask whether the Scene along with the C it relates to are of the same type as the C itself.
 - "[The E dog E [that ate my homework E [dog) E] E is brown" ("dog" is a remote A in "that ate my homework")
 - "The person [whom I_A gave [the present] I_A [to I_A [to I_A [to I_A [to I_A [to I_A] I_A] "
 - "Brad played $[an_E American_C [taken to the Adriatic (American)_A]_E]_A$ "

- 3. **Participant Scenes:** an A-Scene is a participant in a larger Scene. It does not add information to some specific participant in it, and if you remove it, it doesn't retain the same type. Usually answers a "what" question about the Scene.
 - "[Talking to strangers]_A is_F ill-advised_S" (answers "what is ill-advised?")
 - "John_A said_P [he's hungry]_A" (answers "what did John say?")
 - "[[John_C ' s_R]_A accurate_D kick_P]_A saved_P [the game]_A" (answers "what saved the game?")
- 4. **Parallel Scenes:** any other Scene receives the category Parallel Scene (H). Sometimes there is an accompanying relation word and sometimes not. If so, it is a Linker (L). Note that there are no Adverbial (D) Scenes. Except for Ground (see below), if a Scene is not an A (Participant) or an E (Elaborator), it's an H.
 - "[John managed to amuse himself]_H while_L [waiting in line (John)_A]_H"
 - "[My house feels fresh]_H [thanks to]_L [[the Battery Park Pest]_A (IMPLICIT)_P]_H."
 - "[The minute]_L [I got home]_H [I noticed the new painting]_H"
 - "If_L [you build it]_H [they will come (IMPLICIT)_A]_H" (where they come to is implicit)
 - "[I'd done some research (IMPLICIT)_A]_H, [asked a couple of questions (I)_A (IMPLICIT)_A]_H and_L [started thinking (I)_A (IMPLICIT)_A]_H"(the topic of research, questions and thinking is implicit)
 - "[You're only saying this]_H because_L [John told you to $(say this)_A$]_H"
 - "Nach_L [einer Rolle in einem Thriller]_H [spielte sie in einem Actionfilm mit]_H." de

Specific cases of Parallel Scenes include (examples of relevant Linkers in brackets): purposive ("in order to" or "to", "um + zu-Infinitiv" de), logical ("if ... then ..."), temporal ("when X, Y", "before X, Y"), coordination ("and", "but"), and contrastive linkages ("however", "still", "jedoch" de).

Scenes that are not related to any other units and are therefore in the top level of organization in the text are also Hs (Parallel Scenes).

Linkers do not necessarily appear between the Scenes they are linking (see example #2 above).

5. A unit is marked as Ground (G), if its primary purpose is to relate some unit to its the speech event; either the speaker, the hearer or the general context in which the text was uttered/written/conceived.¹

Gs are similar to Ls, except that they don't relate the Scene to some other Scene in the text, but rather to the speech act of the text (the speaker, the hearer or their opinions). By convention, Ground units should be positioned within the Scene they relate to.

- "[Surprisingly_G, [our flight]_A arrived_P [on time]_T]_H"
- "[[In my opinion]_G, John_A is $_F$ coming $_P$ home $_A$] $_H$ "

Note that a complete Scene that refers to the ground (with As and Ds etc.) should be annotated as a Scene and not as a G. That is, if a unit alludes to the speech event, but is missing almost all its elements save for one word or expression, it should be a G. If the speech event is mentioned more elaborately, it should be annotated as a Scene.

- " $[I_A \text{ was}_F \text{ surprised}_S]_H \text{ when}_L [[\text{our flight}]_A \text{ arrived}_P [\text{on time}]_T]_H$ "
- But: "[Surprisingly_G, [our flight]_A arrived_P [on time]_T]_H"
- "I_A told_P you_A already_D [that John can't make it]_A"

¹The speech event is called Ground following R. Langacker.

Categories that Appear in All Models

There are three types of categories that may appear anywhere in the text: Functions (F), Relators (R) and Quantifiers (Q).

- 1. Relators are relations that relate between two or more entities within Scene units as well as non-Scene units. Rs in English are usually prepositions (see Section 4 below for a more elaborate discussion).
 - Relators within Scene units. When a Relator connects between the main event (P/S) and another Scene element (A,T,D) then it should be included inside the Scene element (A,T,D) it pertains to.
 - "John said [that_R he_A 's_F going_P home_A]_A"
 - " I_A referred_P [to_R John_C and_N Mary_C]_A"
 - " I_A referred_P [to_R John_C and_N to_R Mary_C]_A"
 - Within non-Scene units By convention, we place the Rs in non-Scene units as siblings of the Es, Qs and Cs they relate (on the same level with them).
 - " $[a_E \operatorname{group}_C]_Q \operatorname{of}_R \operatorname{journalists}_C$ "
 - "bottom_C of_R [the_E sea_C]_C"
 - "Queen_C of_R England_E"
 - When will we not use Relators?:
 - To link between Parallel Scenes (for that see Linkers).
 - To connect between Centers that have the same parent unit and carry a similar type or role (for that see Connectors).
- 2. Functions (F) are units that do not introduce a new participant or relation. They can only be interpreted as part of a larger construction in which they are situated, or convey some aspect of meaning which is not covered by the foundational layer (e.g., tense or focus). Usually in these cases, they cannot be substituted with any other word.
 - " I_A want_D to_F run_P [a_E marathon_C]_A"
 - "I_A am_F going_P [to_R the_E supermarket_C]_A"
 - "It_F is likely_S [that he will make it]_A"
 - "Let_F me_A introduce_P John_A"
- 3. We use QUANTIFIERS (Q) to mark expressions that:
 - Describe the quantity or magnitude of an entity:²
 - "three_O apples_C"
 - "several_O apples_C"
 - " I_A bought $_P$ [[three $_E$ kilos $_C$] $_Q$ of $_R$ apples $_C$] $_A$ "
 - Any expression that set defines that an entity is a group or a set (e.g., "group of ...", "hundreds of ...").
 - " $[a_E \operatorname{group}_C]_O \operatorname{of}_R \operatorname{journalists}_C$ "
 - " $[a_E \text{ swarm}_C]_O \text{ of}_R \text{ bees}_C$ "
 - " $[a_E \text{ variety}_C]_O \text{ of}_E \text{ colors}_C$ "
 - In Scene units, for any expression that indicates the amount of occurrences of a single event:

²Expressions of distance will be marked as As and then internally, Quantity to mark the actual measurement: "He ran [100_Q meters_C]_A".

- "We_A had_F talked_P [three_E times_C]_O [over the last week]_T"
- Ordinals are also marked as Qs:
 - " $[My_A first_O kick_P]_A saved_P [the game]_A$ "
 - "The_E first_O king_C of_R Scotland_E"
 - " $I_A \operatorname{got}_P \operatorname{here}_A \operatorname{first}_Q$ "
 - " I_A was F [the first] O to F arrive P"

Remote and Implicit Units

- 1. There are instances where a sub-unit in a given unit is not explicitly mentioned. We can indicate the missing sub-unit in two ways:
 - (a) Add a reference of the missing unit from another place in the text, as a Remote unit.
 - (b) When it does not appear explicitly in any place in the text, add an Implicit unit to stand for the missing subunit.

We add a Remote/Implicit unit whenever there is a element or relation which we think to be strongly present in the conceptualization of the Scene, but is not explicitly mentioned.

Remote and Implicit units should be assigned relevant categories like any other unit.

