Stylebook for the Tübingen Treebank of Written German (TüBa-D/Z)

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Abstract

This stylebook is an updated version of Telljohann et al. (2009). It describes the design principles and the annotation scheme for the German treebank TüBa-D/Z developed by the Division of Computational Linguistics (Lehrstuhl Prof. Hinrichs) at the Department of Linguistics (*Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft* – SfS) of the Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany. The guidelines focus on the syntactic annotation of written language data taken from the German newspaper 'die tageszeitung' (taz). The unannotated taz newspaper material was taken from the Science CD (*Wissenschafts-CD*) of 'die tageszeitung' (taz) that can be licensed from contrapress media GmbH (`http://shop.taz.de/index.php?cat=c18_taz-Archiv.html`).

At present, the treebank comprises 65,524 sentences. The newspaper material is taken from the taz editions from
1989 41 articles
1992 July 10, 11, 13, 14
1995 October 14, 16, 17
1997 237 articles
1999 April 30, May 3 – 7
The average sentence length is 17.8 words and the total number of tokens currently amounts to 1,164,766. The TüBa-D/Z treebank is still under development. Thus, the number of annotated sentences will increase over time. Periodic data updates and accompanying updates of this stylebook will be made available at:

`http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/en/tuebadz.shtml`

Please consult this website in order to ensure that you are using the most recent and most complete version of the treebank.

The annotation scheme for the TüBa-D/Z treebank is derived from the VERB-MOBIL treebank for spoken German, developed earlier (1997–2000) by the Division of Computational Linguistics of the SfS (Hinrichs et al. 2000). The TüBa-D/Z annotation scheme has been extended along various dimensions to accommodate the characteristics of written texts. In order to ensure the reusability of the data, a surface-oriented annotation scheme has been adopted that is inspired by the notion of topological fields and is enriched by a level of predicate-argument structure. The linguistic inventory used in the treebank annotation is based on a minimal set of assumptions that are uncontroversial among major syntactic theories. In this sense it is an attempt at theory-neutrality.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this report is to describe the design principles and annotation scheme for the TüBa-D/Z treebank of German. It is intended as a guide for the treebank annotators in Tübingen and for theoretical and computational linguists who want to use annotated treebank data for their own research. In addition, we hope that this report may be of some use for researchers who want to construct their own treebank for German or for some other language. We would like to emphasize that the annotation scheme is language-specific, and we advise against adopting this scheme without modification for some other language. However, we do believe that the type of design decisions that are reported here for German will arise for other languages as well. And it is in this sense that the current report could provide an useful point of reference.

The TüBa-D/Z treebank was developed by the Division of Computational Linguistics (Lehrstuhl Prof. Hinrichs) at the Department of Linguistics (*Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft* – SfS) of the Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany. The guidelines focus on the syntactic annotation of written language data taken from the German newspaper 'die tageszeitung' (taz). The unannotated taz newspaper material was taken from the Science CD (*Wissenschafts-CD*) of 'die tageszeitung' (taz) that can be licensed from contrapress media GmbH (`http://shop.taz.de/index.php?cat=c18_taz-Archiv.html`).

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tational Linguistics of the SfS (Hinrichs et al. 2000). The annotation scheme for the VERBMOBIL treebank has been summarized in the 'Stylebook for the German Treebank in VERBMOBIL' (Stegmann et al. 2000). The TüBa-D/Z annotation scheme has been extended along various dimensions to accommodate the characteristics of written texts. In order to ensure the reusability of the data, the linguistic inventory used in the treebank annotation is based on a minimal set of assumptions that are uncontroversial among major syntactic theories. In this sense it is an attempt at theory-neutrality.

The TüBa-D/Z treebank is released in five different data formats : the Negra Export format, the Export-XML format, the TIGER-XML format, the Penn treebank format, and the CoNLL format. More information about each data format is given in chapter 9.

To the best of our knowledge, the VERBMOBIL treebank for spoken German is still the only treebank based on non-genre-specific German speech data. It is released as TüBa-D/S treebank (`http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/en/tuebads.shtml`). For written texts, TüBa-D/Z is not the only treebank available for German. Two other (semi-)manually annotated treebanks are currently available, each with their own annotation scheme: the Negra treebank (`http://www.coli.uni-saarland.de/projects/sfb378/negra-corpus/`) and the TIGER treebank (`http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/TIGER/`).

The Tübingen Partially Parsed Corpus of Written German (TüPP-D/Z; `http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/en/tuepp.shtml`) is a project closely related to the TüBa-D/Z treebank. It consists of 200 million word tokens of the Science CD (*Wissenschafts-CD*) of 'die tageszeitung' (taz), including the sentences which are annotated in the TüBa-D/Z treebank. The texts were automatically annotated with clause structure, topological fields, and chunks, in addition to more low level annotation including parts of speech and morphological ambiguity classes. The first release of TüBa-D/Z (12/2003) functioned as training corpus.

Chapter 2

Major Challenges and Design Decisions

Most syntactic theories consider individual sentences as the primary domain of linguistic theorizing and of syntactic annotation. For written language, the segmentation into sentences is largely unproblematic and coincides with the domain of syntactic analysis.

However, newspaper texts exhibit a number of phenomena that do not lend themselves easily to a purely sentence-based annotation. These phenomena include: headlines, titles, parentheses, discourse markers, and sentence conjunction by a colon. These cases are described in more detail in sections 3.4.3 to 3.4.5 of this stylebook.

The second main question, which needed to be addressed at the outset of the project was the inventory of syntactic categories and grammatical functions to be used for syntactic annotation and specification of predicate-argument structure. Here our choices were guided by two main considerations:

1. Linguistic adequacy and theory-neutrality: For the purposes of reusability of the treebank data, the annotation scheme should not reflect a commitment to a particular syntactic theory. Rather, the inventory of categories should be a reflection of common assumptions that syntacticians share across different frameworks concerning questions of constituenthood, phrase attachment, and grammatical functions. On this note, the annotations should be theory-neutral and minimal. This desideratum is of utmost importance so as to ensure the reusability of the annotated data.

At the same time, the annotation scheme should reflect as much as possible those empirical generalizations that syntacticians, especially from a descriptive perspective, have identified as characteristic of the language in question.

2. Balancing the needs of potential users: Since the construction of a treebank is a labor-intensive and costly enterprise, ideally the TüBa-D/Z treebank should appeal to as many potential users as possible. Moreover, the treebank should be of interest to researchers of a wide range of different fields. Considering the renewed interest in the use of corpora for both theoretical and computational linguistics, choicepoints in the annotation scheme should be resolved in such a way that the needs of potential users are balanced as much as possible.

To support the use of the TüBa-D/Z treebank in computational linguistics, the annotation scheme should be sensitive to processing considerations, as long as linguistic adequacy of the choice of annotations is not compromised. Ceteris paribus, processing considerations favor annotation schemes that pay close attention to properties of syntactic surface structure, particularly to word order regularities and distributional properties of words and phrases. At the same time, the use of empty categories and data structures with crossing dependencies among phrases are to be avoided if the annotations are to be used for parsers that rely on the context-freeness of the underlying grammar.

In order to satisfy the above aims, the annotation scheme is surface-oriented and context-free. The theoretical assumptions underlying the levels of annotation and the choice of labels themselves are as much as possible based on a rich tradition of theoretical and empirical research on German syntax.

For the treatment of word regularities of German, which is a language with relatively free word order, an inventory of topological fields is incorporated into the annotation scheme. Topological fields in the sense of Herling (1821), Erdmann (1886), Drach (1937), and Höhle (1986) are widely used in descriptive studies of German syntax. Such fields constitute an intermediate layer of analysis above the level of individual phrases and below the clause level. The concept of topological fields favors tree-based annotations, i.e. bracketings that do not rely on crossing or discontinuous dependencies. Instead, such non-linear dependencies are to be expressed at the level of predicate-argument structure which constitutes a second level of annotation with its own descriptive inventory of grammatical functions.

The framework of topological fields is widely used in empirical and theoretical accounts of German syntax. Thus, it is in the linguistics literature. This greatly facilitates thorough training of human annotators, since they can rely on the pre-existing body of literature. One purpose of this stylebook is to add to these reference materials.

Currently, a total of 25 syntactic node labels for the encoding of constituent structures are being used. These include labels for topological fields as well as labels for phrases and their constituent parts.

In order to capture grammatical functions of individual phrases and syntactic dependencies between phrases, constituent structure trees are enriched by a set of edge labels between constituent structure nodes. The current inventory of edge labels comprises 42 distinct categories. In addition to these primary edge labels, four secondary edge labels are used. These labels indicate phrase-internal government of elements in the verb complex, express phrase-internal modification of noun phrases, resolve long-distance dependencies among modifiers, or relate the phrasal complements of so-called *third-construction* control verbs.

For certain computational applications, robust identification of *named entities*, e.g. person names, names of companies and institutions, names of geographical locations, is a major concern. Therefore, such named entities are identified by a special node label, and their internal structure is sometimes identified by an additional secondary edge label that is used exclusively for named entities.

At the word level, part-of-speech labels are assigned according to the Stuttgart-Tübingen tag set, which is widely accepted for part-of-speech tagging for German and which provides an inventory of 54 distinct part-of-speech labels. In addition, information on inflectional morphology is given.

Detailed information about the complete inventory of node labels, edge labels, part-of-speech labels and inflectional feature clusters is given in section 3.4.2 of this stylebook.

The remainder of this stylebook is organized as follows: chapter 3 offers an overview of the theoretical foundations of the annotation scheme, focusing on the concept of topological fields (3.1) and its relation to constituent structure (3.2), on general annotation principles (3.3), as well as an overview of the annotation levels and of the inventory of the annotation labels for each level (3.4). Chapter 4 concerns the annotation of the internal structure of phrases, broken down into major word classes and their phrasal projections. Chapter 5 addresses the principles for relating individual phrases to each other, particularly for modifier and complement attachment. Chapter 6 discusses the annotation of entire sentences, focusing on the relationship between sentence types and topological fields, coordination (including phrasal conjunction) and elliptical constructions. Chapter 7 is devoted to the annotation of miscellaneous syntactic constructions such as comparatives, verbal and adjectival participles, topicalization, newspaper headlines, discourse markers, and parentheses, which each pose special challenges for the annotation tasks. Chapter 8 describes the criteria used for distinguishing different grammatical functions. Chapter 9 describes the five different data formats in which the TüBa-D/Z treebank is distributed. The stylebook concludes with a bibliography and a subject index.

We do not consider the annotation level of anaphora and coreference relations in this stylebook. Please consult (Naumann and Möller 2007) for a detailed description of these phenomena.

Chapter 3

The Theoretical Basis of the Annotation Scheme

3.1 Topological Fields

The annotation scheme for the TüBa-D/Z treebank has been developed with special regard to the characteristics of the German language: the interaction of configurational and non-configurational syntactic properties, which arise from the partially free word order. On the one hand, there exist three different clause types with respect to the fixed position of the finite verb (verb-second (V-2), verb-initial (V-1), and verb-final (V-end)). On the other hand, there is a high degree of variability of complements and adjuncts. In order to treat the relatively high degree of word order freedom in German, the treebank adopts the notion of topological fields as the primary clustering principle of a sentence.

The basic characteristics of the model of topological sequences within a German sentence were originally formulated by Herling (1821) and Erdmann (1886). Herling (1821) developed an adequate topological theory for complex sentences in which clauses form a topological unit carrying a syntactic function and he mentioned the special position of the finite verb in verb-second und verb-final clauses. Erdmann (1886) established the basics of a theory of topological fields and pointed out that the first position in a clause is not necessarily the subject position. The so called Herling/Erdmann scheme already covers a set of word order regularities which apply for all three clause types of German. Later Drach (1937) introduced the notion of *field*. Finally, Höhle (1986) developed topological schemes for the three clause types.

3.1.1 The Concept of Topological Fields

In a German clause, the finite verb can appear in three different positions: verb-second, verb-initial, and verb-final. Only in verb-final clauses the verb complex consisting of the finite verb and non-finite verbal elements forms a unit. The discontinuous positioning of the verbal elements in verb-first and verb-second clauses is the traditional reason for structuring German clauses into fields. The positions of the verbal elements form the *Satzklammer* (sentence bracket) which divides the sentence into a *Vorfeld* (initial field), a *Mittelfeld* (middle field), and a *Nachfeld* (final field). The Vorfeld and the Mittelfeld

are divided by the *linke Satzklammer* (left sentence bracket), which is the finite verb, the *rechte Satzklammer* (right sentence bracket) is the verb complex between the Mittelfeld and the Nachfeld. Thus, the theory of topological fields states the fundamental regularities of German word order. It is an important basis for the topological analysis of any German sentence, since subclauses and embedded clauses are treated within the bounds of fields. Identical word order regularities within a specific field can be realized in all three clause types. But the fields themselves differ in their possible elements and grammatical rules. Therefore, the theory is a descriptive rather than explanatory theory for a specific language.

Höhle (1986) denotes the three clause types as E-Sätze (verb-final clauses), F1-Sätze (verb-initial clauses), and F2-Sätze (verb-second clauses). The topological schemes of these types are listed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Three clause types according to Höhle (1986)

E-Sätze	(KOORD) - (C) - X - VK - Y
F1-Sätze	(KOORD - (KL) - FINIT - X - VK - Y
F2-Sätze	(KOORD or PARORD) - (KL) - K - FINIT - X - VK - Y

Abbreviations and explanations used in Table 3.1:
VK: verb complex
FINIT: element denoting categories of finiteness
KOORD: coordinating particles (e.g. *und, oder*)
PARORD: non-coordinating particles (e.g. *denn, weil*)
X, Y: sequence of any number of constituents
C: complementizer
K: one constituent
KL: nominativus pendens, resumptive construction (Linksversetzung)

These schemes topologically analyse not only atomic sentences but also complex sentence constructions which contain embedded clauses. Such embedded clauses can occur in a *Linksversetzung* (resumptive construction), Vorfeld, Mittelfeld, or Nachfeld. Herling's theory of the coordination and embedding of sentences covers these phenomena in detail (Herling 1821).

According to Höhle (1986), we assume the existence of the following topological fields (cf. Table 3.2):

The following description of the topological fields does not claim completeness regarding all descriptive details but rather mentions their main characteristics.[1]

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[1]In the following, the abbreviations for the fields listed in Table 3.2 are used.

Table 3.2: Topological fields

Field	Description
VF	Vorfeld (initial field)
LK	Linke (Satz-)Klammer (left sentence bracket)
MF	Mittelfeld (middle field)
VC	Verbkomplex (verb complex)
NF	Nachfeld (final field)
LV	Linksversetzungsfeld (field for resumptive constructions)
C	C-Feld (field for complementizers, left from MF)
KOORD	Koordinationsfeld (field for coordinating particles)
	left-most element, optionally in all clause types, (e.g. *und, oder*)
PARORD	Koordinationsfeld (field for non-coordinating particles)
	left-most element, optionally only in verb-second (e.g. *denn, weil*)

VF: The *Vorfeld* consists of only one constituent. Usually it is the subject[2]. But because of the high degree of non-configurationality in German, the subject can also occur in the Mittelfeld, thus allowing almost every other constituent to occupy the Vorfeld.

LK: The *Linke Klammer* is the position of the finite verb in verb-second and verb-first clauses or a conjunction in verb-final clauses. It consists of exactly one element.

MF: Apart from those units which are optionally located in other fields, any non-verbal constituent may occur in the *Mittelfeld*. It consists of a sequence of any number of constituents. The linear order of the constituents depends on the specific word order principles for German and their interaction.

VC: The *Verbkomplex* is a sequence of verb forms. In verb-second and verb-first clauses it consists of one or more non-finite elements or - depending on the verb - of a separable prefix. In verb-final clauses it also contains the finite verb. The rule for the linear order in general is: right determines left. If there is a finite verb in the verb complex, it is usually the right-most element (exception: *Ersatzinfinitiv* constructions (*daß er sich ein neues Konzept wird überlegen müssen*) (cf. 4.7.3).

NF: For some clause types (e.g. *so daß*-Sätze), the *Nachfeld* is the obligatory position. Embedded complement clauses, relative clauses, and single constituents can optionally occur in the Nachfeld. In contrast to the Vorfeld it may be occupied by any number of constituents.

LV: The *Linksversetzungsfeld* is a field for the left-dislocated phrase of resumptive constructions. A *Linksversetzung* is a pendent constituent. It can be regarded as a

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[2]In the fifth release, 52.5% of all *Vorfeld* fields host the subject.

syntactic anticipation of a part of a sentence (cf. 6.1.5). There are many restrictions which apply for this position.

C: The *C-Feld* only occurs in verb-final clauses (exception: the conjunction *als* in subordinated sentences of comparison *als wäre es nie geschehen.*). It is obligatorily occupied in finite verb-final clauses if there is no conjunction in the Linke Klammer. In non-finite verb-final clauses the C-position may be empty. This field can be occupied by conjunctions of sentential objects (e.g. *daß, ob*) or sentence initial conjunctions like *um, obwohl, wenn* and also by complex interrogative or relative phrases, e.g. *..., 'um wieviel Geld' geht es dabei? / ..., 'an der' Max Daniel Professor für Klavier ist.* (cf. 6.1.1).

KOORD: The KOORD-field is the field for coordinating particles. In contrast to the PARORD-field, it can optionally occur as the left-most element of all clause types (cf. 6.1.3).

PARORD: The PARORD-field is the field for non-coordinating particles which optionally occur as the left-most element of a verb-second clause (cf. 6.1.4).

Concerning the distribution of constituents to topological fields see also the chapter *Deskriptive Generalisierungen* in Grewendorf (1991).

The combination of these fields in order to constitute verb-first, verb-second, or verb-final clauses is described in Höhle (1986).

The topological model, which is the basis of most traditional German grammars, only provides descriptive parameters concerning the sentence structure without making any statement about the regularities within the fields and the hierarchical constituent structure of the sentence. For more complicated phenomena, it offers only a catalogue of detailed descriptions.

3.2   Constituent Analysis and Topological Fields

The main weakness of the concept of topological fields is the above-mentioned fact that the hierarchical constituent structure of a sentence cannot be described. The aim is to find a form of representation which combines the topological model with a constituent analysis in order to describe the hierarchy of the linguistic units within the fields. In our annotation scheme, the integration of a constituent analysis was achieved by a second level of annotation strictly within the bounds of topological fields: a predicate-argument structure with its own descriptive inventory of syntactic categories and grammatical functions. The constituent structure is represented by phrase structure trees (phrase markers) whose node and edge labels carry this information.

In order to analyse syntactic constructions, it is necessary to define the number and types of constituents within the fields.

1. **Number of constituents within the fields:**
   In general, C, LK, KOORD, PARORD, and VF contain only **one** constituent. More than one constituent is allowed within MF and NF.

2. **Types of constituents within the fields:**
   Phrasal constituents occur in VF, MF, NF and C (interrogative or relative phrases). Embedded clauses either belong to NF, VF, LV, or in some cases to MF. Usually, outside the spoken language context, verb-final clauses do not occur isolated. They need to be attached if possible.

3.3   General Annotation Principles

Our annotation scheme tries to find a trade-off between pragmatic requirements on the one hand and linguistic reality on the other hand. The following three common annotation principles are adopted to group the constituents within a syntactic tree: the *flat clustering principle*, the *longest match principle*, and the *high attachment principle*.

3.3.1   Flat Clustering Principle

The *flat clustering principle* keeps the number of hierarchy levels in a syntactic structure as small as possible. As a consequence, any degree of branching is allowed. Constituents which cannot be assigned a grammatical function within a syntactic construction are structured as much as possible, but are not typically connected to surrounding constituents as a whole.

3.3.2   Longest Match Principle

The *longest match principle* demands that as many daughter nodes as possible are combined into a single mother node, provided that the resulting construction is syntactically as well as semantically well-formed.

3.3.3   High Attachment Principle

The *high attachment principle* prescribes that syntactically and semantically ambiguous modifiers are attached to the highest possible level in a tree structure. Premodifiers and postmodifiers are treated in a different way. First, both kinds of modifiers are projected to their phrase level. Since the modification scope of premodifiers is unambiguous, they are directly attached to the head of the phrase which they are modifying. By contrast, postmodifiers are always attached on a higher level to preserve ambiguity. This decision was taken to avoid the problematic distinction whether a postmodifier is a free adjunct or a complement of the modified phrase.

3.4 The Structure of an Annotated Tree

3.4.1 The Levels of Annotation

A syntactic tree consists of nodes and edges. Nodes represent constituents on different levels of annotation. Edges always link daughter nodes to a mother node. The root node of a tree is assumed as the sentence node of a construction. One level below the sentence node, the nodes of the topological fields are located. This is the reason why topological fields can be regarded as the top-level ordering principle for sentences in the treebank. The sequence of the fields in the three clause types never violates the topological schemes given by Höhle (1986). Within each sentence structure, in general at least two topological fields are occupied (exception: infinitive constructions, (cf. 4.7.4). Others may be left empty (elliptical constructions, cf. 6.5). Table 3.3 lists the four levels of annotation which we distinguish within the structure of an annotated syntactic tree[3]:

Table 3.3: Levels of annotation

Level	Inventory
clause level	root node labels for different types of clauses
field level	node labels for topological fields
	(including labels for conjuncts of fields)
phrase level	node labels for syntactic categories
	(including syntactic-semantic node labels for named entities)
	and edge labels for grammatical functions
lexical level	lexical entries tagged with the part-of-speech (POS-)tags taken from
	the STTS tag set (Schiller et al. 1995) and with morphological features
	(Trushkina 2004, Versley et al. 2010) and lemmas (Versley et al. 2010)

Node labels denote the syntactic category of a phrase or sentence, a topological field, or a grammatical property. Edge labels denote the grammatical function of lexical entries, phrases, topological fields, and clauses.

3.4.2 The Inventory of Labels

The **part-of-speech tags** used for the annotation are taken from the Stuttgart-Tübingen tag set (STTS) (Schiller et al. 1995).[4] The STTS is a guideline for the annotation of German text corpora on the lexical level. Every single part-of-speech of a text is assigned one specific tag. The tag set consists of the tags listed in Table 3.4 (cf. (Schiller et al. 1995)). The tagging of the data was performed by the *tnt* tagger (Brants 1998) and manually corrected with the *Annotate* tool (Plaehn 1998).