Examples: (target relations (X) underlined, remote units (Y) boldfaced)

- "[John got home]_H and_L [took a shower (John)_A]_H"
- "[The \mathbf{dog} [I saw last night $(dog)_A]_E$]_A was_F brown_S"
- "[Sure_G John_A is_F (IMPLICIT)_P]_H" (John is what? if it appears explicitly in the previous sentence, it's a remote unit; otherwise it's an implicit unit)
- "[[John_A is_F tall_S]_H, [Mary_A is_F n't_D (tall)_S]_H"

3 Technical Notes and Guidelines

- 1. With any problem or question, contact the administrator of the project. If there is uncertainty, mark your guess and add "uncertain".
- 2. When annotating a remote unit, select the minimal possible relevant unit, and not its ancestors.
- 3. Top-level annotation (i.e., of units directly below the passage level) should be annotated, wherever possible, according to the Scene model. The only exceptions are cases that do not describe a Scene in any way (such as section titles).
- 4. Prefer Ls over Ds, where possible.
- 5. Prefer Ls over Gs where possible.
- 6. Prefer Ls over Ts where possible.
- 7. Prefer Ds over Ts where possible.
- 8. Prefer annotating A-Scenes and E-Scenes over Parallel Scenes where possible.
- 9. Prefer separating participants from their relations where possible.

- 10. Prefer Ds over a longer P/S with an E inside it. More generally, try to avoid complex or long P/S.
- 11. Use Implicit units sparingly and prefer Remote units where possible.
- 12. Do not create units only to be used later as a Remote unit. Use existing units instead.
- 13. Since morphology in English is very impoverished, we take a pragmatic approach and in our primary layer do not annotate parts of words, but only sets of complete words. In further layers, a sub-unit may cover a part of a word, as long as that part refers to a relation covered by UCCA or to a participant in it.
- 14. Function units (Fs) do not refer to a participant or relation and, since the UCCA annotation reflects participation in relations, it is often not clear in what level of the hierarchy an F unit should be placed in. When this occurs, include the F in the deepest unit that stands to reason.
- 15. Single words are often Scenes as well. This will usually happen where none of the participants is explicitly mentioned.
 - "[The_E [negotiations_P]_C]_A [took place]_P [in_R Rome_C]_A"
 - "The $_E$ [available $_S$] $_E$ options $_C$ "
 - "[Crying $_P$ (you) $_A$] $_A$ makes $_D$ you $_A$ stronger $_P$ "
 - " $[I_A \text{ went}_P [\text{to}_R \text{ the}_E \text{ store}_C]_A]_H \text{ for}_L [\text{eggs}_A (I)_A (\text{IMPLICIT})_P]_H$ " ("for" is a purposive linker. The implicit P in in the second Scene is for the buying action)

4 Classification of Prepositions

Prepositions are in frequent use in English. They include words such as "in", "on", "after", "with" and "under" or "nach", "in" and "auf" in German^{de}. Some prepositions are multi-worded, in which case they are internally annotated as unanalyzble. Examples include "thanks to" and "on top of".

1. Prepositions as Relators:

- (a) In Scene units, Relators are included inside the Scene element they pertain to:
 - "John_A put_P [the_E hat_C]_A [on_R the_E shelf_C]_A"
 - "John_A relied_P [on_R his_E father_C]_A"
 - "John_A referred_P [to_R Mary_C]_A [in_R his_A dissertation_P]_A"
 - "he_A left_P [in_R a_E hurry_C]_D"
 - "[His book] $_A$ was $_F$ published $_P$ [in $_R$ 2014 $_C$] $_T$ "
 - "John_A will_F visit_P Mary_A [on_R Sunday_C]_T"
- (b) In non-Scene units, they are placed on the same level with the Es, Qs and Cs they relate:
 - "President $_C$ of $_R$ [the $_E$ USA $_C$] $_E$ "
 - "The_E finest_E hotels_C of_R [the_E world_C]_E"
 - "bottom $_C$ of $_R$ [the sea] $_C$ "
 - "[a period] $_C$ of $_R$ time $_C$ "
 - "[a group] $_O$ of $_R$ journalists $_C$ "
 - "millions_O of_R dollars_C"
 - "[four_O episodes_C]_E of_R Dallas_C"

- "books_C about_R [the War]_E"
- "People_C with_R [red hair]_E"
- "Words_C in_R English_E"
- 2. **Phrasal verbs:** the preposition changes the semantics of the verb in an unpredictable way. In that case the preposition is considered to be a part of the S or P. The P/S together form an unanalyzable unit (as it does not have sub-parts with significant semantic input).
 - "John_A [gave up]_P [his pension]_A"
 - "John_A let_P_ Mary_A down_P"
 - "John_A [took]_P Mary_A [up on]_P [her_A promise_P]_A"

Note that this case does not cover cases where the preposition doesn't change the semantics of the main relation, but is mandatory ("inherent preposition"), such as in "John is next [to_R Mary_C]_A", "John relies [on_R Mary_C]_A".

- 3. **Main relations:** If the preposition is the main relation in the Scene, it is an S.
 - "[The apple tree]_A is_F in_S [the garden]_A"
 - "John_A is_F into_S Mary_A"

5 Classification of Copula/Verbless Clauses

In some languages, clauses can completely lack verbs (e.g., Hebrew), while in others they would minimally include a copula (e.g., English). Treatment of both cases is similar in UCCA.

1. English Copulas

- (a) "to be": the verb "be" in its different forms will usually be marked F, with the exception of identity cases, in which it will be marked S (for elaboration see the next section)
 - "[This chair]_A is_F brown_S"
 - "You_A are_F tall_S"
 - "This a is S John a (identity)"
- (b) Verbs of perception and sense: verbs such as seem/look/appear/sound/feel are often used without specifying the experiencer of the feeling/perception. In these cases they should be treated as a G. In case where the experiencer is stated, they should be a separate Scene.
 - "[The coffee]_A seems_G to_F be_F hot_S"
 - "[The car]_A looks_G good_S"
 - "It_F seemed_P [to_R Mary_C]_A [that_R [the coffee]_A is_F hot_S]_A"
 - "It_F appears_G that_F he_A had_F left_P [the country]_A"
 - "[Your dog]_A looks_G like_F [a cat]_S"
- (c) Change-of-state verbs (become, go, get, turn, grow): We treat these as Ds
 - "John_A grew_D old_S"
 - "Mary_A turned_D ill_S"
- (d) stay, remain, kept: such verbs should be marked D as well
 - "John_A stayed_D awake_S"

2. Distinguishing identity and other static Scenes.

Occasionally nouns are used as Ps or Ss, accompanied by some inflection of the verb "be". UCCA distinguishes between two cases:

- (a) Identity: where there are two separate referring expressions that are asserted to have the same referent, defined entities.
 - i. "[The morning star] $_A$ is $_S$ [the evening star] $_A$ "
 - ii. "[That person over there]_A is_S John_A"
- (b) Attribution: where there is one A, and the noun is used to describe some set of elements to which that A belongs to. In this case, we include the set-denoting noun in the P or S.
 - i. "[his speech]_A was_F [an embarrassment]_S"
 - ii. "[Brad Pitt]_A was_F [a slimeball]_S [as the boyfriend in the soap opera Dallas]_A"
 - iii. "John_A is_F [[$six_E years_C$]_E old_C]_S"

6 Participant-Adverbial Distinction

A basic issue in almost any grammatical theory is to determine when a unit is a participant and when it is a secondary relation. In UCCA, this is the distinction between Participants and Adverbials.

- Any unit that introduces a new participant is an A. Subjects, objects, instruments, locations, destinations are therefore invariably As.
- Adverbs and any other units that introduce another relation (without introducing a participant) into the Scene are Ds. Manner adverbs (e.g., "quickly", "politely") are invariably Ds.
- · Prepositional phrases constitute most of the borderline cases.

Examples:

- 1. "John_A suffered_P [for_R the_E team_C]_A"
- 2. "Woody_A walked_P [in_R the_E park_C]_A yesterday_T"
- 3. "John_A cut_P [the cake]_A [with_R a_E knife_C]_A"
- 4. "John_A behaved_P recklessly_D"
- 5. "Woody_A treated_P him_A [with_R disrespect_C]_D"
- 6. "Texas_A won_P [in_R its_E home_E court_C]_A"
- 7. "John_A bought_P milk_A [next door]_A [for_R 50_O p_C]_A" ("next door" is a location, albeit a vague one)

7 Analyzability

By default, analyze all cases down to the word level. The only cases which should not be analyzed are:

- Where the internal structure cannot be analyzed using any of the models: Scene, E+C, multiple Cs (possibly with N), inter-Scene relations.
- This usually happens where it's not clear what the meanings of the individual words in this context are.
- Names should not be internally analyzed.

Examples:

- 1. "The E October E [Revolution E] E": analyzable although it is not simply a revolution that happened in October, but rather a specific one.
- 2. "Chief_E executive_E officer_C": analyzable.
- 3. "University $_C$ of $_R$ Texas $_E$ ": analyzable.
- 4. "[The $_E$] $_P$ real $_D$ [deal $_C$] $_-$ P": analyzable although it's an idiomatic expression since the sub-parts do convey relevant meaning.
- 5. "as well as": unanalyzable since it's not really clear which categories to assign to the individual words.
- 6. "give up": unanalyzable as it is not clear what meaning "give" and "up" contribute to the expression.
- 7. "I saw Tom Cruise in Top Gun": "Tom Cruise" and "Top Gun" are unanalyzable (names).
- 8. "I read The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time": "The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time" is unanalyzable (despite its compositional meaning)

8 Detailed Guidelines

8.1 Scenes

Annotating Scenes within Scenes. In order to analyze a Scene within a Scene we have two options:

- 1. Analyze it first with Center-Elaborator relations (see Section 2 for elaboration on non-Scene units).
- 2. Analyze it first with Process/State-Participant relations (see Section 2 for elaboration on Scene units).

To determine this we ask ourselves what would we mark as the Center? If it's a concrete entity then we begin with Center-Elaborator relations, but if it's some kind of action or state then we annotate it directly as a Scene.

- Analysis of a Scene within Scene first with Center-Elaborator relations:
 - "[The_E dog_C [that_R ate_P [my homework]_A $(dog)_A$]_E]_A is_F brown_S"
 - " I_A like_S [burned_P (*coffee*)_A]_E coffee_C]_A"
 - "Brad_A played_P [an_E American_C [(American)_A going_P [to_R the_E Adriatic_C]_A]_E]_A"
- Analysis of a Scene within Scene directly as a Scene:
 - "[$[John_C 's_R]_A kick_P$] saved_P [$the_E game_C$]_A"
 - "John_A said_P [he_A invented_P [skating_P]]_A"

Dependent Scenes. A Scene is not necessarily something that can stand on its own. It may require a larger construction to rely on, but it is still considered a Scene:

- 1. "[$he_A retired_P$]_H [with]_L [[[$a_E rank_C$]_S [$of_R major_C$]_A (he)_A]_H"
- 2. "[Mary_A cuts_P [her_E hair_C]_A]_H [like]_L [[a_E boy_C]_A (cuts)_P]_H"
- 3. " $[once_T poor_S (he)_A]_H$, $[he_A now_T owns_S [a_E spacious_E apartment_C]_A]_H$ "

Distinguishing Ground and Participant Scenes. A Ground unit relates to the speech event itself or some aspect of it. It does not introduce a new Scene above and beyond evoking the speech event. We do not analyze the internal structure of Gs.

- 1. "[[The truth is that]_G John_A is_F [a_E conservative_C]_S]_H"
- 2. "[[Surprisingly]_G , [I]_A [saw]_P [John]_A [in the park]_A]_H"
- 3. "[[To my surprise] $_G$ [I] $_A$ [saw] $_P$ [John] $_A$ [in the park] $_A$] $_H$ "
- 4. "[you_A can_D go_P home_A, [for all I care]_G]_H"

Contrast with participant Scenes. Both "I think" and "Mary saw" introduce a new Scene, with a new P. They are therefore participant Scenes.

- 1. " I_A think_P [that_R John_A is_F [a_E conservative_C]_S]_A"
- 2. "Mary_A saw_P [John_A running_P [in_R the_E park_C]_A]_A"

Speaker attitude - distinguishing between Ground, Adverbial and State.

- 1. Any unit that relates to a certain quality of the main event in a Scene should be marked D.
 - "We had an amazing_D [test drive]_P!"
 - "He ran_P amazingly_D!"

2. Any unit that describes a certain quality of a concrete entity in a Scene should be marked S and the entity - A.

- "Amazing_S book_A;"
- 3. Any unit that expresses the speaker's attitude toward the event, but doesn't directly describe a certain quality of the P/S should be marked G:
 - "Amazingly_G, we had an excellent time" (We would have had the same excellent time even if the speaker wasn't amazed)
 - "Surprisingly_G he went there"
 - "Interestingly_G, he decided to do it"
 - "They shockingly decided to get a divorce"

Static Scenes. Static Scenes are Scenes which can be fully described by a single picture, that does not change throughout the duration of the state. Following are several examples of static Scenes.

- 1. Identity. Expressing the identity between two entities.³ Identity is the case where there are two well-defined entities (not a set or a relation, but two well-defined entities) and optionally a copula (e.g., "be"). This is the only case where a copula serves as the main relation of a Scene.
 - (a) "[The morning star]_A is_S [the evening star]_A"
 - (b) "[That_E person_C]_A is_S John_A"
 - (c) But: "John_A is_F [a_E member_C]_S [of_R the_E NRA_C]_A" (since here "a member of the NRA" is not one specific entity, but a role that could apply to multiple people).
- 2. Attribution/Benefaction/Location. Specifying a quality, a benefactor or a location of an argument.
 - (a) "[This $_E$ man $_C$] $_A$ is $_F$ clever $_S$ "
 - (b) "[This_E present_C]_A is_F for_S [[John_C 's_R]_A birthday_P]_A"
 - (c) "[The_E apple_E tree_C]_A is_F in_S [the_E garden_C]_A"
- 3. Alienable Possession (i.e., except for cases of possession used to express a body part, e.g., "my hand", or a relative, e.g., "my father", which is not a Scene).
 - (a) "[This_E book_C]_A is_F John_A 's_S"
 - (b) "[This_E book_C]_A is_F mine_{S+A}" (S+A: both an S and an A)
 - (c) " $[[my_S (book)_A]_E book_C]_A is_F red_S$ "
- 4. Existential Scenes: This is a special type of a static Scene. Since "there are" determines the relation here (namely existence), it is marked as S.
 - (a) "There_S are_F [thousands_O of_R us_C]_A"

Note: the category is not defined by the words comprising the unit, but by the function the unit has in the unit it is placed in. Consider these pairs of examples:

- (a) "John_A is_F sitting_P [in_R the_E garden_C]_A" / "[The_E apple_E tree_C]_A is_F in_S [the_E garden_C]_A"
- (b) "[John_A bought_P wine_A]_H for_L [[Mary_C's_R]_A birthday_P]_H" / "[This present]_A is_F for_S [[John_C's_R]_A birthday_P]_A"

Scene or not a Scene. One of the most important decisions in UCCA annotation is to determine whether a relation is an S/P (and evokes a Scene) or not. Processes are usually easier to spot – they describe an event that evolves in time, usually some action or movement. As for States, they differ from non-Scenes in not being inherent properties of the Center, but something that may have been different in the past or will be different in the future.