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[3]We do not consider the suprasentential annotation level of anaphora and coreference relations in this stylebook. Please consult (Naumann and Möller 2007) for a detailed description of these phenomena.

[4]PAV was changed into a new tag called PROP (pronominal form of a prepositional phrase) in order to justify PX as the syntactic category of its mother.

The **morphological tags** give information about inflectional morphology and include features such as *case*, *number*, *person*, etc. A specific combination of feature-value pairs is defined for each relevant part-of-speech category, see Table 3.5 for the list of part-of-speech categories that are annotated with morphological features and the corresponding feature combinations. The values are represented in a cluster by single character abbreviations, see Table 3.6 for the set of features and their values. Features can uniquely be identified by their position in the cluster.

Node labels indicate the syntactic category of a phrase or sentence, but they are also used to label topological fields and sequences of topological fields within coordinations or to indicate specific grammatical properties of constituents. Table 3.7 lists all node labels which are used in the treebank. (An additional node is introduced for named entities, see Table 3.9)

Edge labels indicate the grammatical function of lexical entries, phrases, topological fields, and clauses. Since case information is given and a distinction of different modifiers is made by these labels, the syntactic tree structures also contain semantic roles. The specific set of edge labels for the German treebank is listed in Table 3.8, including **secondary edge labels**. The latter ones are used to resolve ambiguities on a different level of description.

Two specific edge labels denote whether a constituent has the function of a head (HD), e.g. a phrase (NX, PX, ADJX, ADVX, VXFIN, VXINF), or a non-head (-), e.g. a determiner or a modifier attached to a phrase. On any annotation level, there is at most one head. Within phrases, these two labels indicate the internal dependency structure of the phrase. The head of a sentence structure (e.g. SIMPX) is always the finite verb. In coordinations, each conjunct depends on the head of the whole construction and is denoted with a specific edge label (KONJ) in order to distinguish them from conjunctions and modifying elements within a coordination (see 6.4.1 and 6.4.3). Edge labels below all root node labels carry only non-head labels (cf. (Kübler and Telljohann 2002)).

In an enhanced version of the TüBa-D/Z treebank, each named entity is assigned one of the following semantic classes: person (PER), organisation (ORG), location (LOC), geopolitical entity (GPE), or other (OTH). The semantic class OTH comprises all remaining named entities not fitting into PER, ORG, LOC, or GPE (cf. 4.2.6).

In order to annotate these semantic classes, **syntactic-semantic node labels** of the pattern *syntactic category = semantic class* are defined as the mother node of named entities (see Table 3.9). These syntactic-semantic nodes indicate that the structure below represents a (complex) named entity of a certain syntactic category belonging to one of the five semantic classes (e.g. *Ute Wedemeier* (NX=PER), *The Jim Wane Swingtett* (NX=ORG), *Sögestraße* (NX=LOC), *Auf die stürmische Art* (PX=OTH) (cf. 4.2.6).
The former node label 'EN-ADD' and the secondary edge label 'EN' are deleted.

The internal syntactic structure of named entities is governed by the general annotation rules. All parts below a syntactic-semantic node that do not belong to the named entity itself are marked as '-NE', e.g. [[*die* (-NE)] *AWO*] (NX=ORG), [[*Der* (-NE)] *zweite Weltkrieg*] (NX=OTH).

Table 3.4: The STTS tag set

POS =	description	examples
ADJA	attributive adjective	*[das] große [Haus]*
ADJD	adverbial or predicative adjective	*[er fährt] schnell, [er ist] schnell*
ADV	adverb	*schon, bald, doch*
APPR	preposition; left circumposition	*in [der Stadt], ohne [mich]*
APPRART	preposition + article	*im [Haus], zur [Sache]*
APPO	postposition	*[ihm] zufolge, [der Sache] wegen*
APZR	right circumposition	*[von jetzt] an*
ART	definite or indefinite article	*der, die, das, ein, eine*
CARD	cardinal number	*zwei [Männer], [im Jahre] 1994*
FM	foreign language material	*[Er hat das mit "]* *A big fish [" übersetzt]*
ITJ	interjection	*mhm, ach, tja*
KOUI	subordinating conjunction with *zu* + infinitive	*um [zu leben], anstatt [zu fragen]*
KOUS	subordinating conjunction with clause	*weil, daß, damit, wenn, ob*
KON	coordinative conjunction	*und, oder, aber*
KOKOM	particle of comparison, no clause	*als, wie*
NN	noun	*Tisch, Herr, [das] Reisen*
NE	proper noun	*Hans, Hamburg, HSV*
PDS	substituting demonstrative pronoun	*dieser, jener*
PDAT	attributive demonstrative pronoun	*jener [Mensch]*
PIS	substituting indefinite pronoun	*keiner, viele, man, niemand*
PIAT	attributive indefinite pronoun without determiner	*kein [Mensch], irgendein [Glas]*
PIDAT	attributive indefinite pronoun with determiner	*[ein] wenig [Wasser],* *[die] beiden [Brüder]*
PPER	irreflexive personal pronoun	*ich, er, ihm, mich, dir*
PPOSS	substituting possessive pronoun	*meins, deiner*
PPOSAT	attributive possessive pronoun	*mein [Buch], deine [Mutter]*
PRELS	substituting relative pronoun	*[der Hund,] der*
PRELAT	attributive relative pronoun	*[der Mann ,] dessen [Hund]*
PRF	reflexive personal pronoun	*sich, einander, dich, mir*
PWS	substituting interrogative pronoun	*wer, was*
PWAT	attributive interrogative pronoun	*welche [Farbe], wessen [Hut]*
PWAV	adverbial interrogative or relative pronoun	*warum, wo, wann, worüber, wobei*
PROP	pronominal adverb	*dafür, dabei, deswegen, trotzdem*

POS =	description	examples
PTKZU	*zu* + infinitive	*zu [gehen]*
PTKNEG	negation particle	*nicht*
PTKVZ	separated verb particle	*[er kommt] an, [er fährt] rad*
PTKANT	answer particle	*ja, nein, danke, bitte*
PTKA	particle with adjective or adverb	*am [schönsten], zu [schnell]*
TRUNC	truncated word - first part	*An– [und Abreise]*
VVFIN	finite main verb	*[du] gehst, [wir] kommen [an]*
VVIMP	imperative, main verb	*komm [!]*
VVINF	infinitive, main	*gehen, ankommen*
VVIZU	infinitive + *zu*, main	*anzukommen, loszulassen*
VVPP	past participle, main	*gegangen, angekommen*
VAFIN	finite verb, aux	*[du] bist, [wir] werden*
VAIMP	imperative, aux	*sei [ruhig !]*
VAINF	infinitive, aux	*werden, sein*
VAPP	past participle, aux	*gewesen*
VMFIN	finite verb, modal	*dürfen*
VMINF	infinitive, modal	*wollen*
VMPP	past participle, modal	*[er hat] gekonnt*
XY	non-word containing special characters	*D2XW3, letters*
$,	comma	,
$.	sentence-final punctuation	. ? ! ; :
$(	other sentence internal punctuation	- [ ] ( )

The following POS categories do not contain any morphological information and are assigned the morphological label "- -": ADJD, ADV, APZR, CARD, FM, ITJ, KOUI, KOUS, KON, KOKOM, PWAV, PROP, PTKZU, PTKNEG, PTKVZ, PTKANT, PTKA, TRUNC, VVIZU, VVPP, VAPP, VMPP, XY, $, , $. , $(.

3.4.3   What Is a Syntactic Unit?

The newspaper articles of the taz have been defined as the primary segmentation domain of the data. They are preprocessed into syntactic units delimited by punctuation marks (. ? ! ; - ... /) for which specific rules demand or forbid segmentation. Each syntactic unit is assigned a specific code which identifies its origin in the newspaper data, e.g. T990507.123 (T (taz) 99 (year) 05 (month) 07 (day) 123 (article)).

A syntactic unit usually consists of one complete sentence structure with a root node (SIMPX, R-SIMPX, P-SIMPX). But it may also consist of one or more sentences and/or phrases, e.g. headlines, titles, sentences with parentheses, sentences with discourse markers, or sentence conjunction by a colon.

An annotated tree is a complete syntactically and semantically well-formed construction according to the *longest match principle*. The model of topological fields does not prescribe that all fields have to be occupied. The fact that fields can be left empty, also helps us to cope with elliptical constructions (cf. 6.5).

Table 3.5: Morphological feature combinations for lexical elements

POS	feature combination	comments
ADJA	case number gender	underspecified for gender if plural noun is underspecified, e.g. *die/np* nordhessischen/np* Grünen/np** invariant local description e.g. *Berliner/**** cardinal numbers as abbreviation: full morphology e.g. *im 4./dsn Jahrhundert/dsn*
APPR	case	without case if a preposition takes another PP as complement, e.g. *bis/_ zu/d einer/dsf Woche/dsf* and in the construction *was für ein(er/e/...)*
APPRART	case number gender	
APPO	case	
ART	case number gender	
NN	case number gender	underspecified for gender, e.g. *Abgeordnete* (in plural), *Leute*
NE	case number gender	
PDS	case number gender	
PDAT	case number gender	
PIS	case number gender	underspecified: *man/ns** *nichts/**** (cf. *nix, sowas*) PIS or PIAT: *allerhand/**** (cf. *allerlei, allzuviel, dergleichen, derlei, etwas, genausoviel, genug, genügend, keinerlei, mehr, reichlich, soviel, viel, wenig, weniger, zuviel, zuwenig*) PIDAT or PIS: *sowas/**** (cf. *paar, bißchen*)
PIAT	case number gender	plural is underspecified for gender, e.g. *lauter/****, see also 'PIS or PIAT' below
PIDAT	case number gender	*solch/**** (cf. *manch, welch, all*), see also 'PIS or PIDAT' below
PPER	case number gender person	
PPOSS	case number gender	
PPOSAT	case number gender	
PRELS	case number gender	plural is underspecified for gender
PRELAT	case number gender	
PRF	case number gender person	*sich*: underspecified for gender
PWS	case number gender	underspecified for gender: plural forms and *wer, wem, wen*
PWAT	case number gender	*wessen/****

POS	feature combination	comments
VAFIN	person number mood tense	
VAIMP	number	
VMFIN	person number mood tense	
VVFIN	person number mood tense	
VVIMP	number	German has only second person imperative forms

Table 3.6: Values of morphological features

Feature	**Values**
case	n (nominative), g (genitive), d (dative), a (accusative), * (underspecified)
gender	m (masculine), f (feminine), n (neuter), * (underspecified)
number	s (singular), p (plural), * (underspecified)
mood	i (indicative), k (subjunctive; German 'Konjunktiv')
person	1 (first), 2 (second), 3 (third), * (underspecified)
tense	s (present), t (past)

Punctuation is not annotated, i.e., all punctuation marks are not attached to the tree structure. Exceptions are punctuation marks which carry a semantic meaning within a sentence, e.g. - (*bis, und*) in expressions like *15.30 - 17.30 Uhr.* They are tagged according to the part of speech that they represent in the text (cf. 4.4.1).

Constituents are not attached to a tree if they are not assigned a grammatical function within the specific syntactic construction. The following tree diagram shows two annotated trees in one syntactic unit:[5]

---

[5]These tree diagrams and all following tree diagrams in this report were generated with the aid of the Negra *Annotate* tool.

Table 3.7: Node labels

Node Labels	Description
Phrase Node Labels	
ADJX	adjectival phrase
ADVX	adverbial phrase
DP	determiner phrase (e.g. *gar keine*)
FX	foreign language phrase
NX	noun phrase
PX	prepositional phrase
VXFIN	finite verb phrase
VXINF	non-finite verb phrase
Topological Field Node Labels	
LV	resumptive construction (Linksversetzung)
C	complementizer field (C-Feld)
FKOORD	coordination consisting of conjuncts of fields
KOORD	field for coordinating particles
LK	left sentence bracket (Linke (Satz-)Klammer)
MF	middle field (Mittelfeld)
MFE	middle field between VCE and VC
NF	final field (Nachfeld)
PARORD	field for non-coordinating particles
VC	verb complex (Verbkomplex)
VCE	verb complex with the split finite verb
	of *Ersatzinfinitiv* constructions
VF	initial field (Vorfeld)
FKONJ	conjunct consisting of more than one field
Root Node Labels	
DM	discourse marker
P-SIMPX	paratactic construction of simplex clauses
R-SIMPX	relative clause
SIMPX	simplex clause

Table 3.8: Edge labels

Edge Labels	Description
Edge Labels denoting Heads and Conjuncts	
HD	head
-	non-head
KONJ	conjunct
Complement Edge Labels	
ON	nominative object (i.e. subject; also clausal subjects)
OD	dative object
OA	accusative object
OG	genitive object
OS	sentential object
OPP	prepositional object
OADVP	adverbial object
OADJP	adjectival object
PRED	predicate
OV	verbal object
FOPP	facultative (i.e. optional) prepositional object, passivized subject (*von*-phrase)
VPT	separable verb prefix
APP	apposition
Modifier Edge Labels	
MOD	ambiguous modifier
ON-MOD, OA-MOD, OD-MOD, OG-MOD, OS-MOD, OPP-MOD, FOPP-MOD, PRED-MOD, OADJP-MO, OADVP-MO, V-MOD, MOD-MOD	modifiers modifying complements or modifiers, e.g. V-MOD = modifier of the verb
Edge Labels in Split Coordinations	
ONK, OAK, ODK, OGK, OPPK, FOPPK, OSK, OADVPK, OA-MODK, MODK, V-MODK	second conjunct (K) in PREDK, split coordinations e.g. ONK = second conjunct of a nominative object
Edge Label denoting Structural Expletive	
ES	Vorfeld-*es*
Secondary Edge Labels	
refvc refmod refint refcontr	dependency relation between: two verbal objects in VC two ambiguous modifiers a phrase internal part and its modifier control verb and its complement across clause boundaries

Table 3.9: Syntactic-Semantic Node Labels for Named Entities

Labels	Description
Syntactic-Semantic Node Labels	
ADJX=ORG	adjectival phrase, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
ADJX=OTH	adjectival phrase, named entity of the semantic class "other"
ADVX=ORG	adverbial phrase, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
ADVX=OTH	adverbial phrase, named entity of the semantic class "other"
DM=OTH	discourse marker, named entity of the semantic class "other"
FX=LOC	foreign language phrase, named entity of the semantic class "location"
FX=ORG	foreign language phrase, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
FX=OTH	foreign language phrase, named entity of the semantic class "other"
FX=PER	foreign language phrase, named entity of the semantic class "person"
NX=GPE	noun phrase, named entity of the semantic class "geopolitical entity"
NX=LOC	noun phrase, named entity of the semantic class "location"
NX=ORG	noun phrase, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
NX=OTH	noun phrase, named entity of the semantic class "other"
NX=PER	noun phrase, named entity of the semantic class "person"
PX=GPE	prepositional phrase, named entity of the semantic class "geopolitical entity"
PX=LOC	prepositional phrase, named entity of the semantic class "location"
PX=ORG	prepositional phrase, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
PX=OTH	prepositional phrase, named entity of the semantic class "other"
PX=PER	prepositional phrase, named entity of the semantic class "person"
SIMPX=ORG	simplex clause, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
SIMPX=OTH	simplex clause, named entity of the semantic class "other"
VXINF=ORG	non-finite verb phrase, named entity of the semantic class "organisation"
VXINF=OTH	non-finite verb phrase, named entity of the semantic class "other"
Edge Label	
-NE	non-head, the part below is not part of the named entity

```
                              ( SIMPX )
        ┌──────────────┬───────────────┬──────────────┐
       [ ]            [ ]             [ ]            [ ]
      ( VF )         ( LK )          ( MF )         ( VC )
     [V–MOD]        [ HD ]      ┌──[ON]─[MOD]──┐    [ OV ]
      ( PX )       (VXFIN)     (NX)       (ADVX)   (VXINF)
   ┌──┴──[HD]       [HD]       [HD]        [HD]     [HD]
  [ ]   (NX)                                                   ┌──(NX)──┐
      ┌─[ ]─[HD]                                              [ ]      [HD]
```

An	der	Oder	wurde	er	dann	verwundet	,	ein	Wadendurchschuß	.
APPR	ART	NE	VAFIN	PPER	ADV	VVPP	$,	ART	NN	$.
d	dsf	dsf	3sit	nsm3	––	––	––	nsm	nsm	––
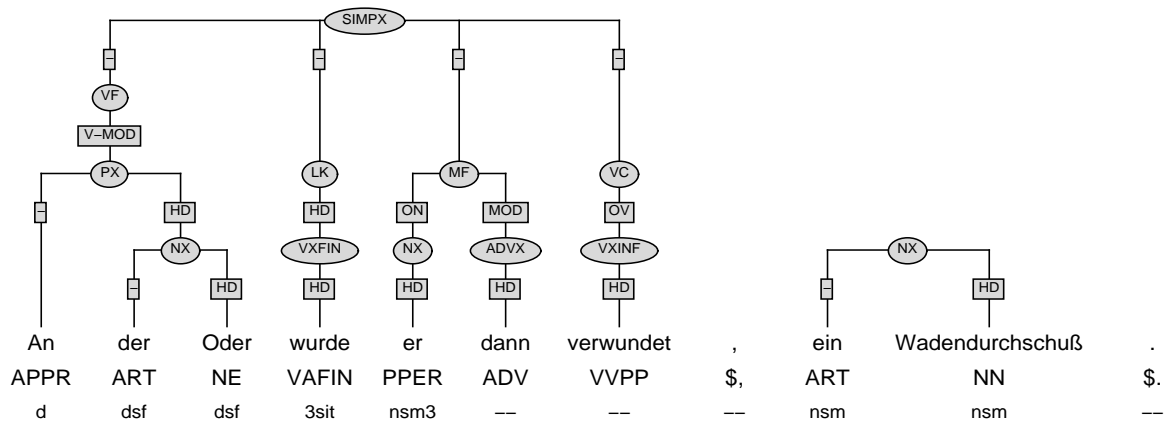
The leaves of the trees consist of pairs of non-terminal symbols and part-of-speech tags. Non-terminal symbols are represented by spherical nodes, whereas edge labels are depicted by rectangular nodes. The tree diagram consists of two trees, a SIMPX and an isolated phrase. In accordance with the four annotation levels shown in Table 3.3, the sentence is annotated top-down by the root node (SIMPX), the field nodes (VF, LK, MF, and VC), the phrase nodes (PX, VXFIN, NX, ADVX, and VXINF), and finally the tagged lexical entries. The edge labels between the field level and the phrase level indicate that the syntactic structure contains one unambiguous modifier (V-MOD), a subject (ON), one ambiguous modifier (MOD), a verbal object (OV), and the finite verb, which itself is the head (HD) of the entire syntactic construction. The noun phrase (*ein Wadendurchschuß*) is not attached to the sentence structure because otherwise the well-formedness of the construction would be violated. Thus, it has to be annotated as an isolated phrase lacking a verbal constituent.

3.4.4 Printing and Spelling Errors

In contrast to spoken language data like in the Verbmobil (cf. (Stegmann et al. 2000)) which exhibit fragmentary utterances, false starts, repetitions, interruptions, and hesitation noises as its characteristic properties, data taken from newspaper corpora does not include unintentionally formed syntactic constructions.