- 1. "[The_E outbreak_C]_D [of_B the_E War_C]_P" a Scene.
- 2. "Oscillating_P [between_R atheism_C and_N agnosticism_C]_A" a Scene.
- 3. "[John_C 's_R]_A accurate_D kick_P" a Scene.
- 4. "[[broken_S (glass)_A]_E glass_C]_A is_E dangerous_S" a Scene.
- 5. "John_A always_D wanted_P [a_E garden_C [with_S trees_A (*garden*)_A]_E]_A" "with trees" is a Scene, since it is some property of the garden that could potentially change.
- 6. "The trees are $_F$ in $_S$ [the $_E$ garden $_C$] $_A$ " a Scene, since being in the garden is not an inherent property of the trees.

³Do not confuse identity with "Noun as a P/S" (see below).

One Scene or two. Where two potentially Scene-evoking relations appear in proximity to one another, the question of whether to consider them one complex Scene or two separate ones arises. It should be one Scene if the two relations are conceptually hard to separate and are similar in their participants, time, location and ground. It should be two Scenes if this is not the case.

- 1. "[I got home] $_H$ and $_L$ [took a shower] $_H$ " (2 Scenes with a temporal relation)
- 2. "[it took a lot of effort] $_H$ to $_L$ [win this fight] $_H$ " (2 Scenes, with a purposive relation)
- 3. "[he is on vacation]_H, [sailing a vacht near Greece]_H" (2 Scenes)
- 4. "[John_A eats_P (*enthusiastically*)_D]_H and [drinks_P enthusiastically_D (*John*)_A]_H" (2 Scenes, "eating" and "drinking" are two conceptually different actions)
- 5. "[She_A [went away]_P]_H [angry_P (She)_A]_H" (borderline case; could be 1 Scene or 2; the two original Scenes, of her going away and of her being angry are fused into one)

Secondary Verb or Participant Scene. Distinguishing between secondary verb constructions and Participant Scene constructions is done by determining whether the sentence in question refers to one or two Scenes. Participant Scenes correspond to cases where there are two separate Scenes, while secondary verbs correspond to the cases where there are two relations, one dependent (secondary, not describing a Scene in its own right, could not by itself be the P/S of a Scene) and one independent (the main relation) within the same Scene.

- 1. "He_A demanded_P [to_R see_P [the_E manager_C]_A (He)_A]_A]" (2 Scenes, since the demanding and the seeing are two separate Scenes which can take place in different times and locations)
- 2. "He_A began_D kicking_P [the ball]_A" (one Scene, since "began" does not describe an action in its own right, but is dependent on the "kicking")
- 3. "He_A wants_D to_F kick_P [the ball]_A" (one Scene, since "wants" does not describe an action in its own right, but is dependent on the "kicking")
- 4. "He_A became_D [a_E doctor_C]_S" (one Scene; the becoming and him being a doctor are the same conceptual event)
- 5. "He_A is_F known_P [as_R [a_E doctor_C]_S (He)_A]_A" (two Scenes; him being known to be something and him being a doctor)
- 6. "[John]_A said_P [he_A is_F [a_E doctor_C]_S]_A" (two Scenes; John saying and him being a doctor are easy to conceptualize as two different scnes, the sentence just places them together)

Scene within Scene or two Parallel Scenes. In order to decide whether a Scene should be included within a larger Scene we first need to ask what role it will be assigned. If we think it is an A then we can indeed include it as an A-Scene in the larger Scene. But If we think it should be a D or T then we instead mark it separately as an H since Ds and Ts cannot be Scenes.

- "John said [that two men were fighting in the street] $_A$ " Scene within Scene ("men fighting in the street" is an A Scene in the larger Scene)
- "[John usually plays soccer] $_H$ after $_L$ [he finishes his homework] $_H$ " two Parallel Scenes (If we replace "he...homework" with a simple non-Scene unit, e.g., "John usually plays soccer after 16:00", then it's clear that the relation between the units is Time, but since T can't be a Scene, we mark it as an H instead).

• "[You didn't do it] $_H$ [the way] $_L$ [you should have $(do)_P$ $(it)_A]_H$ " two Parallel Scenes ("The way you should have" relates to the manner in which "you didn't do it", and therefore can theoretically be referred to as a D, but since Ds can't be Scenes we mark it as an H.)

Verbs that can be primary or secondary. There are certain verbs that in some cases will function as secondary verbs (and therefore as Ds) and in other cases as primary verbs and this depends on the context in the specific scene under question.

- 1. "John_A remembered_D to_F take_P [the keys]_A" (context-dependent, but it's very likely that the "remembered" here is mostly for emphasis and therefore secondary)
- 2. "John_A remembered_P [[the_E hike_C]_P [with all his friends]_A]_A"
- 3. "John_A forgot_P [how_D to_F [ride]_P [his bicycle]_A]_A" (clearly the forgetting and the riding are not in the same time)

Secondary predicates. A depictive or resultative should be marked separately from the main predicate as an independent parallel Scene.

1. Depictives:

- "[John_A left_P home_A]_H [young_S (John)_A]_H"
- "[John_A ate_P [the food]_A]_H [cold_S (food)_A]_H"
- "[He_A left_P [the party]_A]_H [angry_S (he)_A]_H"

2. Resultatives:

- "[Mary_A painted_P [the fence]_A]_H [blue_S (fence)_A]_H"
- "[He_A [cried himself]_P]_H to_L [sleep_P (He)_A]_H"

Similes. In most cases similes should be treated as separate Scenes:

1. "[He_A eats_P]_H like_L [a horse (eats)_P]_H"

An exception would be when the verb does not evoke a Scene of its own (e.g. "looks", "seems". For elaboration on these verbs, see chapter 5 section 1b) and is therefore considered a G. Then the whole phrase should be marked as one Scene:

- 1. "He_A looks_G like_F [a horse]_S"
- 2. "He_A looks_G like_F he_A just_T saw_P [a dinosaur]_A"

Cognitive events Cognitive events (e.g. think, see, wonder) should be marked as Processes.

- 1. " I_A see_P [that you both are getting along]_A"
- 2. " I_A think $_P$ [it's OK] $_A$ "
- 3. " I_A wonder $_P$ [whether we're doing a mistake] $_A$ "

Results of Scenes. Results of Scenes can be Scenes in their own right.

1. "[the_E outcome_C]_P [[of_R the_E trial_C]_P]_A"

Noun Scenes. A noun Scene is a case when a noun-phrase serves as a Scene and the noun itself is the main relation in the Scene (the P or S). They should be internally analyzed as Scenes, with a P/S, As, Ds and Ts. In general, deverbal nouns are cases of noun Scenes, although not all noun Scenes are formed by deverbal nouns.

- 1. "[[John_C ' s_R]_A accurate_D kick_P]_A saved_P [the game]_A"
- 2. "[Him_A destroying_P [the city]_A]_A was_F [a_E disaster_C]_S"
- 3. "[[The_E destruction_C]_P [of the city]_A]_A was_F [a_E disaster_C]_S"
- 4. "[[His]_A destruction_P of_F [the city]_A]_A was_F [a disaster]_S"
- 5. "[Gone with the Wind]_A is_F [one_E of_R]_S [Selznick_C 's_R]_A [productions_C]_S"
- 6. " $[War_P]_A$ is $_F$ imminent $_S$ '

More generally, words that derive a participant from a scene are treated as scenes.

- 1. " $[taxi_A drivers_P]_A are_F usually_D old_S$ "
- 2. "[participants $_P$] $_A$ are $_F$ welcome $_S$ "

Scenes with neither a P nor an S. Some Scenes have no P or S, since it is omitted or implied. In this case, we should add them as remote units.

- 1. "[John bought eggs]_H and_L [Mary_A [chewing gum]_A (bought)_P]_H"
- 2. "[John_A wanted_P [a real life]_A]_H, [not_D [life in a caravan]_A (John)_A (wanted)_P]_H"
- 3. "[how about] $_S$ coffee $_A$?"

Imperatives. Imperative clauses should be marked as a Scene, with an implicit A.

- 1. "Stop $_P$ (IMPLICIT) $_A$!"
- 2. "Please_F [take care]_P [of your brother]_A (IMPLICIT)_A"

Fragments. Occasionally, a fragment of text does not describe a Scene in its own right, nor belongs to any other specific Scene. The category of such a unit, as always, is determined by its role in a super-ordinate relation it participates in (if any). By default, it's an H.

1. "[No]_H, [this will not stand]_H"

Thanks/Thank you. We differentiate between two cases:

- 1. When the Participant "I" is implicit: In such cases "thanks" and "thank you" should be marked P and an Implicit A should be added to stand for the person thanking. Note that in the case of "thanks" if also the person being thanked isn't mentioned then another Implicit A should be added as well.
 - "[[Thank you UNA]_P [for your wonderful hospitality]_A, (IMP)_A]_H"
 - "Thanks_P [for your wonderful hospitality]_A (IMP)_A, (IMP)_A]_H]"
 - "[[Thank you UNA]_P everyone_A [for coming]_A, (IMP)_A]_H"
 - "[Thanks_P, John_G!, (IMP)_A (IMP)_A]_H"
 - "[Many_O thanks_P, (IMP)_A (IMP)_A]_H"
 - "[Everything was absolutely great]_H so_L [thanks (IMP)_A (IMP)_A]_H"
- 2. When the person who is thanking is explicitly mentioned: In such cases we don't mark "thank you" as one phrase but mark separately "thank" as P and "you" as A.
 - "I_A want_F to_F thank_P you_A [for coming]_A"
 - "I_A [would like UNA]_F to_F thank_P you_A [for your help]_A."

Expletive it. Sometimes "it" is used to take the place of the subject when there is no other A which does so. In this case it should be marked as an F.

- 1. "It_F is_F strange_S [that_R I_A met_P him_A here_A]_A"
- 2. "It_F is_F likely_S [to_R rain_P]_A"

Cooperating participants. If two participants cooperatively participate in the same Process or perform it in an identical manner then they should be united in one A with two Cs. NSS: This only applies if they are coordinated, right? "John and Mary played tennis", not "John played tennis with Mary."

- "[John_C and_N Mary_C]_A went to the park"
- "A conversation was held [between_R[[the Prime Minister]_C and_N [the Queen]_C]_C]_A"

8.2 Remotes.

Two Types of verbs that take a participant Scene. Note that some verbs with a participant Scene have a remote unit taken from the participant Scene or vice versa. Other verbs do not exhibit such behavior.

- 1. " I_A expected_P [John_A to_F come_P]_A"
- 2. "We_A agreed_P [for John to give the funeral oration]_A"
- 3. " I_A persuaded_P [John_A to_F come_P]_A"
- 4. "John_A promised_P [to_F be_F better_S (John)_A]_A"

Prominent Cases of Remote Units. A remote unit is a unit that is referenced in a Scene in which it is not contained. By convention, the remote unit should be selected to be the minimal unit that refers to the target entity (for instance, "table" and not "the red table"). Several prominent cases of remote participants:

- 1. Coordination. The subject is often omitted.
 - (a) " $[John_A [had_F dinner_C]_P]_H$ and $[went_P [to_R bed_C]_A (John)_A]_H$ "
- 2. Relative Scenes. The head of the elaboration is not contained in the relative Scene.
 - (a) "[The_E table_C [I_A 'm_F using_P (table)_A]_E]_A is_F too_D short_S"
- 3. Infinitives. The subject is omitted.
 - (a) "[Driving_P [to_F school_C]_A (John)_A]_A upsets_P John"
 - (b) " $[to_F be_F expected_P [to_F wash_P [the_E car_C]_A (Mary)_A]_A (IMPLICIT)_A]_A infuriates_P Mary_A$ "

8.3 Secondary Relations in Scenes.

Quantity Adverbs. Adverbs of quantity such as "just" and "only" should be annotated as Ds whenever possible.

- 1. "There_S is_F only_D [one piece of cake]_A"
- 2. "[The supermarket] $_A$ is $_F$ just $_D$ around $_S$ [the corner] $_A$ "

Negation. Negation is considered an adverbial.

- 1. "John_A did_F n't_D touch_P [the piano]_A"
- 2. "[John]_A is_F [no]_D [joker]_P"

Some pronouns and linkers express negation on a Scene. In this case, they also serve as Ds in that scene.

- 1. "Nobody_{A+D} came_P [to_R [the_E party_C]_P]_A"
- 2. " $[I_A left_P]_H$ without_L [eating_P [my_S banana_A]_A (I)_A (without)_D]_H"

D in coordination. Occasionally, several entities are connected by an N, where there is a D (usually a frequency, probability or temporal relation) which relates specifically to one of them. In this case, the proper annotation is to annotate it as a D.

- 1. "He_A appeared_P [in_R [Head of the Class]_C, [Freddy's Nightmares]_C, [Thirtysomething]_C, and_N [([for a second time]_D) [Growing Pains]_C]_C]_A."
- 2. "John_A is_F intending_D to_F go_P [to_R [Rome_C, Paris_C and_N [perhaps_D London_C]_C]_C]_A".

Secondary main verbs. Sometimes the Process appears as the subject of the sentence, where the main verb is the secondary verb. In these cases, we still mark the secondary verb as D, and the subject as the main relation.

- 1. "[John $_C$'s $_R$] $_A$ career $_P$ ended $_D$ abruptly $_D$ "
- 2. "[The_E race_C]_P began_D [early_E in_R the_E morning_C]_T"
- 3. "His_A service_P was slow_D"

Possession. We distinguish between two types of possession: inalienable (body parts and relatives) and alienable (owning something). Inalienable possession does not evoke a Scene, while alienable possession does. Possession should not be confused with the relations of "Corresponding Profiles" and "Part-Whole Relations" (see below).

- 1. "John $_A$'s $_S$ car $_A$ " (alienable)
- 2. " $my_S car_A$ " (alienable)
- 3. "[John $_C$'s $_R$] $_E$ hand $_C$ " (inalienable)
- 4. "[John $_C$'s $_R$] $_E$ brother $_C$ " (inalienable)
- 5. "my_E brother_C" (inalienable)

Possession constructions can also be used to express other relations, the range of which is language-dependent.