Deviations from syntactic wellformedness are either intended by the author or are caused by printing errors. While incorrect writing of words is neglected in the syntactic analysis (the respective lexical entry is marked with the correct writing of the word in a comment line below), lexical elements which do not belong to the syntactic construction (intentional or unintentional) are structured as much as possible, but are not attached to the surrounding constituents:

Jetzt	wollen	Sie	wieder	ein	solches	System	aufbauen	.
ADV	VMFIN	PPER	ADV	ART	PIDAT	NN	VVINF	$.
––	3pis	np*3	––	asn	asn	asn	––	––
Jetzt								

Am	Abend	erklärten	,	sie	seien	dabei	geschlagen	worden	–	von	der	Polizei
APPRART	NN	VVFIN	$,	PPER	VAFIN	PROP	VVPP	VAPP	$(	APPR	ART	NN
dsm	dsm	3pit	––	np*3	3pks	––	––	––	––	d	dsf	dsf
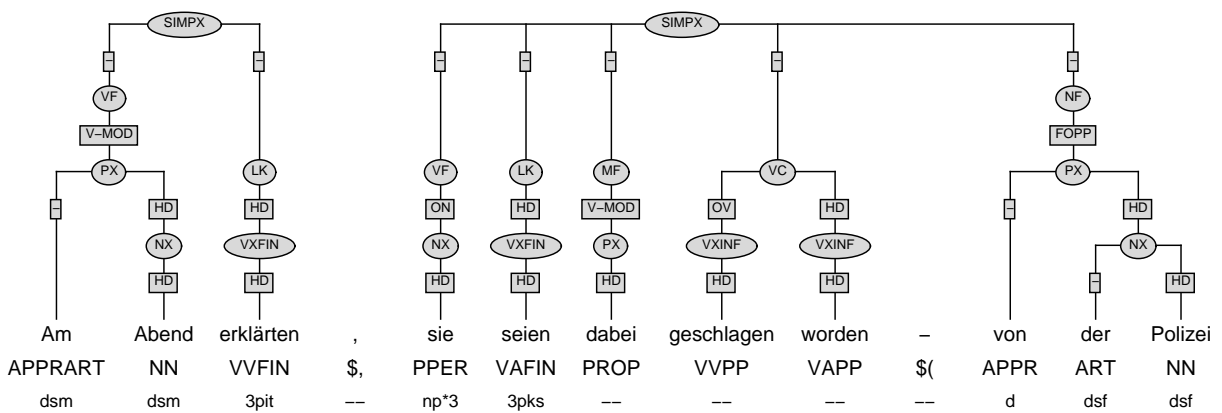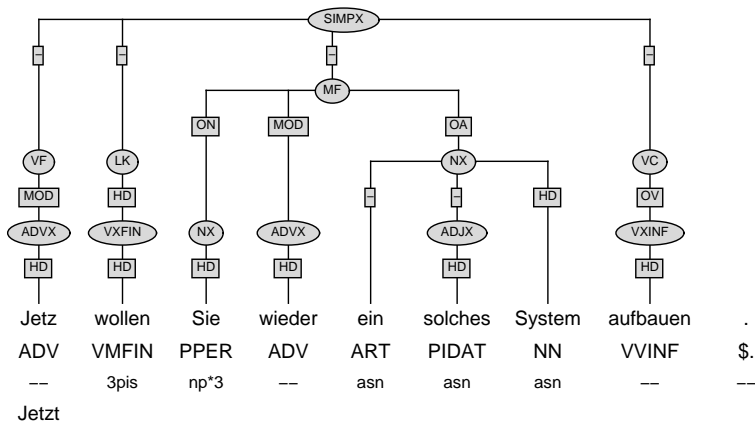
3.4.5 Isolated Phrases

There are textual fragments in newspaper data which cannot be analysed as a SIMPX or as a constituent of a SIMPX because they are lacking a verbal constituent or they are not assigned a specific grammatical function within a well-formed sentence. These fragments are annotated as isolated phrases. The isolated elements are structured as much as possible (mostly up to the level of phrasal categories), but they are not typically connected to surrounding constituents as a whole, so that a conflict with the topological field analysis is avoided. Their root node carries a phrasal category of their lexical head (NX, PX, ADVX, etc.):

Warum	auch	nicht	?
PWAV	ADV	PTKNEG	$.
––	––	––	––
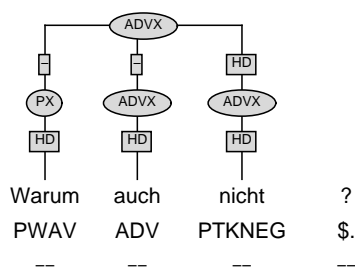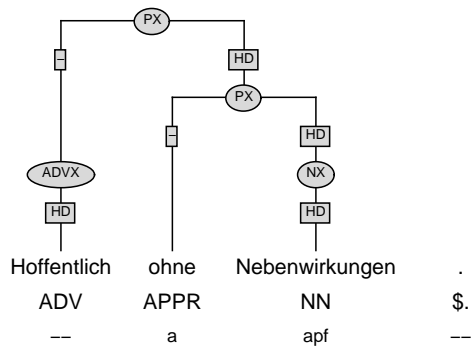
In accordance with the *longest match principle*, as many parts of the fragment as possible are projected to the phrase level and are included into a tree structure. It has to be decided which part of the whole construction is the head and which parts depend on this head.

Phrases within a syntactic unit are not attached on a higher level if they do not show dependency relation. This is often the case with syntactic elements which are separated by a colon or a dash (cf. 5.3.2):
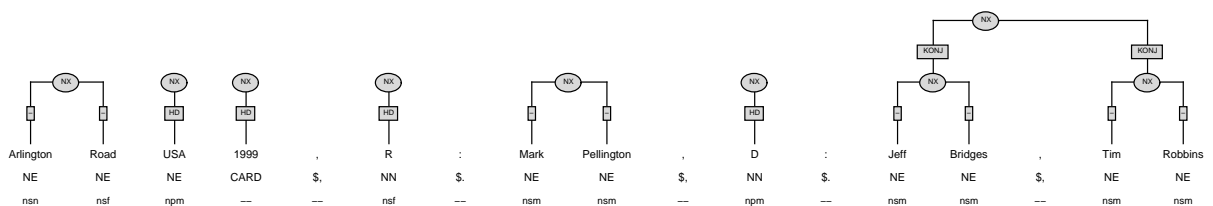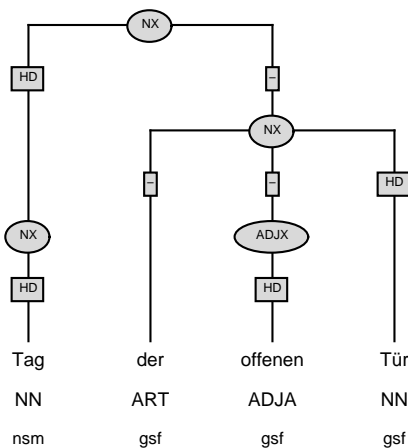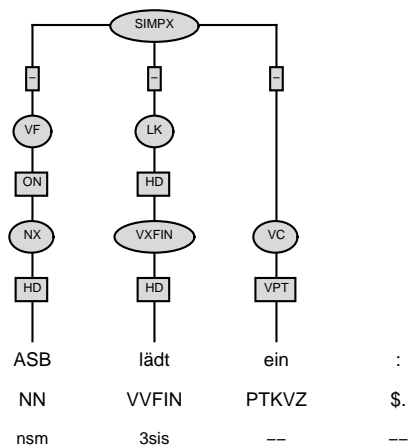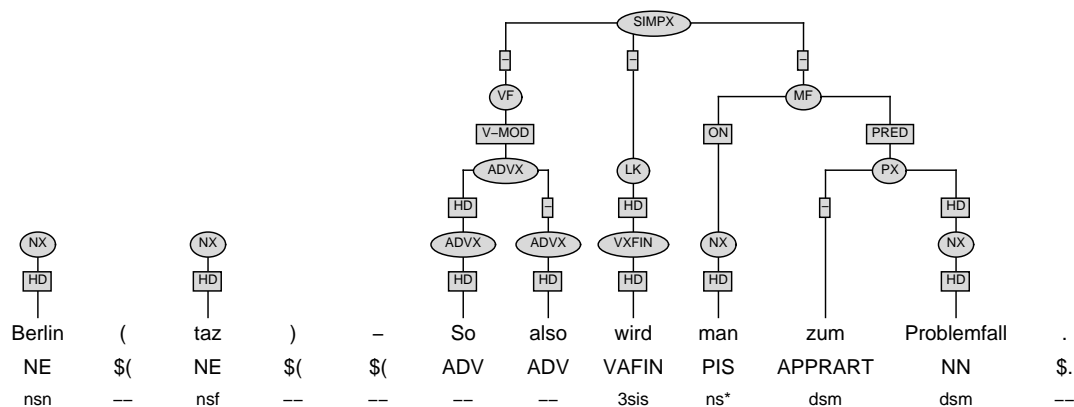
3.4.6 Long-Distance Dependencies

Our annotation scheme facilitates a surface-oriented representation of long-distance dependencies without crossing branches and traces. If a modifying constituent is not adjacent to the modified constituent, their dependency relation, which can even go beyond the border of topological fields, is encoded by special naming conventions for edge labels. We use edge labels such as OA-MOD (referring to OA) or PRED-MOD (referring to PRED) etc. expressing the non-ambiguity of the modifier.

Beyond this, we make use of secondary edge labels for ambiguity resolution. These labels just serve as additional information to the grammatical functions encoded in the edge labels. These secondary edge labels indicate underspecified long distance dependencies in the following cases:

1. If the above mentioned edge labels need further disambiguation, e.g. if there are two OAs or V-MODs below one SIMPX node (refmod).

2. If the dependency relation exists between two nodes of which at least one is phrase internal and therefore carries only head or non-head information (refint).

3. If there is a dependency relation outside of SIMPX in control verb constructions (refcontr).
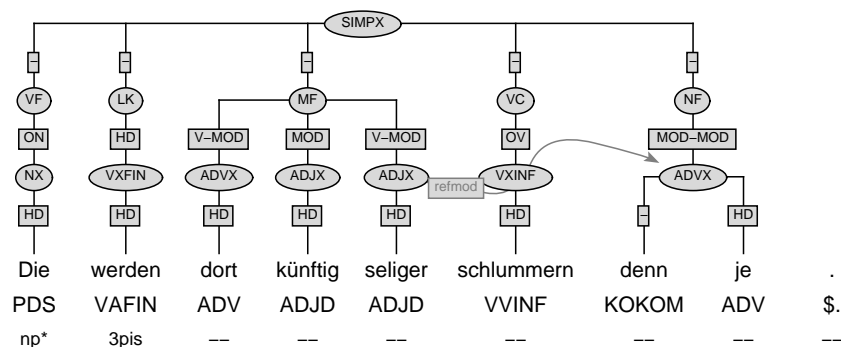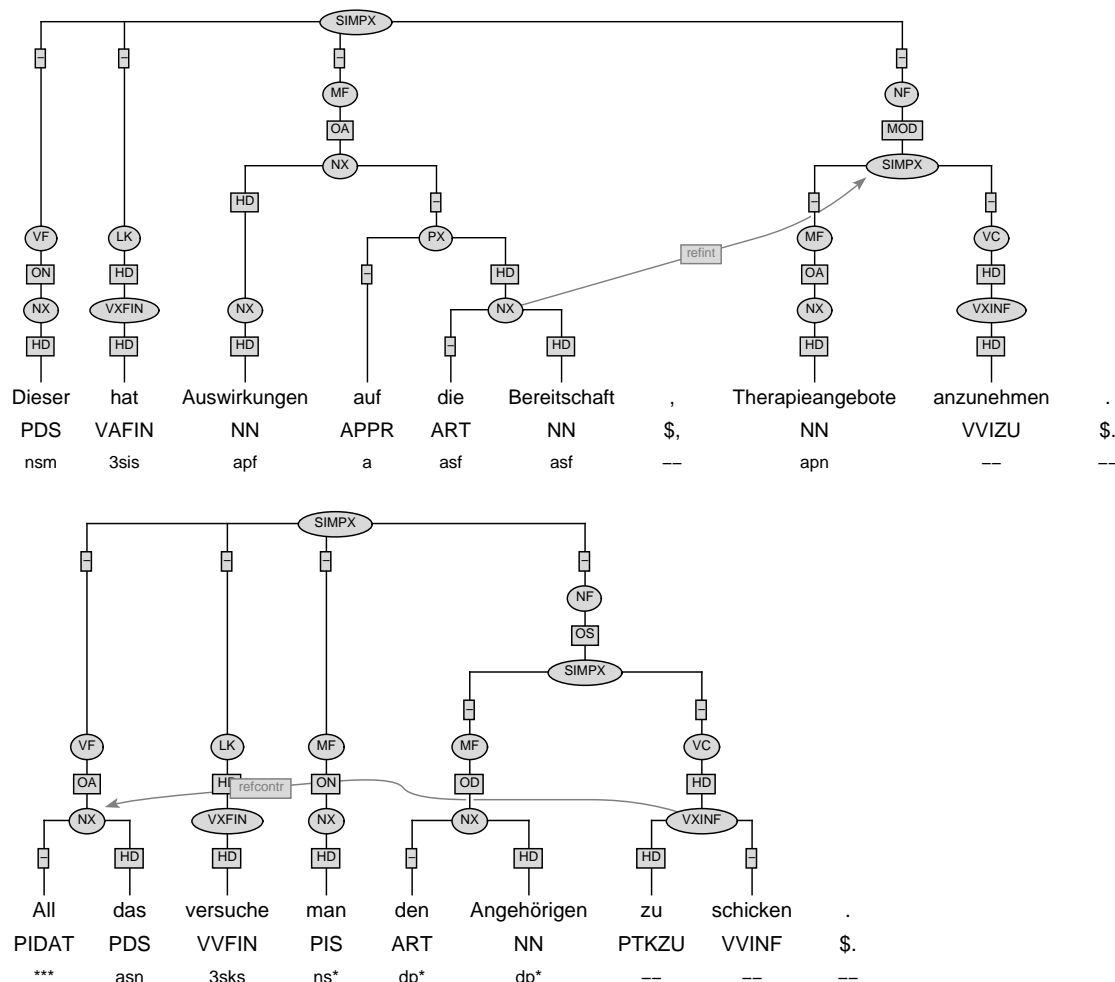
3.4.7 Empty Categories

In general, an empty category analysis, e.g. for phrases without heads, is being avoided in the TüBa-D/Z treebank.

Empty Edge Labels

Specifiers, prepositions,[6] complementizers, discourse markers, KOORD and PARORD constituents, conjunctions, and unambiguous modifiers (that are attached to phrases immediately rather than to topological fields) are not labelled with grammatical functions. Furthermore, the edges below the SIMPX node are empty. They are not labelled in order to speed up annotation where the information is unnecessary or self-evident.

Furthermore, empty edge labels are used in elliptical phrases, e.g. noun phrases only consisting of an article and an attributive adjective (cf. 6.5).

---

[6]In order to facilitate the identification of dependencies between verbs and their nominal complements and adjuncts and in keeping with basic assumptions in Dependency Grammar, the annotated head of a prepositional phrase is the NX (or complement) rather than the preposition itself. Therefore, prepositions carry no edge label.

Chapter 4

The Annotation of the Internal Structure of Phrases

4.1 Premodification and Postmodification in Phrases

The annotation of phrases is also carried out following the *flat clustering principle* in order to keep the number of hierarchy levels in a syntactic structure as small as possible. As will be shown in the following sections, phrases may include adjectival or nominal premodifiers and/or postmodifiers of any syntactic category. Both kinds of modifiers are in principle projected to their phrase levels. Since the modification scope of premodifiers is unambiguous, they are directly attached to the head of the phrase which they modify. By contrast, postmodifiers are always attached on a higher level to preserve ambiguity. This decision, referred to in 3.3 as the *high attachment principle*, was made to avoid the problematic distinction whether a postmodifier is a free adjunct or a complement of the modified phrase. The attachment strategy for premodifiers and postmodifiers is applied for all categories of phrases.

4.2 Noun Phrases

A simple noun phrase (NX) consists of a head noun (noun, proper noun, or a pronoun), (optionally) a determiner and (optionally) an adjectival or a nominal premodifier of any complexity preceding the head noun. A complex noun phrase is a simple noun phrase with a postmodifier of any syntactic category and complexity.

4.2.1 Noun Phrases without Modifiers

Simple noun phrases without modifiers are single nouns, proper nouns, pronouns or proper nouns consisting of more than one NE. All of them are directly projected to their phrase level. While single nouns, proper nouns and pronouns carry the edge label HD, the NE-tagged tokens of a complex proper noun are attached on the same level without head information:

NX
  HD
  Spendengeld
  NN
  asf

NX
  HD
  Hamburg
  NE
  dsn

NX
  Ute   Wedemeier
  NE   NE
  nsf   nsf
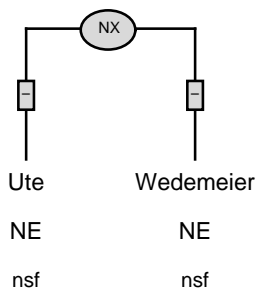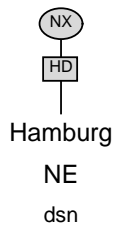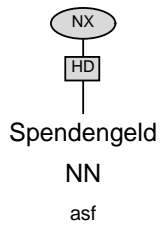
If proper nouns include other parts of speech than NEs, these parts are tagged according to their distribution. Therefore, proper nouns with a preposition include a prepositional phrase.

NX
  Ole   von   Beust
  NE   APPR   NE
  nsm   d   dsm
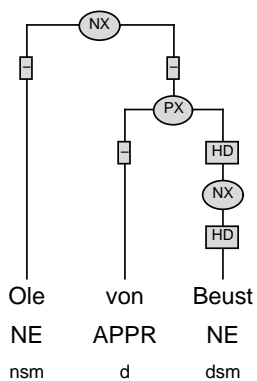
4.2.2 Prenominal Modification

In a simple noun phrase, both the determiner and the head noun are directly attached on the same level to NX so that the label of the head noun carries the edge label HD and the edge label of the determiner is empty.

```
        NX
     ┌──────┐
    [-]    [HD]
     │      │
    die   Auseinandersetzung
    ART      NN

    nsf      nsf
```

```
      NX
   ┌─────┐
  [-]   [HD]
   │     │
  jede  Spur
  PIDAT  NN

  nsf    nsf
```
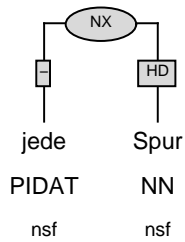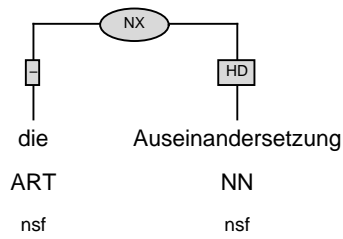
Since prenominal modifiers are directly attached to the head noun on the same level, their edge labels are empty (whereas the edge labels of modifiers that are attached to topological fields are non-empty (cf. 8.4)). Prenominal modifiers are either attributive adjectives or preceding genitive phrases:

```
             NX
    ┌─────────┬─────────┐
   [-]       [-]       [HD]
    │         │         │
    │        ADJX       │
    │        [HD]       │
    │         │         │
   ein     externer  Wirtschaftsprüfer
   ART       ADJA       NN

   nsm       nsm        nsm
```

```
              NX
    ┌──────────┬─────────┐
   [-]        [-]       [HD]
    │          │         │
    │         ADJX       │
    │      ┌───┴───┐     │
    │    [HD]     [-]    │
    │      │       │     │
   die    zu  verhandelnden  Taten
   ART   PTKZU    ADJA      NN

   npf    --      npf       npf
```

27
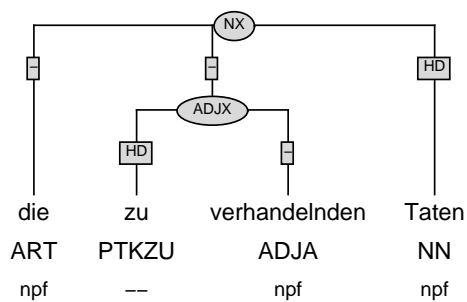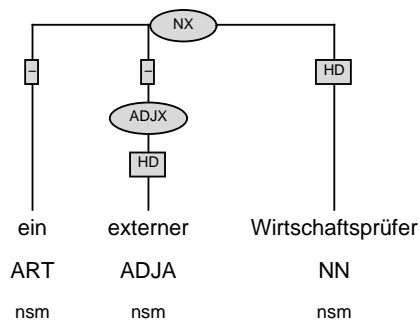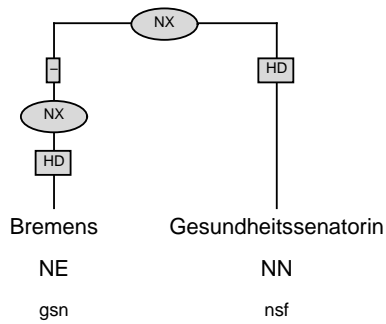
If there is a PIDAT preceding the article it is directly attached to the noun phrase.
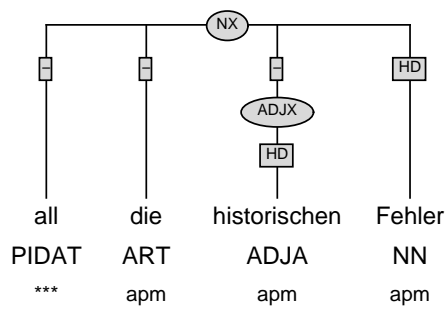
If a PIDAT is following the article in adjective position it is projected to its phrase level (ADJX) with possible premodifiers and then directly attached like an attributive adjective to the noun phrase.

die	in	Deutschland	ohnehin	wenigen	Gen–Food–Produzenten
ART	APPR	NE	ADV	PIDAT	NN
npm	d	dsn	––	npm	npm
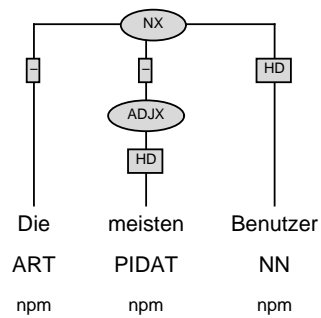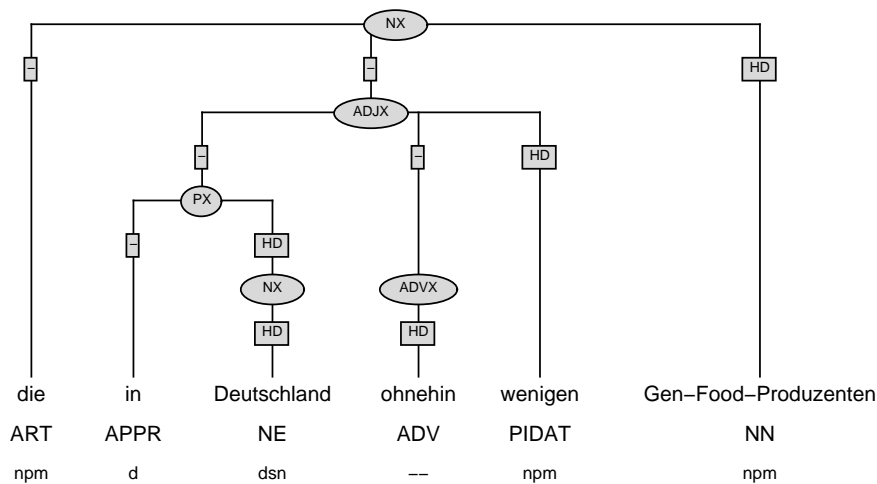
If there is more than one prenominal modifier, the one on the left hand side of the noun is modifying the following noun, the one on the left hand side of the modifier is modifying both, the modifier and the noun, and so on. All of these modifiers are attached to the head noun on the same level which yields a rather flat noun phrase structure. This strategy is justified by the fact that these modifiers have a scope of modification beyond the adjectival phrase, e.g. as in coordinated noun phrases like *insgesamt 12.000 Studienplätze und 15.000 Lehrstellen*, the adverb *insgesamt* modifies *12.000 Studienplätze* as well as *15.000 Lehrstellen*.

lieber	knieartiger	Leser
ADJA	ADJA	NN
nsm	nsm	nsm
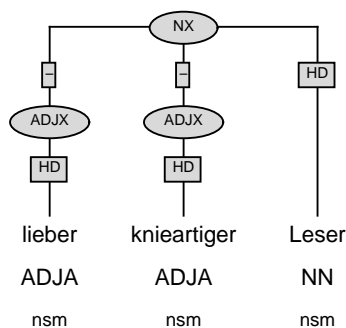
In case of complex head nouns, e.g. complex (proper) nouns consisting of two nominal parts or coordinated head nouns (cf. 6.4.5), first the complex noun respectively the coordination (cf. 6.4) is annotated with its own internal dependency structure. Afterwards, the determiner and possible premodifying adjectival phrases are attached on a higher level.