1. "This_E seat_C [of_R the_E Knesset_C]_E" (not a Scene)

In the case of non-familial relations between two animates (unlike familial ones), we do consider the unit as a Scene:

- 1. "[John_A 's_S (*employee*)_A]_E employee_C"
- 2. "[John_A 's_S (*friend*)_A]_E friend_C"

Framing of Scenes. Some Scenes are wrapped in a complex preposition that frames them (e.g., "story of", "rumor of", "belief that'). In this case, the framing noun serves a separate Scene, which takes the framed Scene as a Participant.

- 1. "[the_E story_C]_P [of_R [a_E young_E girl_C]_A sentenced_P [to_R death_P (girl)_A]_A]_A"
- 2. "[the E rumor $_C$] $_P$ [of $_R$ his $_A$ retirement $_P$] $_A$ "
- 3. "[the $_E$] $_{P-}$ strange $_D$ [belief] $_{-P}$ [that $_R$ chickens $_A$ are $_F$ immortal $_S$] $_A$ "

8.4 Non-Scene Units.

Determiners. Determiners should be annotated as elaborators of the noun.

- 1. "The E Knesset E"
- 2. " A_E big brown dog_C "

Distinguishing between Determiners and Prepositions. Prepositions (which usually function as Relators) relate between two entities while Determiners (which usually function as Elaborators) merely mark the noun phrase.

1. It is rare to find [people with R such E wonderful personality]

Appositions. Appositions are cases where two consecutive units are semantically parallel and refer to the same entity. If one is a proper name and the other isn't, the first is the C, and the second is the E.

1. "John_C, [my history teacher]_E" (apposition; **This should be an E-Scene; move**)

Extraposition. Cases where an E does not create a contiguous stretch of text with its center. In this case, they should be marked together as a non-contiguous unit.

- 1. "He saw [that painting]_A before, [[that lovely magnificent painting]_E]_{-A}"
- 2. "I met [the guy]_A yesterday, [[whom I first saw in the park]_E]_A"

Fused E Scenes. There are many constructions that resemble an E Scene construction, but have a somewhat different form (they don't have a clear Center). Their internal structure should look like that of a Scene:

- 1. "[What_A I_A meant_P]_A was_S [I want to have dinner]_A"
- 2. "[Any_E recipes_C [she_A used_P (recipes)_A]_E]_A are_F marked_P [in_R red_C]_D"
- 3. "you_A are_F playing_P [with_R somebody_A better_S [than_R you_C]_A]_A"

Numbers and Quantifiers. They are considered Qs. The question of their scope is not addressed in the current layer of the annotation. Therefore they are considered a part of the unit adjacent to it.

- 1. "[All_O Greeks_C]_A are_F mortals_S"
- 2. "[Two_O bananas_C]_A are_F lying_P [on_R the_E table_C]_A"
- 3. "Millions $_Q$ of $_R$ homes $_C$ "

Comparatives/Superlatives. Comparatives/superlatives generally evoke a static Scene. If the domain of application is explicitly mentioned (namely the set of entities the comparison applies to), it should be marked as a participant.

- 1. "[Jordan]_A was_F better_S [than_R James_C]_A"
- 2. "[Jordan]_A was_F [more_E beautiful_C]_S [than_R James_C]_A"
- 3. "[China]_A is_F [the_E greatest_C]_S"
- 4. "[China]_A is_F [the_E greatest_C]_S [place on earth]_A"

Directions. Directions should be considered as As, as they can be said to refer to an abstract location. This applies to both absolute directions (like "north") and relative directions (like "away"). NSS: not sure I find this intuitive; they feel more adverbial to me. sometimes there's a clear location that can be inferred in context ("she came in/out"—presumably we have a reference point from context) but not always. E.g., "the bird flew up" can simply mean the bird is ascending, without an implicit source or goal.

- 1. "John_A told_P Mary_A [to_F come_P in_A]_A"
- 2. "John_A walked_P away_A"
- 3. "They danced_P [the night]_T away_D" (a non-literal use)

Passive "by". The "by" of the passive should be annotated as R.

1. "He_A is_F scolded_S [by_R many_C]_A"

NSS: What if there's no by-phrase: is it implicit?

Preposition Stranding. In some cases, an A is missing but its preposition is in place. We mark the preposition as an A, with an R inside of it, and add a remote C:

- 1. "The_E book_C [I_A 'm_F looking_P [for_R (book)_C]_A]_E"
- 2. "The work $C[I_A[pay_F]_{P-} most_D[attention_C]_{-P}[to_R(work)_C]_A]_E$ "

8.5 Processes/States.

Modals and Auxiliaries. Modals should invariably be annotated as secondary verbs (and therefore as Ds). This applies to "would" as well. Auxiliary verbs ("be", "have", "will" and "do"), which do not have significant semantic input in their own right⁴ are considered Fs.

- 1. "John_A will_F come_P"
- 2. "Mary_A should_D come_P"
- 3. "Mary_A is_F coming_P"
- 4. "John_A [has to]_D come_P"
- 5. " I_A have F done P it A"
- 6. "John_A does_F n't_D know_P him_A"
- 7. "se disposait" fr

Infinitive "to". By convention, when "to" is used as an F (same for "zu" in German), it should not be included within the process/state.

- 1. "He wanted_D to_F come_P home_A"
- 2. " $[to_F kick_P [a penalty shot]_A [in soccer]_A (IMPLICIT)_A]_A is_F exciting_S$ "

Light Verbs. Cases where the verb is almost void of meaning, and most of the meaning is determined by the object. The verb is usually "have", "give", "take" or "make" (although there are other examples). Annotation: both the he light verb and the following object should be included inside the P/S. The light verb as an F and the object as a C.

- 1. "John_A [took_F a_E shower_C]_P"
- 2. "Mary_A [gave_F]_P John_A [a_E smile_C]_{-P}"
- 3. "Brad_A [made_F a_E guest_E appearance_C]_P [on_R ABC_C]_A"

Possessive "have": Whenever "have" carries the semantic meaning of ownership and precedes a concrete object (e.g. book, pen), it should be marked an S.

1. "John_A has_S [a book]_A"

But whenever "have" is part of a phrase describing an action or event, then it should be marked as a "light verb".

- 1. John_A [had_F a_E walk_C]_P yesterday_T"
- 2. John_A [has_F problems_C]_S
- 3. John_A [has_F hobbies_C]_S

⁴UCCA in its foundational layer does not annotate tense. Even if it did, the tense would not be considered a feature encoded on the auxiliaries, but rather in the combination of the auxiliary and the inflection.

Adjective followed by a Scene: Analyzed as a D+P construction.

- 1. "John_A is_F easy_D to_F please_P"
- 2. "John_A is_F likely_D to_F leave_P"
- 3. "John_A is_F ready_D to_F come_P"
- 4. "London_A is_F great_D for_F music_P"

Causatives. We view the causation word (often "make" or "cause") construction as a secondary verb.

- 1. "John_A makes_D Mary_A happy_S"
- 2. "John_A inspires_D interest_P [in_R Mary_C]_A"
- 3. "We just got_D [our sunroom]_A built_P by Patio World"
- 4. "Mary had_D [her hair]_A done_P"

Secondary Verbs with an additional role. Some secondary verbs introduce another role beside the roles of the main verb. An example is "help", "force" and "permit". Like all secondary verbs, such verbs are considered Ds. The additional participant is marked as an A in the Scene.

- 1. "John_A helped_D Mary_A climb_P [the ladder]_A"
- 2. "John_A forced_D [Mary]_A to_F climb_P [the ladder]_A"
- 3. "he_A is_F guilty_D of_F not_D cleaning_P [the dishes]_A"

Polite Forms. Words that only serve as part of a construction for politely addressing someone are Fs.

- 1. "Gehen_P Sie_F raus_D!"
- 2. "[[Sie und Ihr komischer Vogel] $_{G+A}$, raus $_P$]!" ["you and your funny bird, out!"] (here "Sie" is part of the vocative)
- 3. "Gehen_P [Sie_C und_N Hans_C] raus_D!" de
- 4. "I [would like UNA]_F to thank you for all your help"
- 5. "Could_D you_A help_P me_A, please_{F ξ}"

8.6 Other Relations.

Punctuation. Not annotated in the current layer of UCCA (even commas).

Interjections. short emotional utterances referring to the preceding or following text should be marked G:

- "[Ugh! _G that_A is_F gross_S]_H"
- "[Ouch! G he fell from his bike] A] H"
- "[Whoops! $_G$ I $_A$ forgot $_D$ to $_F$ send $_P$ it $_A$] $_H$ "
- "[Great_G! I_A just_T missed_P [my ride back home]_A]_H"
- "[Great_G! I_A 'm_F so_D happy_S]_H"

An exception to this would be when an adjective utterance implicitly refers to a specific place, or a specific P/S (instead of generally expressing emotion regarding a certain Scene as a whole). Then instead of Ground it should be analyzed as a Scene of itself:

Q: "How was the cake?" A: "[Fantastic! S (cake)A]H"

* since "cake" is explicitly mentioned in the nearby text, we add it as Remote, but in cases where the missing unit doesn't appear, we add an Implicit A and the adjective utterance should be S. e.g when a restaurant review opens with: "Great!", it probably means "great restaurant" but since "restaurant" is implicit, we annotate it: ["Great!" $_S$, (IMP) $_A$] $_H$

Fillers/Discourse Markers. When fillers (e.g., "oh", "well") or discourse markers don't convey a meaning dimension that can be captured by UCCA's foundational layer, they should be marked as F. That is, if they are not (part of) Scenes, (part of) Scene elements or Linkers, they are Fs.

- "ummm_F I_A heard_P [you_A say_P that_A]_A"
- "I_A 'm_F not_D, ah_F, interested_P"
- "well_F, this can pose a problem"
- "So_F, this is what we're going to do:"

Linkers with a single argument. We also allow Ls with a single argument. This usually happens if an L relates one Scene with everything that follows/precedes it, without there being any particular unit that the Scene relates to. Another case where we use a single argument linker is when one of its arguments is omitted. An example would be a paragraph that starts with "However" that contrasts with everything that was written in the previous paragraph.

Elaboration of/by a Coordination. When a certain unit relates to multiple units that carry an identical role, we unify all the multiple units under one parent unit.

- "I have $[10_O \text{ [brothers}_C \text{ and}_N \text{ sisters}_C]_C]_A$ "
- "Queen_C of_R [England_C and_N Canada_C]_E"
- "I may have forgotten my keys $[on_R [[the table]_C or_N couch_C]_C]_A$ "

Vocatives. Vocatives should be considered as Ground, as they are exclusively part of the speech event Scene. If the Participant is not mentioned otherwise, add it as a remote

- 1. "[John_G, who_A is_F this_A?]_H"
- 2. "[John_G, go_P outside_A (John)_A]_H" (In this case, John is also a Participant in the Scene and therefore is added as a Remote)
- 3. "[Nein_G, Herr Kapitan]_H" de

Titles. By convention, titles of names are considered Elaborators of the proper name.

- 1. " $I_A \operatorname{can}_D \operatorname{'t}_D \operatorname{find}_P [\operatorname{Captain}_E \operatorname{Nemo}_C]_A$ "
- 2. "[Queen_E Mary_C]_A went_D to_F sleep_P"

Focus Constructions. Some constructions are used to emphasize one specific entity. These distinctions are generally not treated in this layer of annotation and are therefore Fs. The difference between the examples below and existential "there" sentences is that here the main relation is not merely the existence of some entity.

- 1. 'There $_F$ are $_F$ [lots $_Q$ of $_R$ them $_C$] $_A$ lurking $_P$ [in $_R$ the $_E$ bushes $_C$] $_A$ "
- 2. "It_F was_F John_A who_F wrote_P [this_E novel_C]_A"
- 3. "There $_F$ are $_F$ earrings $_A$ on $_S$ [the $_E$ table $_C$] $_A$ "
- 4. "Es_F gibt_F Ringe_A auf_S $[\text{dem}_E \text{Tisch}_C]_A$ " de

Question Words. Question words should be annotated with the same category as their respective component in a given answer.

- 1. "How_D did you fix your car?"
- 2. "Who_A shot the sheriff?"
- 3. "[Which_E car_C]_A did you buy?"
- 4. "Why_H haven't you called me?"
- 5. "When *T* will they arrive?"

The same applies to indirect questions:

- 1. "Tell_P me_A [what_A happened_P]_A"
- 2. " I_A wonder_P [where_A he is going]_A"

Some of these words can also be used as Relative pronouns. In such cases they are not interrogative but merely relate the E Scene with the elaborated entity, so they should be marked as Rs.

- 1. "the_E man_C [who_R was_F n't_D there_S (man)_A]_E"
- 2. "the tiger [which lost | [his hair] | (tiger) | [his hair] | (tiger) | [his hair] | [his hair
- 3. "the_E city_C [[in which]_R John_A lives_P (city)_A]_E"

Non-contiguous Linkers. Sometimes a linkage relation is expressed by several words, which are not contiguous in the text, but evoke a single relation. We mark them by convention as two separate linkers and not as a non-contiguous unit.

1. "[Either]_L you buy it [or]_L you don't"

Dates and Names. Dates and names are treated as unanalyzable. Therefore, no sub-units should be annotated:

- 1. "I live $[in_R [New York]_C]_A$ "
- 2. "The event took place $[on_R [May 17th, 1832]_C]_T$ "
- 3. "The event took place $[on_R [the 17th of May]_C]_T$ "

Reflexives. Reflexives are the words that (in their primary sense) state that two participants of an event are one and the same ("himself", "themselves", "to one another" etc.). In UCCA, we mark them as part of the P/S, which is considered unanalyzable. Note, however, that in some cases reflexives are not used in their primary sense. In these cases, they should be analyzed according to their meaning in the context.

- 1. "John_A [washed himself]_P"
- 2. "Mary_A [talked herself]_P [into coming]_A"
- 3. "[He $_C$ himself $_F$] $_A$ spoke $_P$ [to the manager] $_A$." ("himself" here does not introduce a participant, but rather emphasizes that it was "he" and not someone else)
- 4. "He did it $[all_E [by_R himself_C]_C]_D$ " (it's a D since the expression basically means that he did it alone)
- 5. "John_A [relieved himself]_P [in_R the_E backyard_C]_A"
- 6. "John_A [established himself]_P [as_R a_E lecturer_C]_A"
- 7. "John hat $_F$ [sich gewaschen] $_P$ "
- 8. "[Studieren_P]_A [lohnt sich]_P" de

Complex Prepositions. Some prepositions are multi-worded. They should be annotated as complex units (or as unanalyzable if they have no parts with significant semantic input). In German this could be "auf Grund", "an der Seite von", "des Weiteren" etc.