Die " debis Systemhaus GmbH "
ART $(NE NE NN $(
nsf –– nsf nsn nsf ––

der Heinrich Böll–Stiftung
ART NE NN
gsf gsm gsf

" Solidarität mit Miloevic " – Parolen
$(NN APPR NE $($(NN
–– nsf d dsm –– –– dpf
Milosevic

30

NX
HD
NX
KONJ · KONJ
NX NX
HD HD

ihren	Sänger	und	Gründer
PPOSAT	NN	KON	NN
asm	asm	––	asm

4.2.3 Postnominal Modification

Whereas prenominal modifiers are always directly attached to the head noun on the same level, postnominal modifiers are attached to the head noun on a higher level. Postnominal modifiers are also always first projected to the phrase level before they are attached to the head noun on a higher level. Phrase internal postmodifiers can be of any phrasal category. The following tree structures show a prepositional phrase (PX) and a genitive phrase (NX) as postmodifiers. See section 6.3, page 92 for the analysis of relative clauses.

NX
HD ·
PX
· HD
NX NX
HD HD

Glück	im	Netz
NN	APPRART	NN
nsn	dsn	dsn

NX
HD ·
NX
· · HD
NX ADJX
· HD HD

Die	Mitteilung	des	Bremer	Senats
ART	NN	ART	ADJA	NN
asf	asf	gsm	***	gsm

In case a noun has more than one postmodifier, these modifiers usually show a hierarchical structure, for example, the first modifier modifies the head noun, the second

31

modifier modifies the complete preceding noun phrase structure, and so on.

die guten Beziehungen Bonns zu Moskau
ART ADJA NN NE APPR NE
apf apf apf gsn d dsn
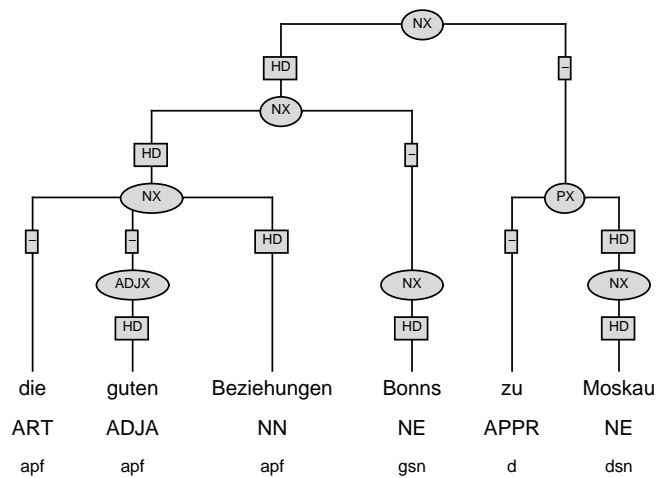
Attributes of degree and quantity nouns are also defined as postnominal modifiers:

eine Kiste Sprengstoff
ART NN NN
asf asf asm
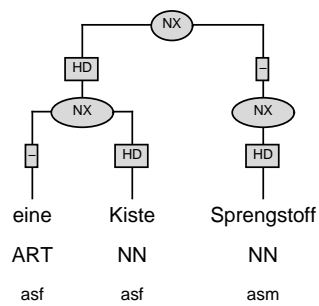
Cardinal numbers either appear as quantity nouns or premodifying adjectival attributes, e.g. the cardinal number *1,000,000* can also be expressed by the quantity noun *eine Million*. Therefore, we have to distinguish the following two ways of annotation:

Der Etat von 3,5 Millionen Mark steht .
ART NN APPR CARD NN NN VVFIN $.
nsm nsm d –– dpf dpf 3sis ––
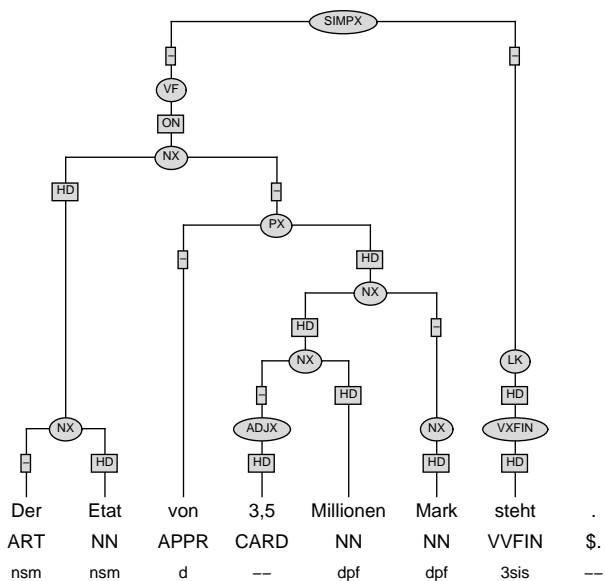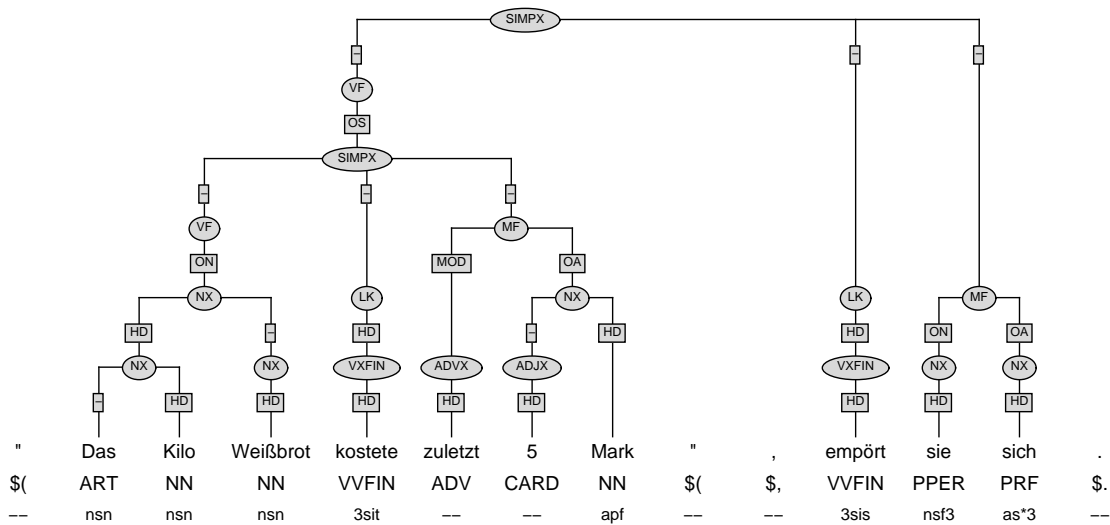
For nominal postmodifiers apart from genitive phrases the same attachment rule is applied. This kind of postmodifiers which may also appear in brackets, e.g. *Heinz Schleußer (SPD)*, is semantically closely related to the preceding head noun phrase. *die Arbeiterwohlfahrt Bremen*, for instance, means *die Arbeiterwohlfahrt* which is located in *Bremen*, but does not mean *die Arbeiterwohlfahrt* which is called *Bremen*. Hence, these postmodifiers have to be distinguished from appositions (cf. 4.2.4) and complex named entities (cf. 4.2.6).

```
        NX
   ┌────┴────┐
  HD         ▯
   │         │
  NX         NX
   │         │
  HD         HD
   │         │
Zentralkrankenhaus  Ost
  NN         NN

  dsn        dsn
```



```
        NX
   ┌────┴────┐
  HD         ▯
   │         │
  NX         NX
   │         │
  HD         HD
   │         │
 Kapitel    VII
  NN        CARD

  dsn        ––
```



```
           NX
     ┌──────┴──────┐
    HD             ▯
     │             │
    NX             NX
  ┌──┴──┐          │
  ▯     HD         HD
  │     │          │
 des   ICE        884
 ART    NN       CARD

 gsm   gsm         ––
```
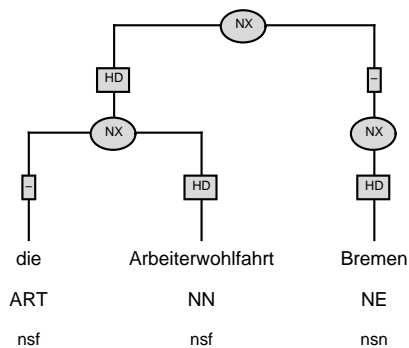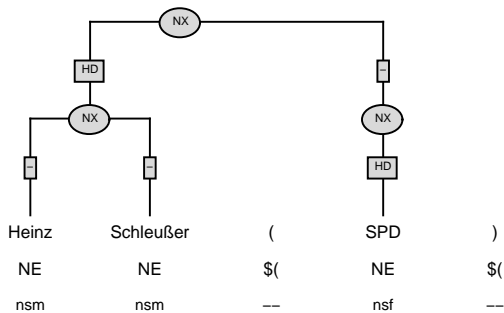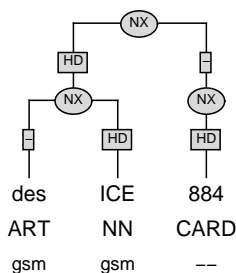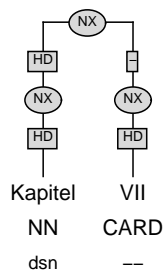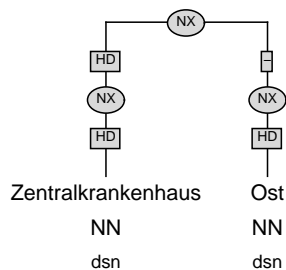
4.2.4 Appositional Constructions

An apposition is a specific kind of attribute to a noun, which normally agrees in case with this noun and does not change its overall meaning. There is no consensus among grammarians of what is exactly meant by the notion *apposition* (cf. (Eisenberg 1999 2001)). Eisenberg (1999 2001), for instance, claims that, e.g. *Ute Wedemeier die Landesvorsitzende* and *die Landesvorsitzende Ute Wedemeier* are both appositions but it is not clear which part is the apposition and which part is the head noun. The Duden Grammar (1995) distinguishes between loosely constructed appositions (*lockere Apposition*) (e.g. *Ute Wedemeier, die Landesvorsitzende,*), which follow the head noun separated by a comma, and tightly constructed appositions (*enge Apposition*) (e.g. *(die) Landesvorsitzende Ute Wedemeier*), which precede the head noun (cf. (Drosdowski 1995)). According to Helbig/Buscha (1998) there is case agreement between loosely constructed appositions and head nouns which are separated by a punctuation mark. By contrast, Engel (1996) thinks that only loosely constructed appositions can be regarded as appositions. He treats tightly constructed appositions as *nomen varians* or *nomen invarians*.

Because of these different definitions of the notion of apposition, we do not decide on what is the head noun and what is the apposition. We assume referential identity between the two parts. Loosely constructed appositions as well as tightly constructed appositions are treated as appositional constructions, i.e., the head noun and its apposition

form a complex structure which does not give any information about head assignment. Therefore, both parts are first projected to their phrase level and then coordinated on a higher level, each of them labelled as apposition (APP), i.e. as a part of an appositional structure. What is important is the referential identity in meaning. Thus, *Nummer 1* is an appositional construction, whereas *Seite 1* is a noun phrase with the postmodifier *1*. Forms of address for persons and titles, e.g. *Herr, Frau, Doktor (Dr.), Professor (Prof.), Bundeskanzler*, are also treated as appositional constructions. Here are some examples:

```
        NX
   APP       APP
           NX
        HD       _
      NX
   _       HD       NX
 ADJX            _       HD

NX       NX              NX       NX
 _       _               _       HD
Volker  Tegeler  ,   stellvertretender  Geschäftsführer  des  Landesverbandes
 NE      NE      $,      ADJA            NN               ART   NN
nsm     nsm     --       nsm            nsm              gsm   gsm
```



```
           NX
   APP          APP
    NX           NX
 _      HD       HD
die    Stadt   Frankfurt
ART     NN       NE
nsf    nsf      nsn
```



```
              NX
   APP              APP
                     NX
                APP      APP
    NX           NX       NX
    HD           HD       HD
 Vorwurf      Nummer       1
   NN           NN       CARD
  nsm          nsf        --
```



```
        NX
  APP        APP
   NX         NX
   HD         HD
 Telefon    472711
   NN        CARD
  dsn         --
```
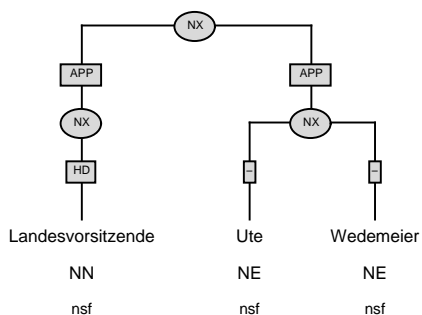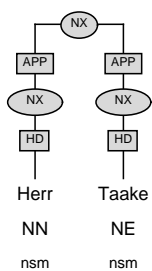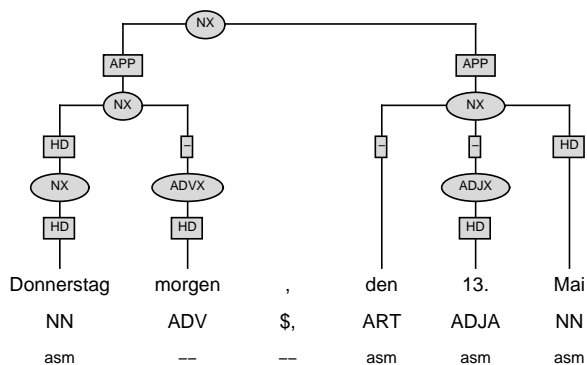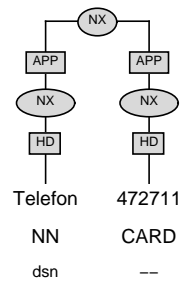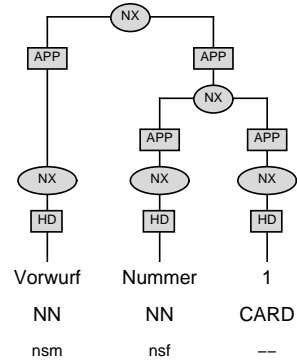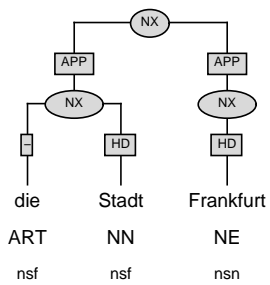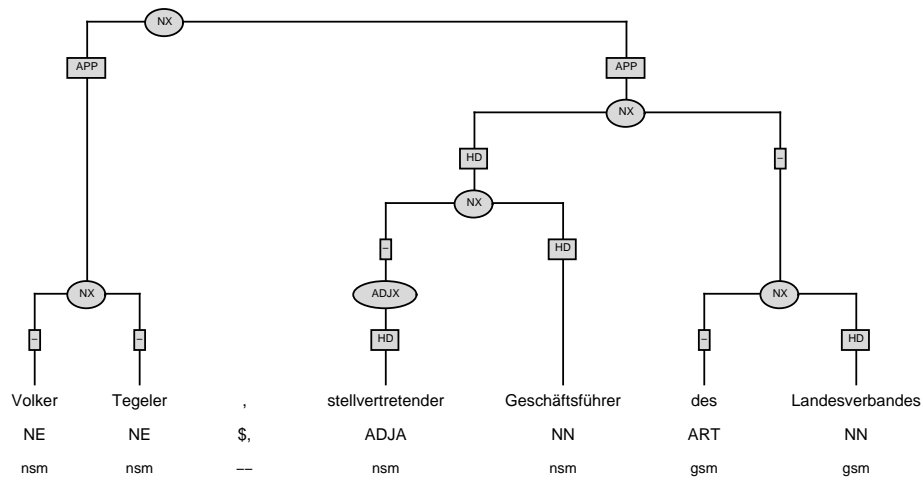
In case of a form of address combined with one or more titles preceding a name, we annotate an embedded appositional construction:

NX

APP — NX — APP — NX

Die	Dortmunder	Psychologin	Prof.	Alexa	Franke
ART	ADJA	NN	NN	NE	NE
nsf	***	nsf	nsf	nsf	nsf
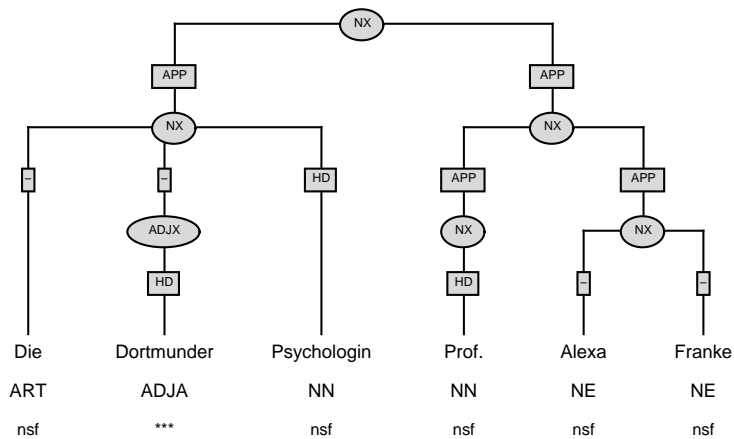
The same way, we treat proper nouns which are identical to a preceding proper noun, for example, an actor's name and role:

NX

APP — NX — APP — NX

Andrea	Spatzek	/	Gabi	Zenker
NE	NE	$(	NE	NE
dsf	dsf	––	dsf	dsf
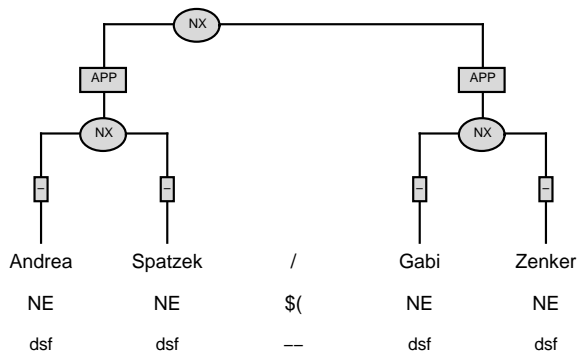
Premodification of the whole appositional construction is attached to an additional NX level.

NX — HD — NX — APP — NX — APP — NX

Auch	Bundesumweltminister	Jürgen	Trittin
ADV	NN	NE	NE
––	nsm	nsm	nsm
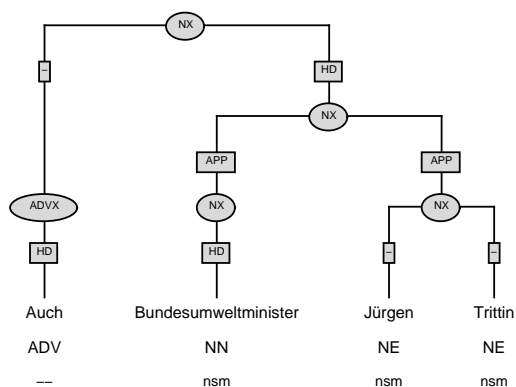
There are some examples in which the appositional construction does not agree in case. These are postnominal titles of books, films, etc. and translations interspersed in the sentence. In the latter type, we extend the appositional construction also to non-nominal phrases.

PX
  – in APPR d
  HD
    NX
      APP
        NX
          – dem ART dsm
          HD Film NN dsm
      APP
        NX
          – Das ART nsn
          HD Verhör NN nsn
  " $(--
  " $(--

SIMPX
  um KOUI --
  MF
    OA
      NCX
        C
        die ART apm
        ADJX
          HD wildernden ADJA apm
        HD Hunde NN apm
    OPP
      PX
        APP
          PX
            außer APPR g
            HD
              NCX
                HD Gesetzes NN gsn
        APP
          FX
            ($(--
            " $(--
            HD outlaw FM --
            " $(--
) $(--
  VC
    HD
      VXINF
        HD zu PTKZU --
        stellen VVINF --
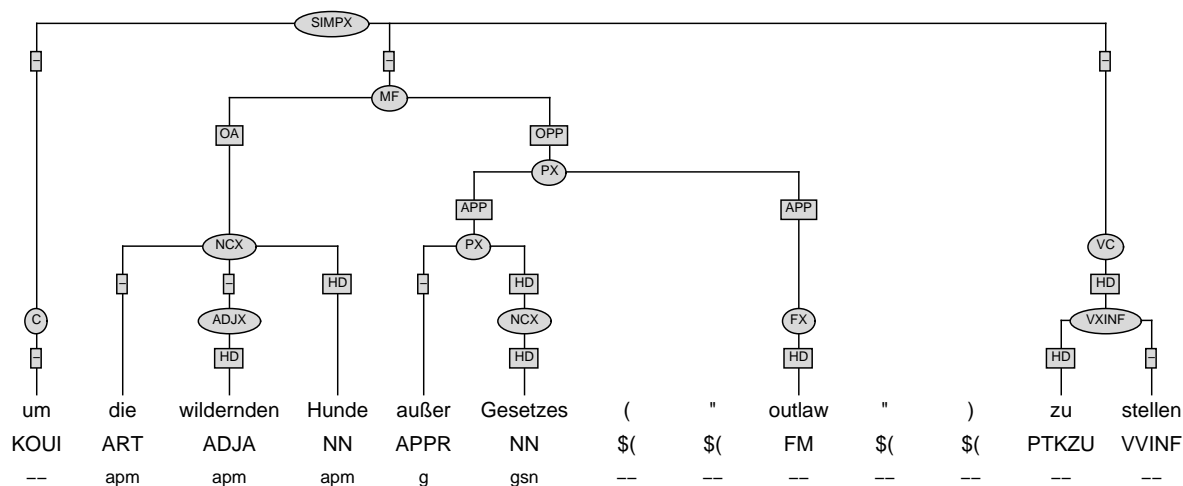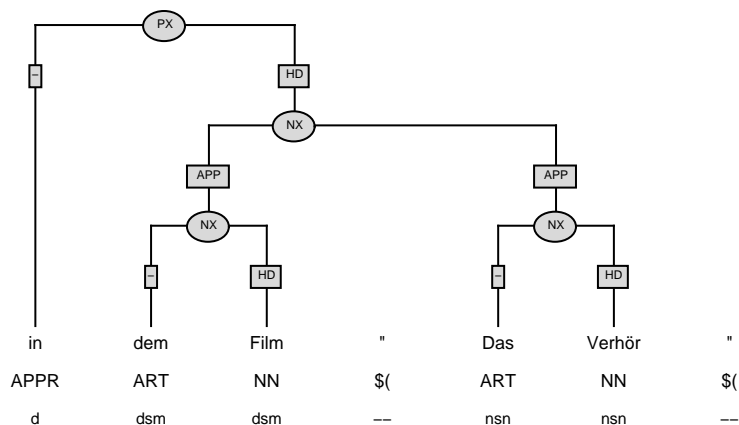
4.2.5   Foreign Language Material

Words or parts of a text written in a foreign language except foreign language proper
nouns are tagged as foreign language material (FM), e.g. *hello* (FM), *no* (FM) *longer*
(FM) *amused* (FM). All parts of foreign language proper nouns are tagged as NE (e.g.
Mary (NE) , *New* (NE) *York* (NE), *University* (NE) *of* (NE) *Illinois* (NE)). Single foreign
words are projected to a syntactic level assigned the node label FX, which is an universal
label for any syntactic category (phrasal and sentential) in the respective foreign language.
More complex parts of a text tagged as FM are attached on the same level without any
internal syntactic structure and head assignment. Their mother node is also assigned the
label FM, e.g. *no longer amused.* For foreign language constructions containing a foreign
language proper noun, the annotation strategy is the following: in a first step, all NEs are
projected to the phrase level (NX), in a second step, these phrase node labels together
with all FMs are projected to the next higher level with the node label FX. Again, there
is no head assignment directly below the FX node, e.g. *Mister Gere himself.*

DM
—
hello
FM
——

NX
das — no — longer — amused — Kollegium HD
das ART nsn
no FM ——
longer FM ——
amused FM ——
Kollegium NN nsn

FX

NX
University — of — Illinois
University NE dsf
of NE dsf
Illinois NE dsn

NX
wie — Mr. — Gere — himself
HD
FX
NX
HD
wie KOKOM ——
Mr. FM ——
Gere NE nsm
himself FM ——
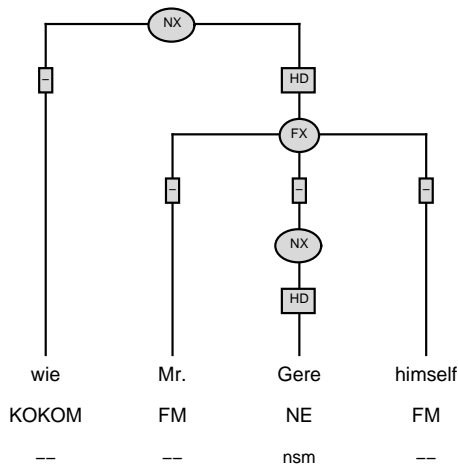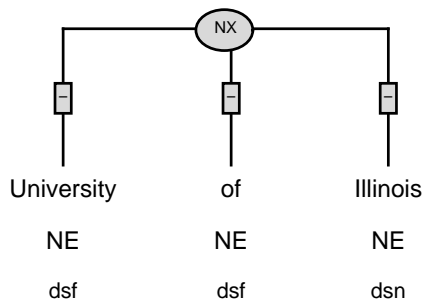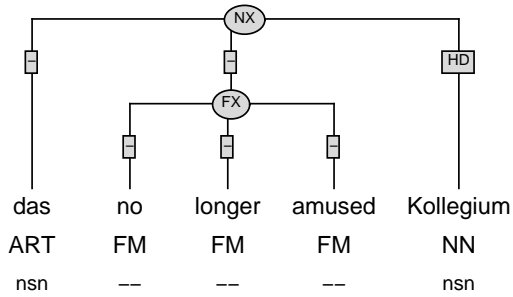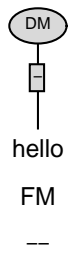
Often, foreign language material is a part of a German syntactic construction and plays the role of a grammatical function. Therefore, the FX node is attached as a constituent to the tree structure. If it is directly attached to a field or a sentence bracket, the edge label above the FX node denotes its grammatical function within the clause, e.g. *Kafka* **goes** *Kleinkunst* (head of the clause).

SIMPX

VF	LK	MF
ON	HD	V–MOD
NX	FX	NX
HD	HD	HD
Kafka	goes	Kleinkunst
NE	FM	NN
nsm	––	asf
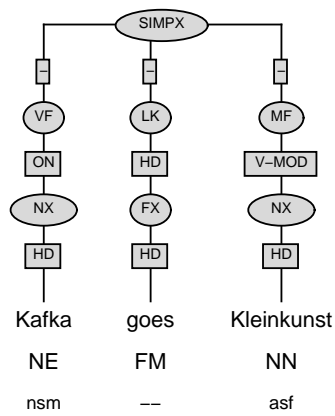
If a single FM is head of a phrase which can be identified as a German phrase, e.g. by an article and/or an adjective (noun phrase), it is projected to the specific phrasal category, e.g. NX instead of FX in a construction like *in der Creme de la Kunst, die nordamerikanischen Brothers.*

in	der	Creme	de	la	Kunst
APPR	ART	FM	FM	FM	NN
d	dsf	––	––	––	dsf

ihrer	nordamerikanischen	Brothers
PPOSAT	ADJA	FM
gp*	gp*	––
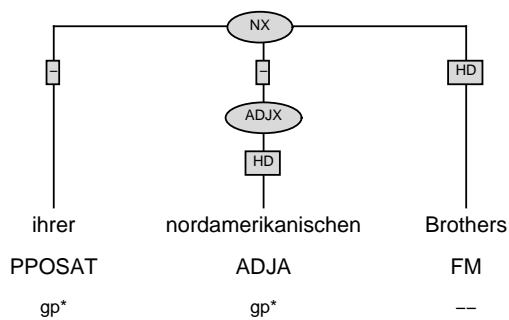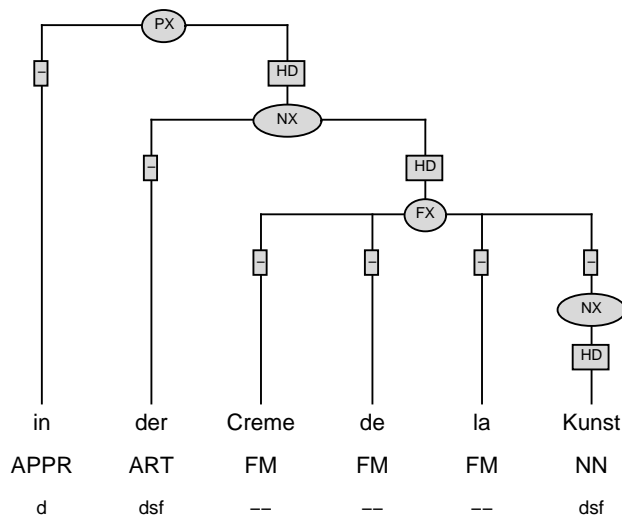
If FX is modified by a postmodifier the mother node of the complex phrase is also FX, which again may be preceded by another phrase, e.g. *Unter der Überschrift 'user als looser'..*

Unter	der	Überschrift	,	user	als	looser	,	
APPR	ART	NN	$(	FM	KOKOM	FM	$(	
d	dsf	dsf	--	--	--	--	--	
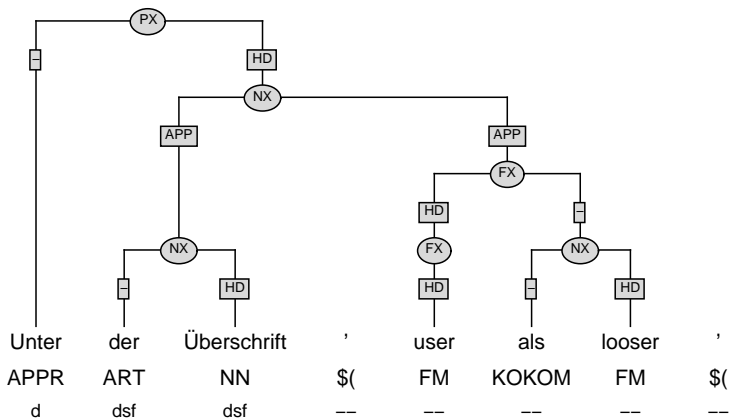
4.2.6   Named Entity Annotation

Proper nouns denote individual living beings, objects, titles, etc. which exist only once as entities with their own specific properties. The distinction between proper nouns and nouns is not always clear-cut. On the one hand, proper nouns can also become nouns, e.g. *Opel* as the company is a proper noun POS-tagged as *Opel* (NE), on the other hand, *Opel* as the car is a noun POS-tagged as *Opel* (NN).

In addition to the categories of proper nouns listed in the STTS guidelines (e.g. first and last names of persons, names of companies, and geographical names), we also define names of streets and places (e.g. *Feldstraße*), individual names of institutions (e.g. *Max-Planck-Institut, Pergamonmuseum*), events (e.g. *Märzrevolution*), and titles of books, movies, etc. as specific categories of proper nouns . In contrast to the categories defined in the STTS, our additional categories are not POS-tagged as 'NE', e.g. *Alexanderplatz* (NN), *heute* (ADV).

Complex proper nouns forming a syntagma as well as titles, names of historical events, institutions, and so on, are POS-tagged according to their distribution (e.g. *der* (ART) *Potsdamer* (ADJA) *Platz* (NN), *Auf* (APPR) *die* (ART) *stürmische* (ADJA) *Art* (NN), *Schlaflos* (ADJD) *in* (APPR) *Seattle* (NE)). On the syntactic level, we define all kinds of proper nouns as named entities.

In our enhanced version of the TüBa-DZ treebank named entity information is defined by semantic classes: each named entity is assigned one of the following five semantic classes (cf. 3.4.2):

1. person (PER)

2. organisation (ORG)

3. location (LOC)

4. geopolitical entity (GPE)

5. other (OTH)

Table 4.1 lists the commonly occurring semantic subclasses for named entities in the TüBa-D/Z with examples:

Table 4.1: Semantic Classes and Subclasses for Named Entities

Semantic Classes	Common Semantic Subclasses	Examples
PER	persons	*Hans Winkler*
	surnames	*(Familie) Feuerstein*
	names of animals (personified)	*(Schweinchen) Babe*
ORG	organisations	*Nato, EU*
	companies	*Microsoft, Bertelsmann,*
	institutes	*Institut für chinesische Medizin*
	museums	*Pergamonmuseum*
	newspapers, journals	*Süddeutsche Zeitung, Der Spiegel*
	clubs	*VfB Stuttgart*
	theaters, cinemas	*Metropol-Theater, CinemaxX*
	universities	*Freie Universität*
	TV and radio stations	*Arte, Radio Bremen*
	restaurants, hotels	*Sassella, Adlon*
	forces	*Blauhelme*
	fashion labels	*Chanel*
	sporting events	*Olympische Spiele, Wimbledon*
	bands	*Beatles, Die Fantastischen Vier*
LOC	districts	*Schöneberg*
	sights, churches	*Brandenburger Tor, Johanniskirche*
	planets	*Mars*
	geographical areas	*Königsheide*
	streets, places	*Sögestraße, Alexanderplatz*
	mountains, lakes	*Alpen, Viktoriasee*
	continents	*Europa, Asien*
GPE	countries, states (incl. historical)	*Frankreich, Hessen, Assyrien*
	cities (incl. historical)	*Berlin, Babylon*
OTH	operating systems	*DOS*
	titles of books, movies, etc.	*Faust, Schlaflos in Seattle*
	mottoes, slogans	*Zwischen Himmel und Erde*
	wars	*Zweiter Weltkrieg*

In order to annotate the semantic classes, **syntactic-semantic node labels** of the pattern *syntactic category = semantic class* are defined for the mother node of named entities (see Table 3.9). The syntactic-semantic nodes indicate that the structure below represents a (complex) named entity of a certain syntactic category belonging to one of the five semantic classes (cf. 3.4.2).

The former node label 'EN-ADD' and the secondary edge label 'EN' are deleted.

Our annotation strategy for named entities is shown in the following tree examples:

Named entities may consist of one or more lexical elements tagged as NE. In case of a single NE, this NE is projected to its phrase level, carrying the respective syntactic-semantic node label (*Gütersloh* (NX=GPE)). Named entities consisting of two or more NEs are attached on the same level. None of them carries a head label in order to indicate that there is no obvious dependency relation between them (*St. Pauli* (NX=LOC)).

There can occur postmodifiers within a named entity which are a named entity themselves like *St. Pauli* (NX=LOC) in [[FC (NX)] [*St. Pauli* (NX=LOC)]] (NX=ORG).

Parts which do not belong to a named entity are marked with the edge label -NE as in [[*den* (-NE) FC (NX)] [*Güthersloh* (NX=GPE)]] (NX=ORG).

Named entities which are not tagged as NE, e.g. *Millerntor* (NX=LOC) are also assigned a syntactic-semantic node label.
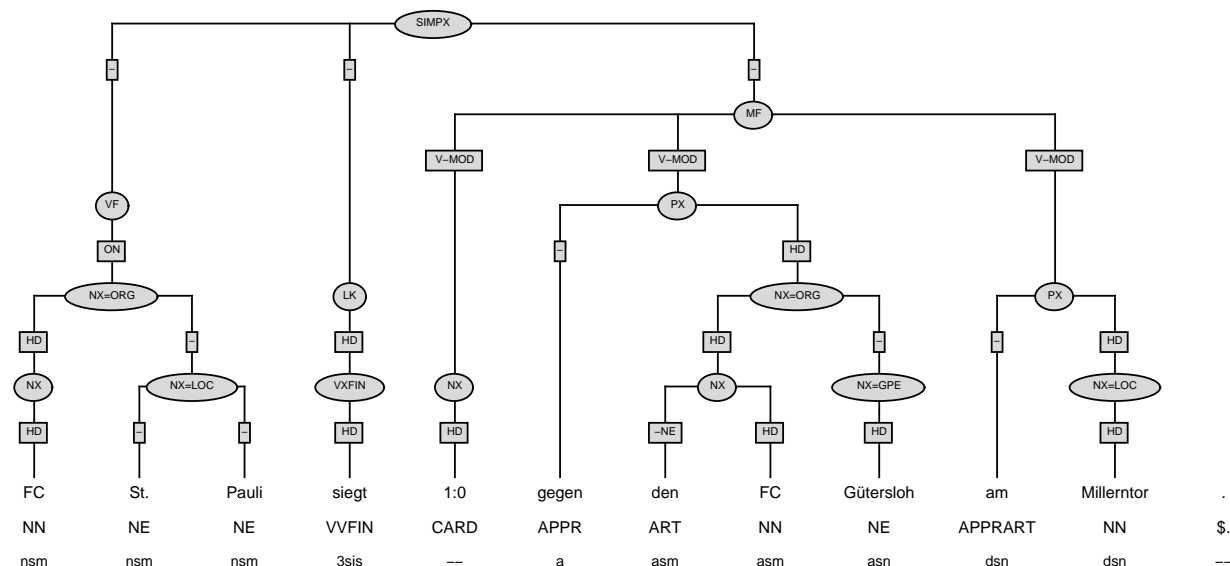
As mentioned above, all elements of German named entities which consist of a complex syntactic structure, e.g. a phrase or a sentence, are always tagged according to their distribution and annotated with their internal syntactic structure as noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adjectival phrases, clauses, etc., e.g. the movie title (*Schlaflos* (ADJD) *in* (APPR) *Seattle* (NE)) (ADJX=OTH) in the following tree example. If two named entity nodes are coordinated like *Tom Hanks* (NX=PER) and *Meg Ryan* (NX=PER) their mother node is NX which represents the nominal status of the named entity.
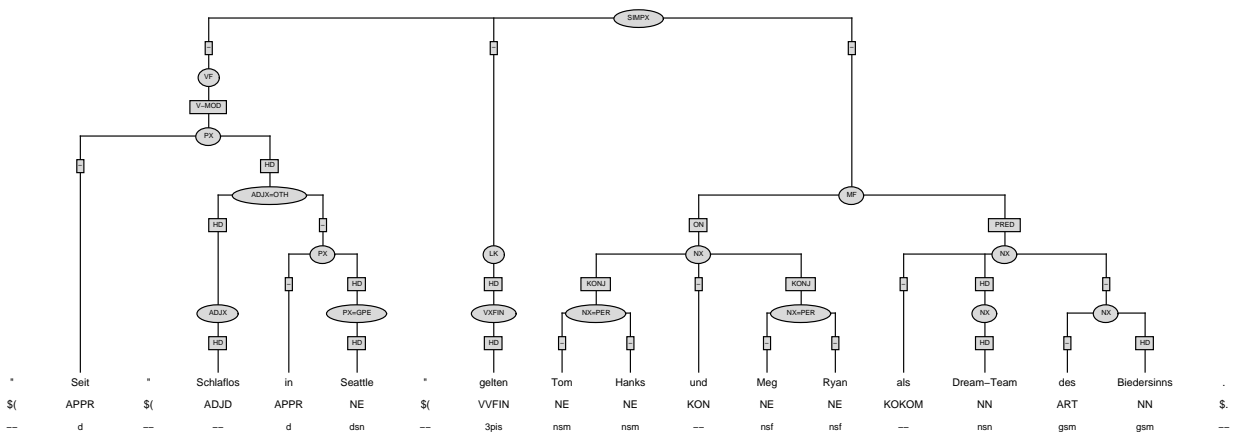
If the original form of a named entity (e.g. *Zweiter Weltkrieg*) is inflected and/or premodified by an article and/or attributive adjective like in the following example tree (*dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (NX=OTH)), the mother node of the named entity carries the semantic class information and all parts that do not belong to the named entity are assigned the edge label -NE.
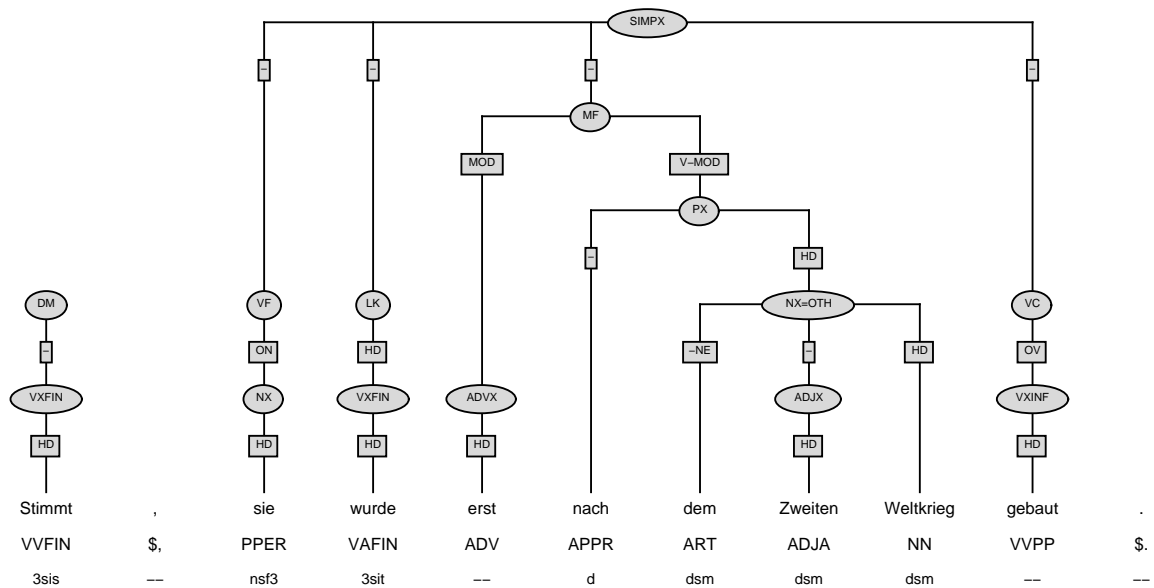
If a named entity of a syntactic category other than NX has a premodifier, or a postmodifier, (both can be a named entity itself) the mother node of the whole constituent is always NX which represents the nominal status of the named entity:

First tree (SIMPX):

Oliver	Bukowskis	derbes	"	Bis	Denver	"	feierte	im	Altonaer	Theater	Premiere
NE	NE	ADJA	$(	APPR	NE	$(	VVFIN	APPRART	ADJA	NN	NN
gsm	gsm	nsn	––	a	asn	––	3sit	dsn	***	dsn	asf

Second tree (NX):