- 1. "[According to]_S John_A, [[the_E soup_C]_A is_E salty_S]_A"
- 2. "Mary_A is_F [on top of]_S [this_E task_C]_A"
- 3. "[[later in]_R 1988_C]_T, John_A bought_P [$a_E \operatorname{car}_C$]_A"

Frame of reference. Some Scenes are accompanied by a background statement which explains in what way it should be construed. If the background does not refer to the same event as the Scene itself, it should be treated as a separate Scene.

- 1. "[Under European law]_H, [this is an infringement]_H"
- 2. "Historically_H, [governments favored city dwellers]_H"
- 3. "[According to]_L [the_E figures_C]_H, [you lost a lot of money]_H"

Several Coordinated Processes/States. When encountering several coordinated Processes or States, each P/S should be annotated as an independent scene.

- 1. "[John is [a businessman] $_S$] $_H$, [politician $_S$ (John) $_A$] $_H$ and [Author $_S$ (John) $_A$] $_H$ "
- 2. "[John_A wrote_P (song)_A]_H, [recorded (John)_A (song)_A]_H and_L [performed_P [the_E song_C]_A (John)_A]_H"

8.7 Morphology.

Inflectional and Derivational Morphology. UCCA does not annotate them in the current layer. Therefore the word "dogs" has no sub-units and neither does the word "talked". This will be added in future layers.

Coersed Word/Phrase. Several words that were coersed into one and obtained their own idiosyncratic meaning. In this layer of UCCA they should be analyzed as a single unit, without sub-units.

- 1. "There are pickpockets_A in this side of town"
- 2. "he_A 's_F [a_E have-been_C]_S"
- 3. "Let's_D go_P [to_R the_E merry-go-round_C]_A"

9 Chapter E: Criteria for compound splitting in German

Some of the examples are adapted from Schulte im Walde et al., 2016. This section is co-authored with Jakob Prange and Nathan Schneider.

Criterion 1: Is the compound semantically transparent or opaque?

- 1. Split transparent compounds.
 - The meaning of *Ahornblatt* (maple leaf) can be derived from the meanings of *Ahorn* (maple) and *Blatt* (leaf).
- 2. Don't split opaque compounds.
 - The meaning of *Maulwurf* (mole) cannot be derived from the meanings of *Maul* (mouth of an animal) and *Wurf* (throw).
- 3. Don't split partially/asymmetrically transparent compounds.
 - The meaning of *Zeitungsente* (newspaper hoax) cannot be derived from the meaning of *Ente* (duck), but it can be derived from the meaning of *Zeitung* (newspaper).
 - *Murmeltier* (marmot) is a *Tier* (animal) but it does not involve either the noun *Murmel* (marble) or the verb *murmeln* (murmur).
 - *Sonnenkönig* ("Sun King", aka King Ludwig XIV) is a *König* (king), but it doesn't involve a *Sonne* (sun). It's more of a name, and hence should not be split.
 - *Geduldsfaden* (thread of patience) refers to the extent of one's patience, but doesn't involve a thread. Note that this is different from the metaphorical use of *Faden* (thread) as part of a conversation. Also, you cannot paraphrase it with *Faden der Geduld*, cf. Criterion 2.
 - *Schriftzug* (logo) refers to something written (*Schrift* = writing), but it doesn't have to be an actual hand movement *Zug* (stroke) anymore, although it is derived from that originally.

Criterion 2: Can the compound be paraphrased as a noun phrase with the same noun head?

If it can be paraphrased, it should be split.

- 1. *Kaufleute* (salesmen) → *Leute, die kaufen und verkaufen* (people that buy and sell).
- 2. *Kinderbuch* (children's book) → *ein Buch für Kinder* (a book for children)
- 3. *spindelförmig* (spindle-shaped) → *hat die Form einer Spindel* (has the shape of a spindle)

Note: Even if the head of the compound is a metaphor, if the same metaphor can be used in a paraphrase, the compound is considered compositional and should be split: $Bergkette \rightarrow eine\ Kette\ von\ Bergen$ (a chain of mountains), even though it's not an actual chain, but rather a chain-like arrangement of mountains.

Criterion 3: Is the pattern of the compound productive? That is, can one or both of the words of the compound be altered, while retaining a similar meaning?

- 1. If it is, it should be split.
 - Fruchtsaft, Apfelsaft, Orangensaft (types of juice)
 - Schiffsherr (ship owner), Haus herr (house owner)
 - Braunbär, Schwarzbär, Grizzlybär (different species of bears); BUT: Waschbär (raccoon), Armeisenbär (anteater) should not be split.
 - *Gebirgs***zug** (mountain range), *Sieges***zug** (triumphal march), *Vogel***zug** (bird migration) are all related, BUT: *Schrift***zug** (logo) doesn't have much to do with the above compounds and should not be split.
- 2. Where one of the words of the compound cannot be used as a free word, or has a very different meaning when used that way, it should not be split.
 - *Uhrwerk, Fachwerk, Triebwerk, Schuhwerk, Blattwerk* are all related, BUT *Werk* is an opus, a piece of art or a factory and therefore should not be split (borderline).

10 Chapter F: Possible Post-processing Notes

- In E Scenes, put the Cs elaborated on in the Elaborator Scene.
- In Ground, extract the G from the Scene they are positioned in, and add a root node whose children are the G and the Scene.
- Flag: turn all the Rs into Fs, especially if a PSS layer is included.
- Include the determiners within the main relation if they are in an A-Scene noun phrase.
- Possessive pronouns should be S+A
- Negative polarity relators (without, neither) should be annotated both as negation and as L/R.

11 Chapter G: Plain Text Notation

In order to make UCCA's annotation legible and standardized, we give here guidelines for UCCA's notation in plain text. We note that the hierarchical structure formed by UCCA can be annotated by standard bracketing. The abbreviation of the category should be either adjacent to the left or to the right side of the category. For example, annotating the word "apple" with the category X should look like "[X apple]" or "[apple X]". We use the following abbreviations for the categories:



Q - quantifier

H – parallel Scene

A – participant

C – center

L-linker

D – adverbial

E – elaborator

G – ground

S-state

N – connector

P – process

R – relator

F - function

Non-contiguity: We use a dash to indicate a continuation of a unit. For example, if "word1 ... word2" is a non-contiguous unit then we mark it "[X-word1] [Y] [Z] [W] [-X word2]".

"[John A] [P- took] [Mary A] [up on -P] [[her A] [promise P] A]"

In case there are two non-contiguous units nested within one another, and of the same category, we may use indices to disambiguate. For example, in the sequence "w1 w2 w3 w4 w5", if "w1 ... w4" is a non-contiguous unit of category X and "w2 ... w5" is also a non-contiguous unit of category X, we mark it "[X1- w1] [X2- w2] w3 [-X1 w4] [-X2 w5]".

Remote Units: We place the Remote unit inside its Parent unit at the end of the phrase in round brackets and assign it with the relevant category:

• "John got home and [took a shower (John A)]"

Implicit Units: Implicit units are marked much like remote units, the only difference is that we add a fixed expression "IMPLICIT" inside the round brackets.

• "[Not going there any more (IMP A)]" (Who is not going there is implicit)

12 Pending Issues, Caveats and Future Work

- · Annotation of redundant elements
- Suggestion engine, including pre-marking of Hs by heuristics.