"	Sind	Sie	Luigi	?	"	von	Stephan	Brüggenthies
$(	VAFIN	PPER	NE	$.	$(	APPR	NE	NE
––	3pis	np*3	nsm	––	––	d	dsm	dsm
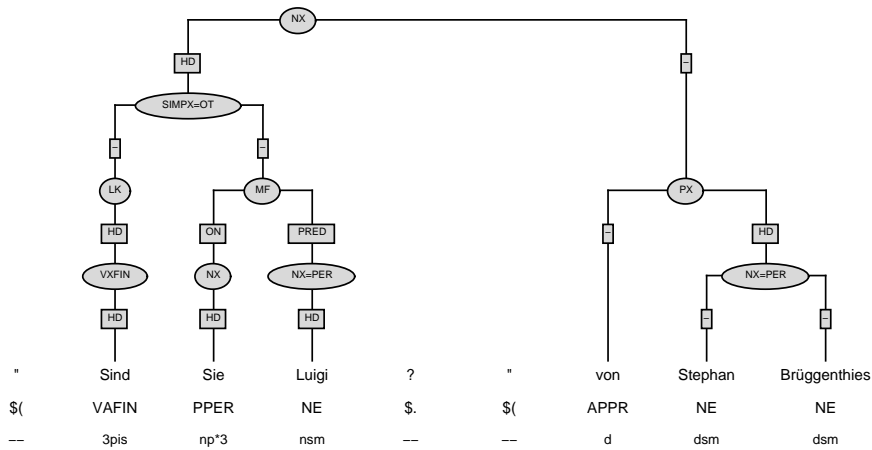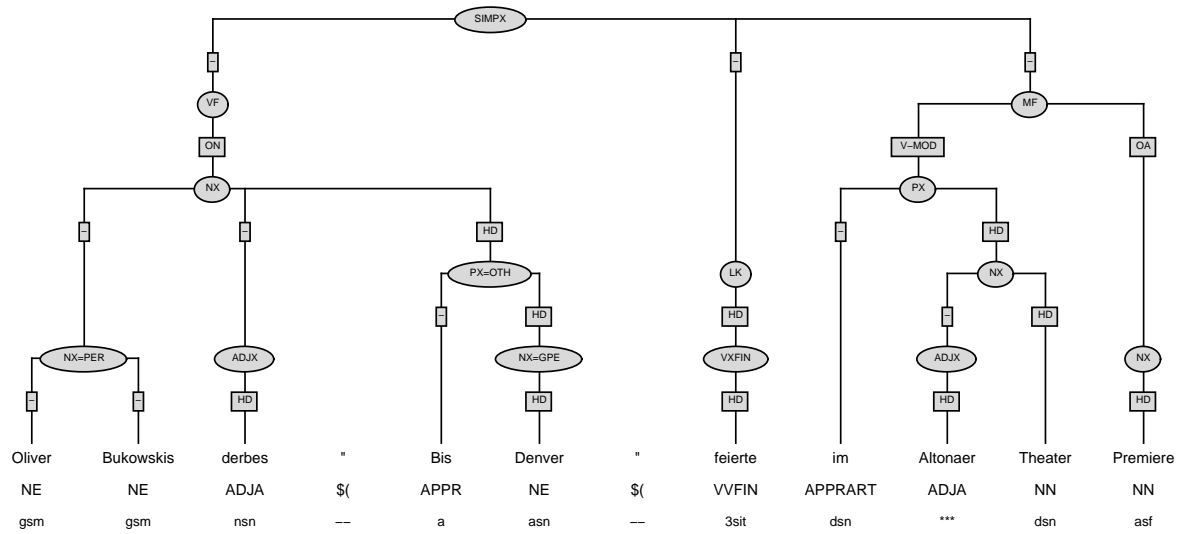
If a named entity is a syntagma with its own internal syntactic structure, i.e. it does not agree with the inflection of another constituent of the sentence, all premodifiers are attached on a higher level:

Im Radio läuft Vivaldis " Vier Jahreszeiten " .
APPRART NN VVFIN NE $(CARD NN $($.
dsn dsn 3sis gsm –– –– npf –– ––

Den Auftakt macht eine Aufführung von Ernst Jandls Aus der Fremde .
ART NN VVFIN ART NN APPR NE NE APPR ART NN $.
asm asm 3sis nsf nsf d gsm gsm d dsf dsf ––
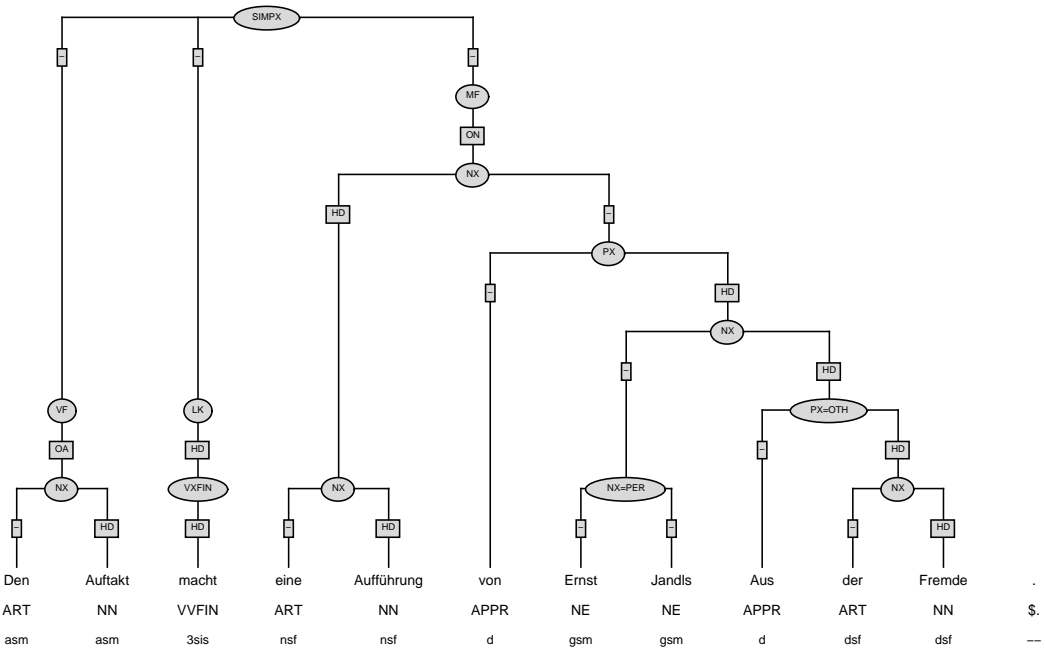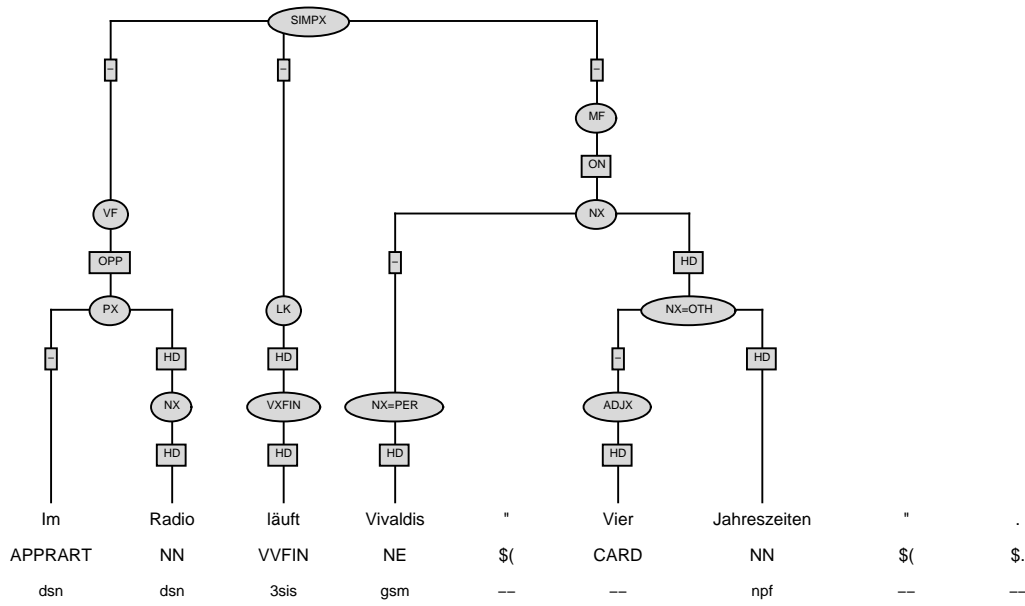
If a named entity has a postmodifier that is part of the named entity itself, all premodifiers are also attached on a higher level:

Das	167seitige	Aktionsprogramm	der	Bremer	Agenda	21
ART	ADJA	NN	ART	ADJA	NN	CARD
nsn	nsn	nsn	gsf	***	gsf	--
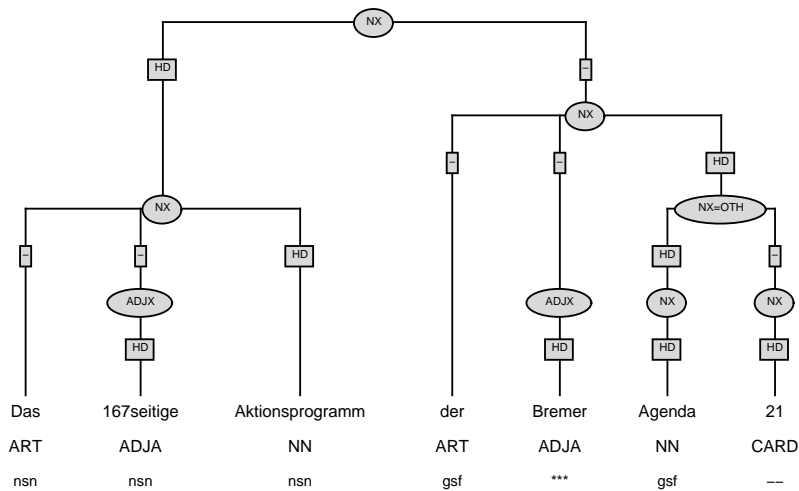
Foreign Language Named Entities

The syntactic annotation of foreign language named entities differs from the annotation of German named entities in the following aspects. According to the STTS guidelines, foreign language proper nouns are tagged as NE, while all other lexical elements of a foreign language are tagged as foreign language material (FM). A foreign language named entity which consists of a proper noun, e.g. the title of a movie is assigned a syntactic-semantic node label of the category NX (*Forrest Gump* (NX=OTH)).

Forrest	Gump
NE	NE
nsm	nsm
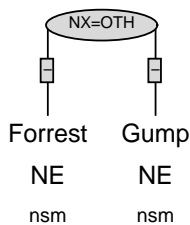
If a foreign language named entity consists of only FM tagged tokens, these tokens are directly attached on the same level without internal syntactic structure. The mother node of the phrase is marked as a syntactic-semantic node label of the category FX, e.g. *Knockin' on Heaven's Door* (FX=OTH).

Knockin'	on	Heaven's	Door
FM	FM	FM	FM
--	--	--	--
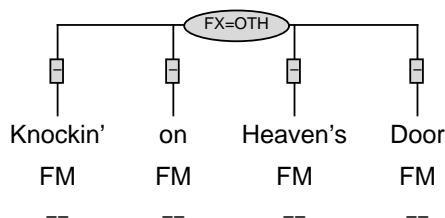
If a foreign language named entity consists of NE as well as FM tagged tokens, e.g. *Shakespeare* (NE) *in* (FM) *Love* (FM), NE is projected to NX=PER. The NX=PER node and all FM tagged tokens are attached directly on the same level.

Shakespeare in Love
NE FM FM
nsm -- --
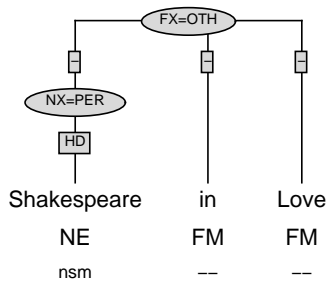
4.2.7 Ordinal Numbers

According to their distribution, ordinal numbers occur either as a premodifying attributive adjective (e.g. *die dritte (ADJA) Partie*) or as a head noun (e.g. *er ist der sechste (NN)*). In the first case, the premodifier is projected to an adjectival phrase, in the latter case it is projected to a noun phrase.

die dritte Partie
ART ADJA NN
nsf nsf nsf

Aber das ist ja auch schon die Vierte .
KON PDS VAFIN ADV ADV ADV ART NN $.
-- nsn 3sis -- -- -- nsf nsf --
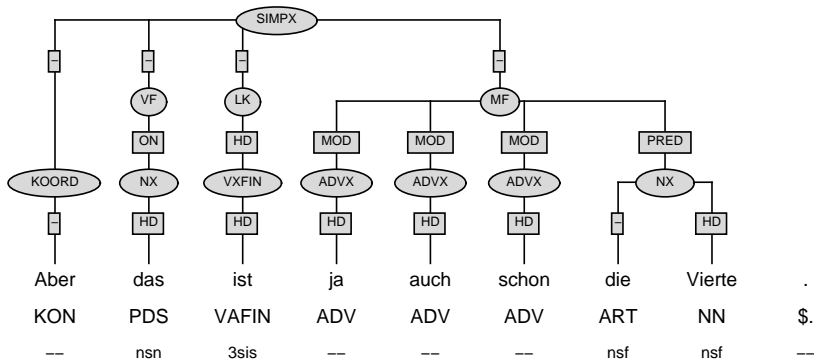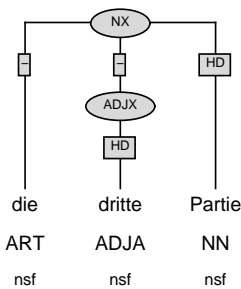
4.2.8 Cardinal Numbers

According to their syntactic function (nominal or adjectival), cardinal numbers (CARD), are either projected to NX or ADJX. If their numerals are written separately or in groups, e.g. numbers of bank accounts, they are attached on the same level like proper names without internal head assignment.

NX
APP APP
NX NX
HD HD
Jahr 2000
NN CARD
dsn --

PX
HD
NX
HD
ADJX
HD
in allen 23 Bezirken
APPR PIDAT CARD NN
d dpm -- dpm

NX
APP APP
NX NX
HD
BLZ 500 901 00
NN CARD CARD CARD
nsf -- -- --
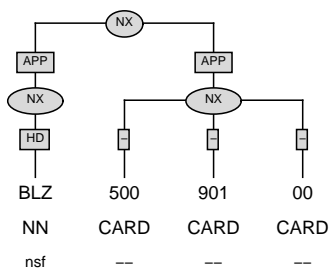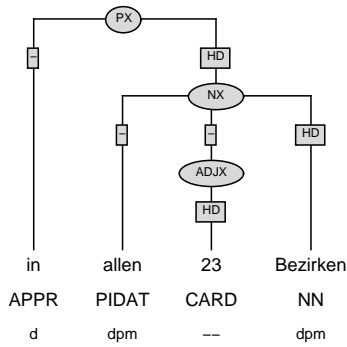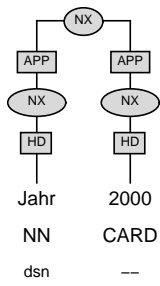
A premodifying cardinal number is nominal if it does not express a quantity like in the example above, but a characteristic of the following noun, e.g. the number of a zip code:

NX
NX HD
HD
13187 Berlin
CARD NE
-- nsn
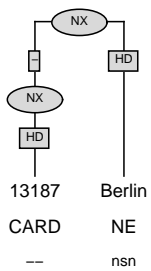
Complex time expressions or results of competitions are also treated as cardinal numbers:

NX
├─ — ADJX — HD — **20.15** / CARD / ––
└─ HD — **Uhr** / NN / nsf

PX
├─ — **mit** / APPR / d
└─ HD — NX — HD — **3:0** / CARD / ––
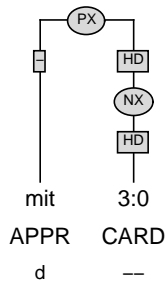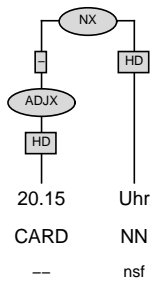
4.2.9   Letters and Non-Words

Letters and non-words are tagged as XY. They are projected to their phrase level and assigned the syntactic category to which they belong in the construction. Signs which represent a lexical element, e.g. the sign for paragraph, are tagged with the respective part-of-speech tag:

NX
├─ — NX — HD — **D–76351** / XY / ––
└─ HD — **Linkenheim** / NE / dsn

NX
├─ HD — NX
│   ├─ HD — NX — HD — **§** / NN / nsm
│   └─ — NX
│   ├─ HD — NX — HD — **220** / CARD / ––
│   └─ — NX — HD — **a** / XY / ––
└─ — NX
         ├─ — **des** / ART / gsn
         └─ HD — **Strafgesetzbuches** / NN / gsn
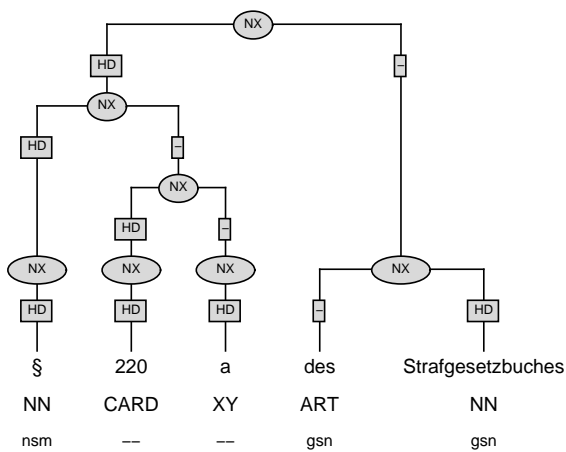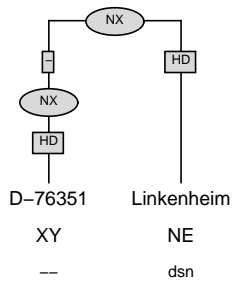
4.2.10 Expletive and Other Uses of *es*

The pronominal form *es* functions as expletive element in German. Three different expletive usages are traditionally distinguished: formal subject or object, correlate of an extraposed clausal argument, and *Vorfeld-es* (cf. (Eisenberg 1999 2001), (Pütz 1986)). For sake of completeness, the following list begins with an example of *es* as a referential personal pronoun.

Personal Pronoun

The pronoun functions as an argument of the verb and refers to some person, object, or event that is salient in the context. It can be tested, whether *es* is used as a pronoun by replacing it by another noun or pronoun (such as *das* or *er/ihn*).

In the example tree *es* refers to the neuter noun *Gästehaus* in the preceding sentence: *Die italienische Regierung hat die Familie im staatlichen Gästehaus Casino dell'Algardi untergebracht.*
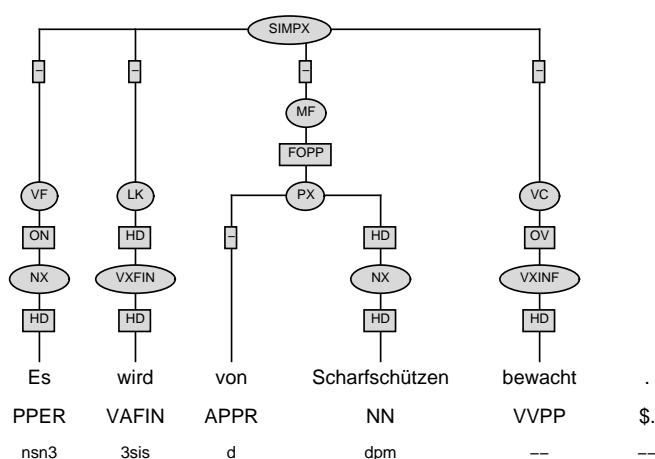
Formal Subject or Object

The formal subject obligatorily occurs with *weather verbs*, e.g. *Es regnet* and impersonal or agentless constructions such as *Es gibt so eine Buchung* or *Es geht um populäre Unterhaltung.* Some verbs optionally permit an expletive subject but also occur with referential subjects such as *Max/Es klopft an der Tür.* A formal object is found in constructions like *jmd. legt es an auf etw.* or *jmd. verdirbt es mit jmdm.* In all examples mentioned, *es* functions as a grammatical argument without semantic contribution, i.e. it does not refer to a person, object, or event.

In TüBa-D/Z formal subjects and objects are treated like referential pronouns and are labelled alike, e.g. with edge labels ON or OA.

Formal arguments are obligatory and may occur in the Mittelfeld. In case of doubt, it is a good test to paraphrase the sentence such that another element occupies the Vorfeld, e.g. *Natürlich gibt es so eine Buchung* versus **Natürlich gibt so eine Buchung.*

```
                          SIMPX
        ┌───────────┬──────────────┐
        │           │             MF
        │           │             OA
        │           │              │
        VF          LK             NX
        ON          HD      ┌──────┴──────┐
        NX        VXFIN    ADVX    │      HD
        HD          HD      HD     │
  "     Es    gibt   so    eine  Buchung  .    "
  $(    PPER  VVFIN  ADV   ART    NN     $.    $(
  --    nsn3  3sis   --    asf    asf     --    --
```
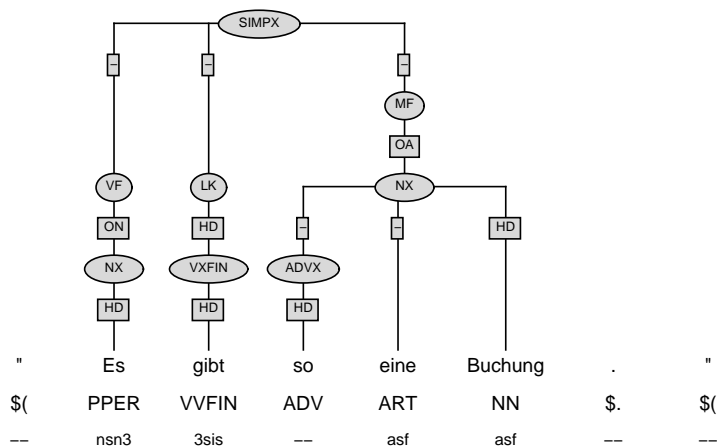
Correlate of an Extraposed Clausal Argument

If a clausal argument is extraposed in the *Nachfeld*, it is optionally doubled by an expletive *es* in the *Vorfeld* or *Mittelfeld*. The expletive is labelled ON-MOD or OS-MOD depending on the function of the clausal argument.

```
                                   SIMPX
   ┌──────┬──────┬──────┬──────────────────────────────┐
   │      │      │      │                              NF
   │      │      │      │                              ON
   │      │      │      │                             SIMPX
   │      VF     LK     MF          ┌──────────────────┴─────┐
   │   ON-MOD    HD    PRED         VC                       NF
   │ ┌──KOORD   VXFIN  ADJX         HD                       OS
   │ │   NX      HD     HD        VXINF                     SIMPX
   │ │   HD                      ┌──┴──┐       ┌──────┬──────┴────────┐
   │ │                          HD    HD       VF     LK             MF
   │ │                                        V-MOD   HD     ┌────────┼────────┐
   │ │                                         PX   VXFIN    ON      MOD       OA
   │ │                                         HD    HD      NX     ADVX       NX
  Aber es   ist  übertrieben  zu  sagen  ,  damit bekäme die FU  erst eine Identität .
  KON PPER VAFIN  ADJD      PTKZU VVINF $,  PROP VVFIN  ART NE  ADV ART    NN      $.
   --  nsn3 3sis    --        --   --   --   --  3skt   nsf nsf  --  asf    asf    --
```
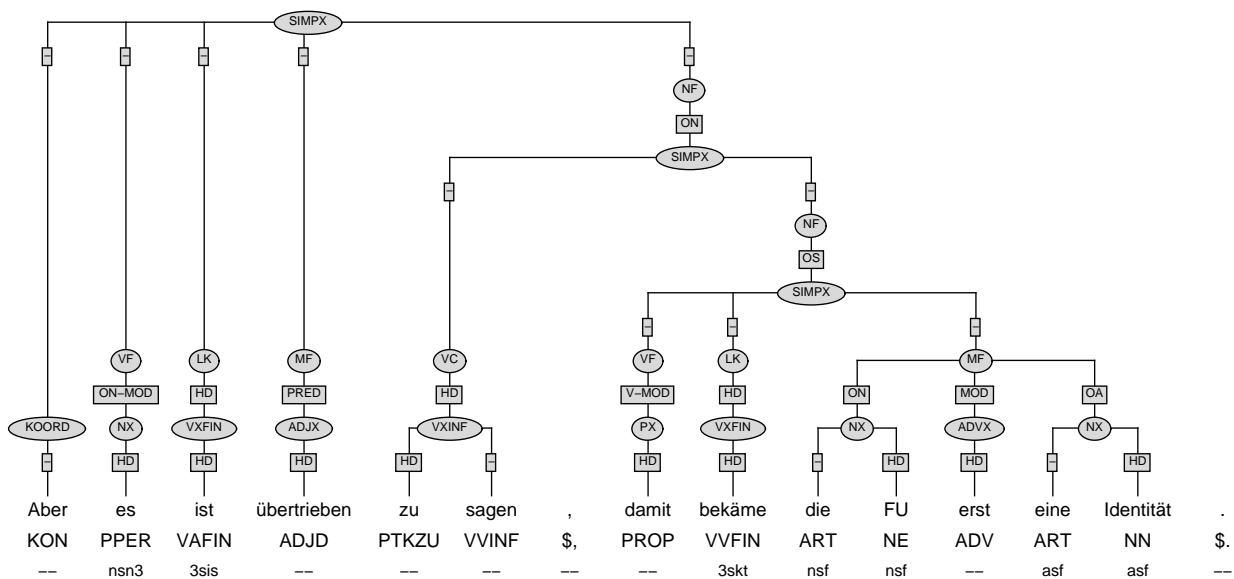
Vorfeld-es

The last type is a purely structural dummy element. It occurs in *Vorfeld* position only and is not correlated with any argument of the clause. It does not agree with the verb which becomes evident if there is a plural subject in the Mittelfeld, which is illustrated in the example tree below. It is ungrammatical in the Mittelfeld, e.g. **. . . dass es ihn die Völker zahlen.* *Vorfeld-es* is labelled ES to indicate its purely structural function. In the first release of TüBa-D/Z, 12/2003, *Vorfeld-es* was integrated by means of ON-MOD.

The words at the leaves of the parse tree:

es	zahlen	ihn	die	Völker	,	deren	Menschenrechte	angeblich	verteidigt	werden
PPER	VVFIN	PPER	ART	NN	$,	PRELAT	NN	ADJD	VVPP	VAFIN
****	3pis	asm3	npn	npn	--	gp*	npn	--	--	3pis
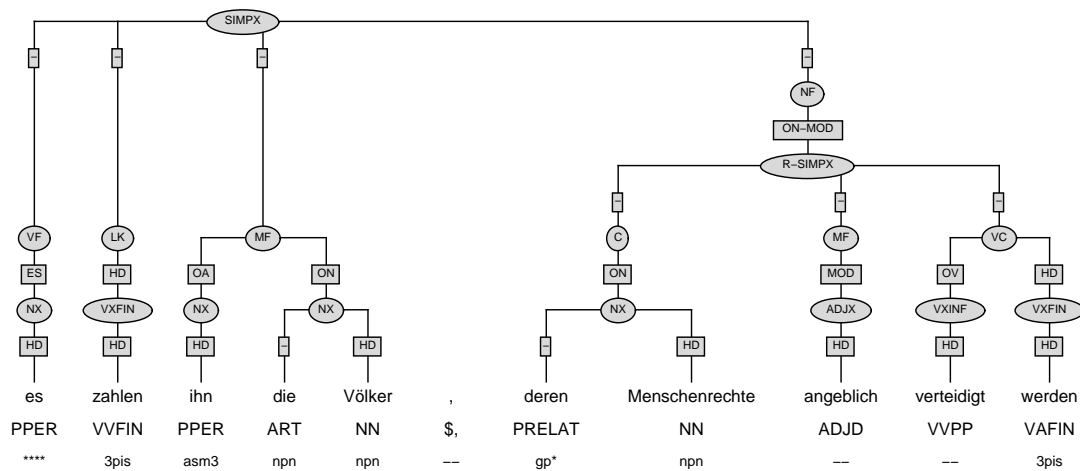
Table 4.2 summarizes tests and labels for the different uses of *es*.

Table 4.2: Types of *es*

type / test	referential pronoun	formal argument	correlate	Vorfeld-*es*
substitutable by other pronouns	yes	no	no	no
optional	no	no	yes	no
correlates with clausal argument	no	no	yes	no
ungrammatical in Mittelfeld	no	no	no	yes
edge label	ON, OA, etc.	ON, OA	ON-MOD, OS-MOD	ES

Es sei denn

The lexicalized phrase *es sei denn*, meaning *außer*, is analysed as a copula construction.

" Es geschieht hier nichts , es sei denn , ich tu es . "
$(PPER VVFIN ADV PIS $, PPER VAFIN ADV $, PPER VVFIN PPER $. $(
-- **** 3sis -- *** -- nsn3 3sks -- -- ns*1 1sis asn3 -- --
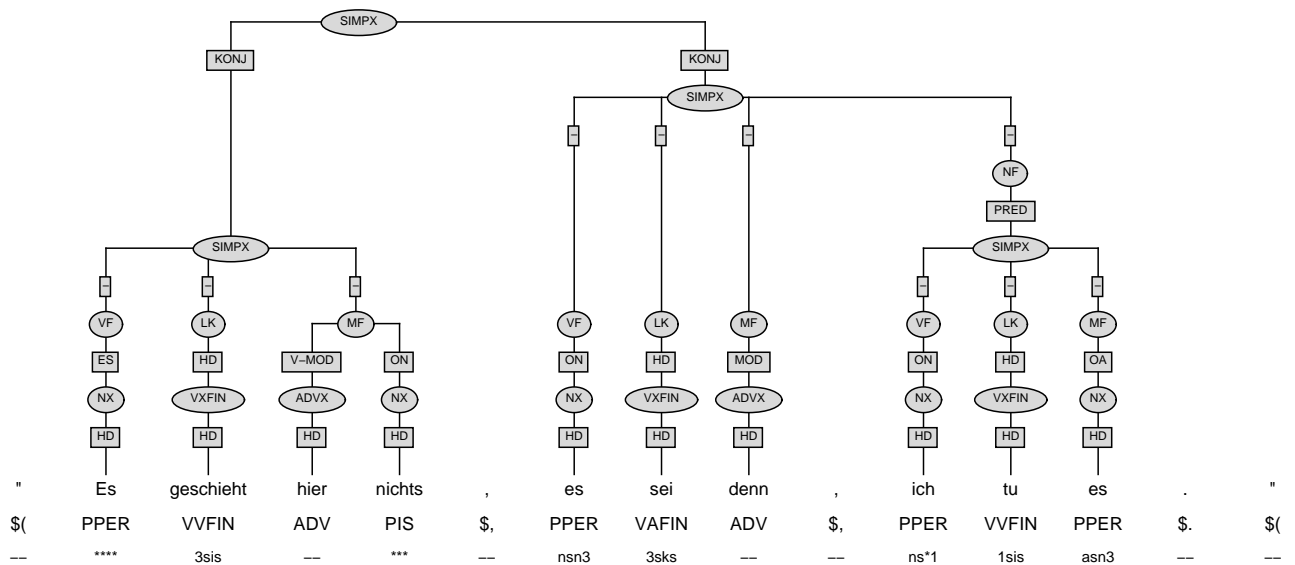
4.3 Determiner Phrases

Certain pronouns serving as determiners in noun phrases may be premodified, for instance, by degree adverbs such as in *so viele Ältere*, *gar kein Schutz*, etc.

In the case of *so viele Ältere*, the premodifying adverb *so* is attached to the indefinite pronoun *viele*. Together, they form a determiner phrase (DP), which is attached to the head noun *Ältere* on the same level:

so viele Ältere
ADV PIDAT NN
-- ap* ap*

gar kein Schutz
ADV PIAT NN
-- nsm nsm

54
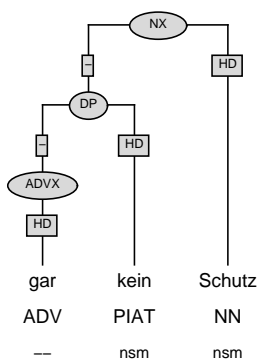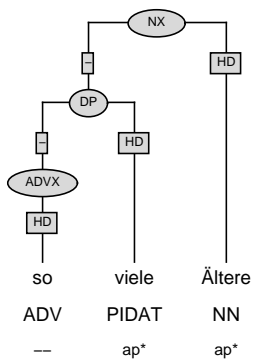
4.4 Prepositional Phrases

4.4.1 Prepositions

Considering prepositional phrases, it turns out to be appropriate not to annotate the preposition as the head of the phrase. It is rather reasonable to annotate the complement within the prepositional phrase as the head. This decision facilitates the identification of dependencies between verbs and their nominal complements and adjuncts. Moreover, it is in accordance with basic assumptions in Dependency Grammar .

```
        PX
      /    \
     _      HD
     |       |
     |      NX
     |       |
     |      HD
     |       |
    in    Südpolen
   APPR      NN
     d       dsn
```
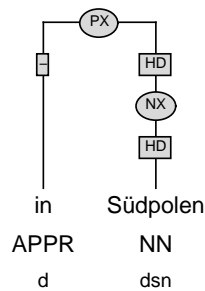
If the preposition is realized as a non-alphabetic sign, e.g. - (*bis, gegen*), this sign is tagged as APPR and annotated like a preposition:

```
                    NX
                 /      \
               HD        _
                |         |
                |        PX
                |      /    \
                |     _      HD
                |     |       |
                |     |      NX
                |     |     /    \
               NX     |    _      HD
              /  \    |    |       |
             _    _   |  ADJX      |
             |    |   |    |       |
            HSV  BU   –    HD      SV
                           |
            NE   NE  APPR Bramfelder NN
                           ADJA
            nsm  nsn   a    ***     asm
```
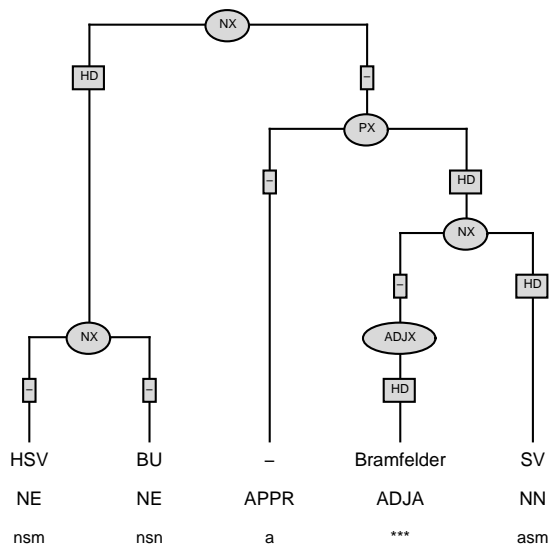
Since pronominal adverbs (PROP) are pronominal forms of a prepositional phrase, they are directly projected to PX:

Freuden–thal wollte gestern nichts dazu sagen
NE VMFIN ADV PIS PROP VVINF
nsf 3sit –– *** –– ––
Freudenthal
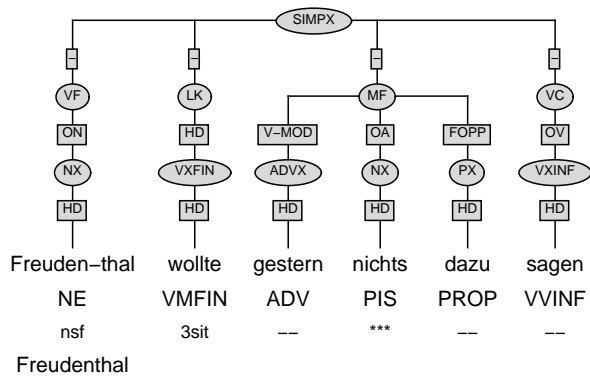
In German, there are so-called *Verschmelzungsformen*, i.e. merged forms of a preposition and a determiner, e.g. *in dem Januar* amalgamates to *im Januar*. The merged form is assigned the part-of-speech tag APPRART (including richer morphological annotation). In terms of syntax, it is annotated like a preposition:

Im Januar
APPRART NN
dsm dsm
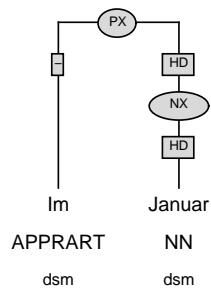
Prepositional phrases expressing intervals, e.g. with *von/bis, von/bis zu* or *zwischen*, are annotated in the same way as coordinate structures (cf. 6.4.1), i.e. without head assignment on the level of coordination, since the two phrases are assumed to be conjuncts. If two prepositions follow each other (e.g. *bis zum*), the result is an embedded structure of a prepositional phrase taking another preposition. The first preposition does hereby not receive a morphological case feature.

vom 23. bis 25. Juli
APPRART ADJA APPR ADJA NN
dsm dsm a asm asm

Tree 1 (PX):

PX — HD — NX — KONJ — NX — ADJX — HD

zwischen	15.000	und	22.000
APPR	CARD	KON	CARD
d	––	––	––

Tree 2 (PX):

PX — HD — PX — HD — NX — APP — NX — HD

bis	zum	Jahr	2000
APPR	APPRART	NN	CARD
––	dsn	dsn	––
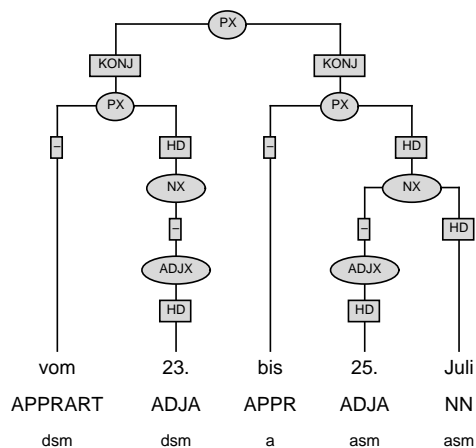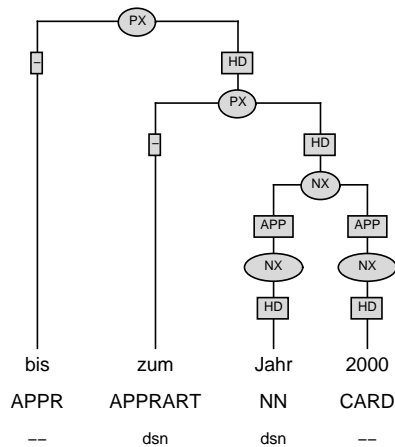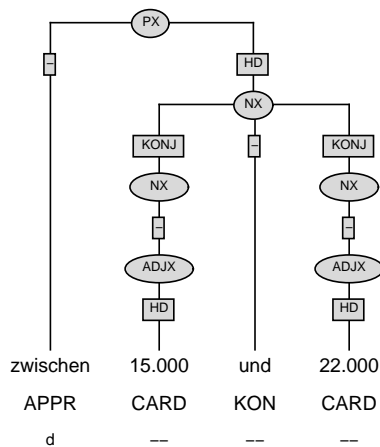
As opposed to the case with two prepositions, intervals like *dritter bis fünfter November* are annotated as a coordinate attributive adjective phrase within a simple noun phrase (cf. 6.4.1).

Premodification of non-isolated prepositional phrases follows the general principle of low attachment.

Tree 3 (PX):

PX — ADVX — HD / HD — NX — HD — NX — HD / NX — HD

Irgendwo	in	den	Wäldern	Schaumburgs
ADV	APPR	ART	NN	NE
––	d	dpm	dpm	gsn
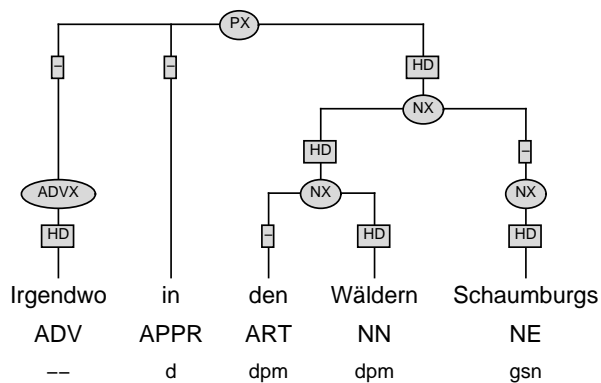
There is one exception to the low attachment principle: isolated phrases in which a preceding adverb does not semantically modify the prepositional phrase. In this case the adverbial phrase is high attached to an additional level of PX.

```
        PX
    ┌────┴────┐
    │        HD
    │         │
    │        PX
    │     ┌───┴───┐
    │     │      HD
  ADVX    │       │
    │     │      NX
   HD     │       │
    │     │      HD
   Nun   zum    Wetter
   ADV  APPRART   NN
    --    dsn     dsn
```

4.4.2   Circumpositions and Postpositions

Circumpositions are treated as ternary branching prepositional phrases. The circumposition on the left hand side is tagged as APPR and the circumposition on the right hand side as APZR:


```
          PX
   ┌──────┼──────┐
   │      HD     │
   │      │      │
   │      NX     │
   │      │      │
   │      HD     │
  von    sich   aus
  APPR   PRF   APZR
   d     ds*3   --
```

Postpositions are tagged as APPO. The complement of the postposition occurs on the left side and constitutes the head of the prepositional phrase:


```
          PX
     ┌─────┴─────┐
    HD           │
     │           │
    NX           │
  ┌──┴──┐        │
  │    HD        │
 Dem Vernehmen  nach
 ART   NN      APPO
 dsn   dsn       d
```

4.5   Adjectival Phrases

We distinguish between attributive adjectives on the one hand and adverbial or predicative adjectives respectively on the other hand. Attributive adjectives are tagged as

ADJA (*die* **traditionellen** *Elemente*) or CARD (**20.15** *Uhr*), whereas adverbial or predicative adjectives are tagged as ADJD (*das Gewicht ist* **gut**; *den* **betriebswirtschaftlich** *günstigeren Standort*) or PWAV (**wie** *wirke ich*).

The annotation of superlative and comparative forms is explained in section 7.1 on page 112.

In general, German adjectives are inflected when they are an attribute of a noun. They are not inflected either when they function as a predicative adjective or a premodifier of an adjective or an adverb or when they belong to a small class of noninflected adjectives, e.g. some ancient form such as *gut Wetter* or *lieb Mütterlein* or some adjectives denoting a colour (*mit einer rosa Karte*). All adjectives have to be projected to their phrase level before they are attached to another phrase or to a field.

Tree 1:
```
                    NX
         ┌──────────┼──────────────┐
        [ ]        [ ]            HD
         │          │              │
         │        ADJX             │
         │      ┌───┴───┐          │
         │     [ ]     HD          │
         │    ADJX      │          │
         │     HD       │          │
         │     │        │          │
        den  betriebswirtschaftlich günstigeren Standort
        ART       ADJD              ADJA        NN
        asm        ––               asm         asm
```


Tree 2:
```
                              SIMPX
         ┌──────────────┬────────┬────────────┐
        [ ]            [ ]      [ ]           [ ]
         VF             LK       MF            VC
         ON             HD      V–MOD          OV
         NX            VXFIN     ADJX          VXINF
      ┌──┼──┐           HD       HD            HD
     [ ] [ ] HD
      │ ADJX  │
      │  HD   │
     Der männliche Trinker  sei    gut      erforscht    ,
     ART  ADJA    NN      VAFIN   ADJD       VVPP        $,
     nsm  nsm     nsm     3sks     ––         ––         ––
```
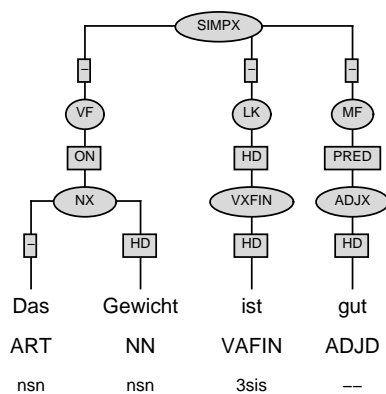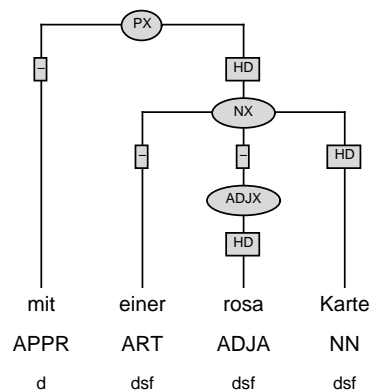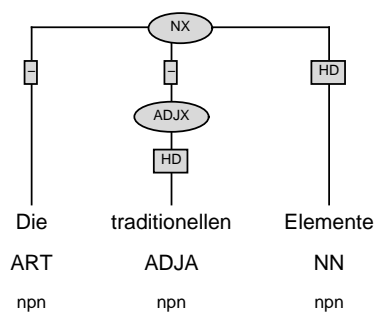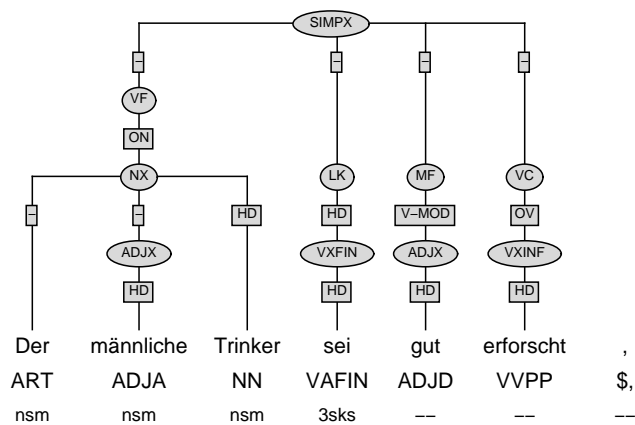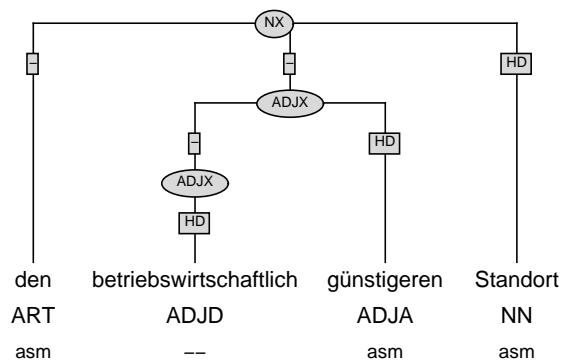
A nominalized adjective like *Fassbares* might be premodified by an adverbial adjective (ADJD) instead of an attributive adjective (ADJA). The former ones do never inflect.

Tree 3:
```
              NX
        ┌──────┴─────┐
       [ ]          HD
      ADJX           │
       HD            │
       │             │
    physisch      Faßbares
     ADJD           NN
      ––            asn
```
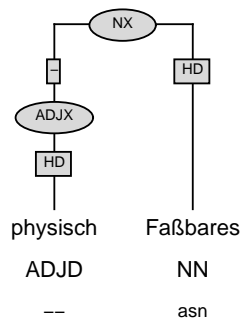
Whenever an adjective is modified by another modifier, the same annotation strategy as for noun phrases is applied, i.e., the modifier is directly attached to the adjectival phrase. The adjectival phrase as a whole is the premodifier of the noun phrase. For instance:

NX — eine / sehr / gute / Quelle
ART ADV ADJA NN
nsf — nsf nsf

SIMPX — aber / der / Text / ist / sehr / abstrakt
KON ART NN VAFIN ADV ADJD
— nsm nsm 3sis — —
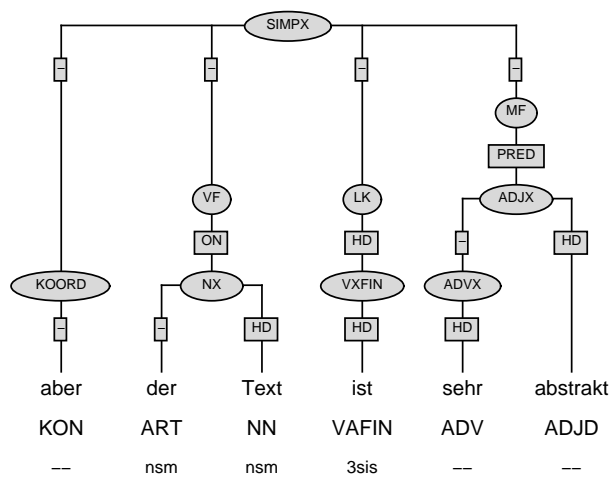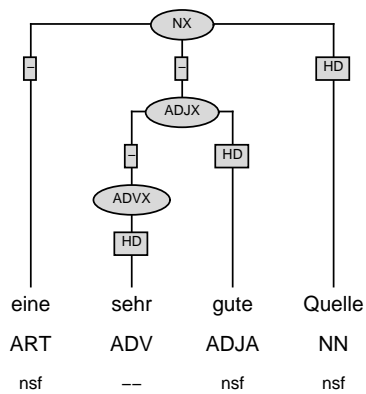
The same holds if an adjective selects an argument. *Für die Weltgesellschaft* is the facultative argument of *wesentlich*. It is directly attached to the adjectival phrase.

NX — Die / für / die / Weltgesellschaft / wesentliche / Unterscheidung
ART APPR ART NN ADJA NN
nsf a asf asf nsf nsf
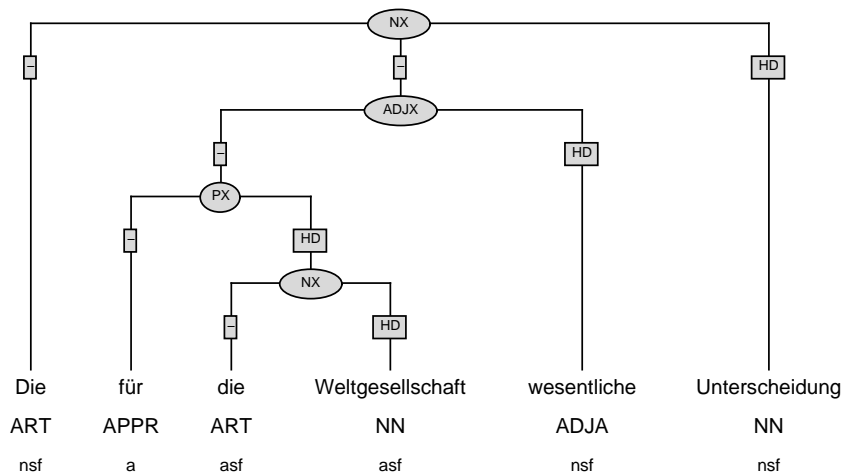
Premodifying adjectives may occur in a linear order and/or as a coordination (cf. 6.4.1) of attributive adjectives:

```
                    NX
          ┌─────────┴──────────┐
         [−]                   HD
          │                     │
        ADJX                    │
    ┌─────┼──────┐              │
  KONJ   [−]   KONJ             │
    │     │     │               │
  ADJX    │   ADJX              │
    │     │     │               │
   HD     │    HD               │
    │     │     │               │
   28.   und   29.            Mai
  ADJA   KON  ADJA            NN
   nsm    −−   nsm            nsm
```



```
      NX
  ┌────┼──────────────┬──────────────────┐
 [−]  [−]            [−]                 HD
  │    │              │                   │
  │   ADJX          ADJX                  │
  │  ┌──┴───┐         │                   │
  │ KONJ  KONJ       HD                   │
  │  │      │         │                   │
  │ ADJX  ADJX        │                   │
  │  │      │         │                   │
  │ HD     HD         │                   │
  │  │      │         │                   │
 Die große  ,  bekannten serbischen  Oppositionsparteien
 ART ADJA  $,   ADJA     ADJA          NN
 npf npf   −−   npf      npf           npf
```



```
                    NX
  ┌──────┬──────────────┼────────────────┐
 [−]    [−]            [−]               HD
  │      │              │                 │
  │    ADJX           ADJX                │
  │      │         ┌────┼──────┐          │
  │     HD        KONJ [−]   KONJ         │
  │      │         │    │      │          │
  │      │        ADJX  │    ADJX         │
  │      │         │    │      │          │
  │      │        HD    │     HD          │
  │      │         │    │      │          │
 ihre  eigene demokratische und freiheitliche Tradition
 PPOSAT ADJA    ADJA       KON   ADJA       NN
  asf   asf     asf         −−    asf       asf
```
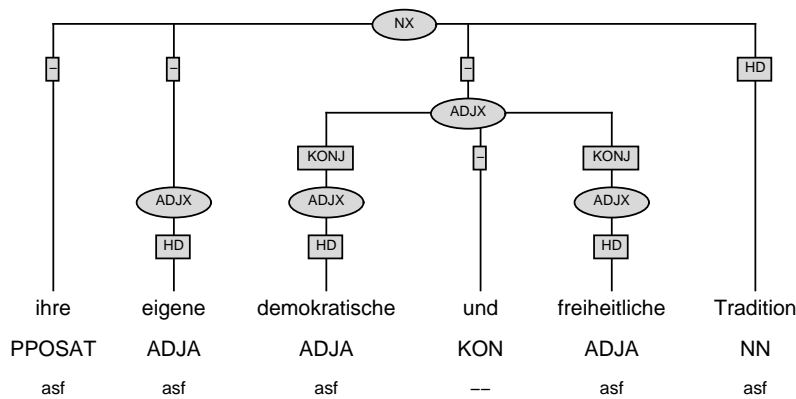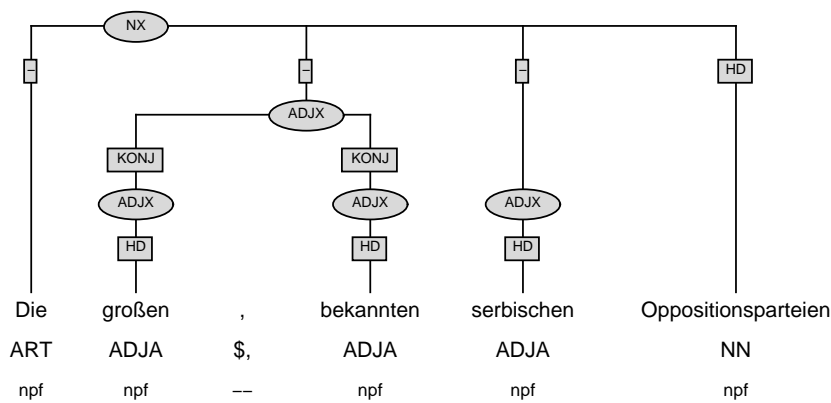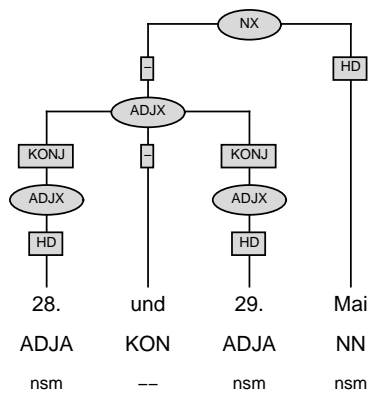
If the premodifying adjective is deverbal, the adjectival phrase can be of any complexity. In this case, the adjectival phrase has its own internal dependency structure. All elements which depend on the adjective are annotated as its premodifiers. Deverbal adjectives are either attributive or adverbial and predicative respectively, and occur as the present participle or past participle form of a verb.
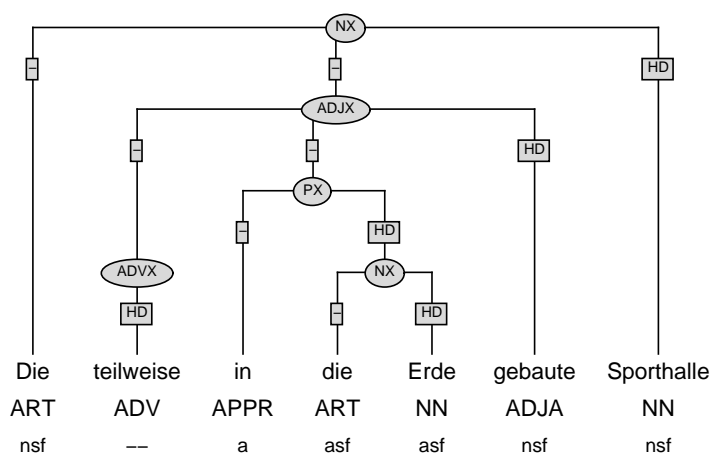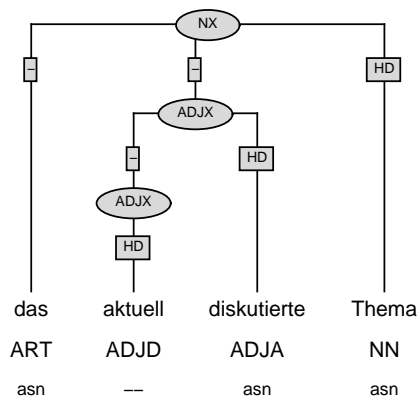
In the following example, postmodification of an adjectival phrase is shown:
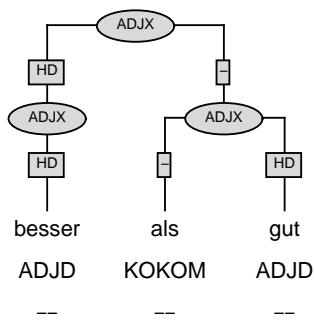
4.6 Adverbial Phrases

Besides adverbials also negation particles (PTKNEG) project to an adverbial phrase. They either occur as premodifiers[1] or postmodifiers or they are directly attached to a field.

---

[1] *bis zu, über* are considered to be ADV rather than APPR because of their semantic meaning.

Tree diagram:

```
                              SIMPX
         ┌──────────┬──────────┴──────────────┐
         │          │                          │
         │          │             MF           │
         │          │           V–MOD          │
         VF         LK           ADVX           VC
         ON         HD         ┌──┴──┐          OV
         NX        VXFIN      ADVX  ADVX      VXINF
       ┌──┴──┐      HD        HD     HD         HD
       -     HD
      Der   Fahrer  konnte   nicht  mehr    bremsen     .
      ART    NN     VMFIN   PTKNEG  ADV     VVINF       $.
      nsm    nsm    3sit     ––      ––       ––        ––
```
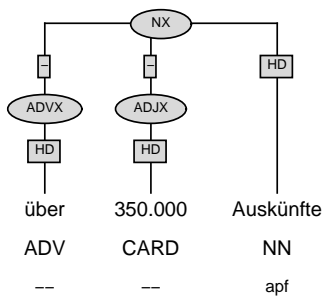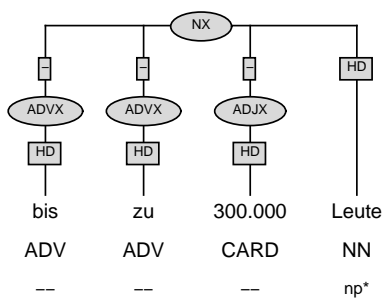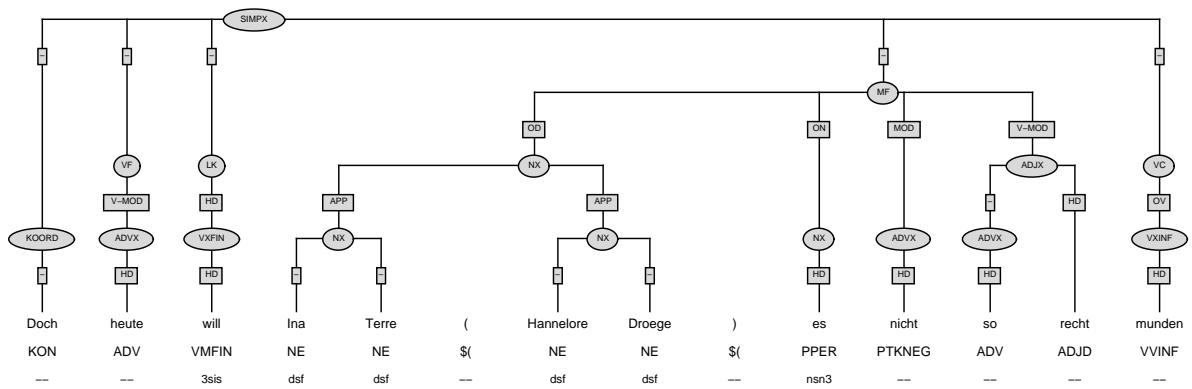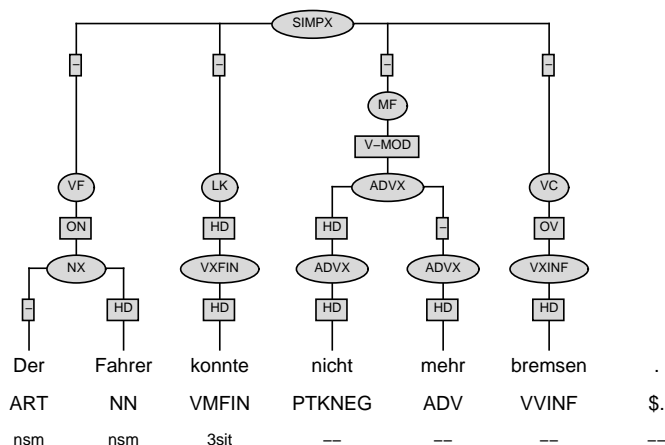
4.7 Verb Phrases

Whereas finite verb phrases are labelled VXFIN, non-finite verb phrases are labelled VXINF.

Since infinitives and past participles share certain properties (e.g. exchangeability in *Man hat nur noch das eigene Herz schlagen hören/gehört.*), they are assumed to carry the same phrase label (VXINF). The finite verb in LK as well as the non-finite verbs in VC are always projected to their phrase level. All verb phrases of the verb complex are attached on the same level to form the verb complex. In order to follow the *flat clustering principle*, no internal hierarchy of the verb complex is annotated.

4.7.1 Head of a Sentence and Verb Complex

The finite verb which can either appear in LK (verb-first clauses and verb-second clauses) or in VC (verb-final clauses), is always the head of the entire sentenc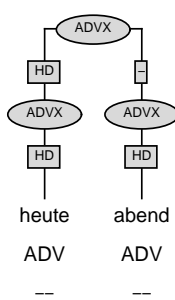e. Non-finite verbal elements belong to VC. If the finite verb is located in LK and if there is more than one non-finite element in VC, the non-finite element which is selected by the finite verb is denoted as the head of VC. All other elements of VC are verbal objects. The head of VC selects the verbal object OV. This verbal object may select another verbal object OV, and so on. In order to denote the dependency relations between verbal objects within the verb complex, we attach a secondary edge label refvc between their phrase nodes.

4.7.2 Verb Complexes in Verb-second and Verb-final Clauses

The following example shows a verb-second clause with the head of the sentence in LK and a verb complex consisting of a single non-finite element.
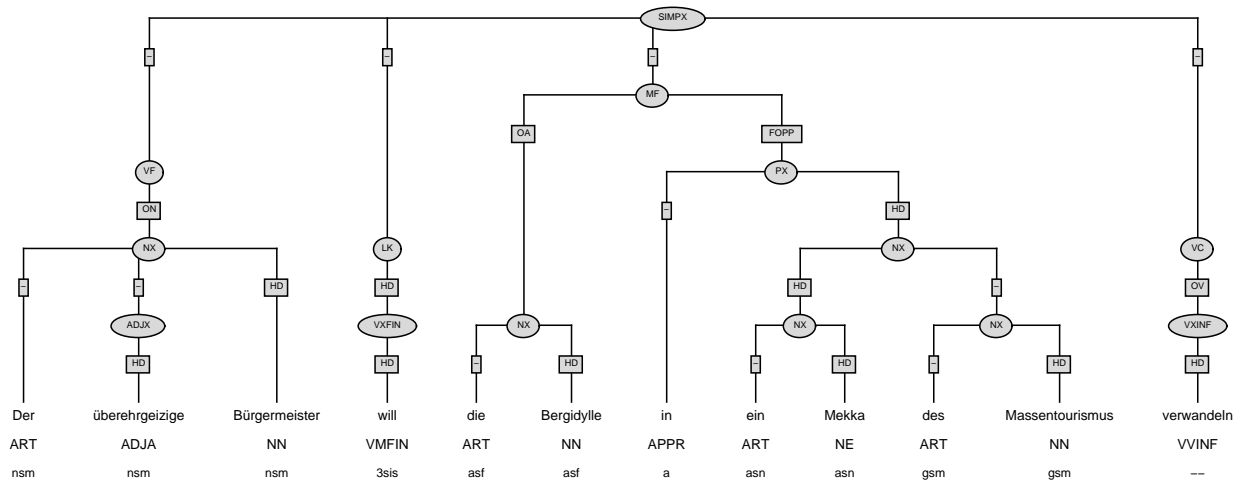
If the verb complex comprises more than one immediate daughter, the one that is selected by the finite verb is the head of VC.
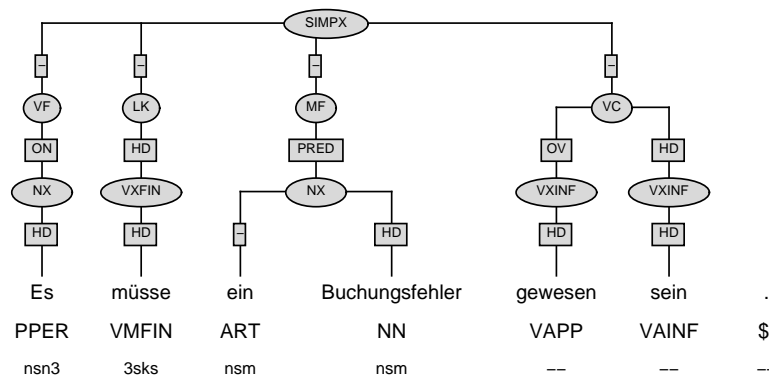
The following trees demonstrate verb complexes with two or more verbal objects. The secondary edge label refvc is pointing from the selecting OV to the depending OV.
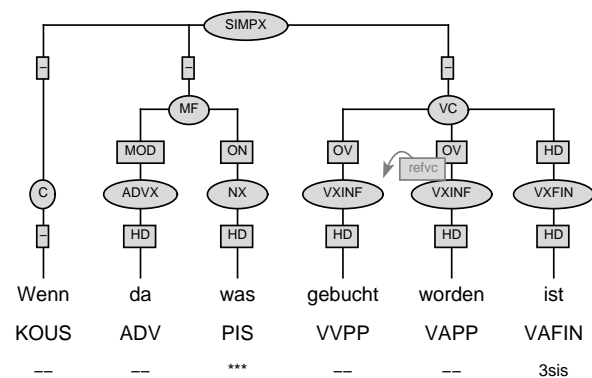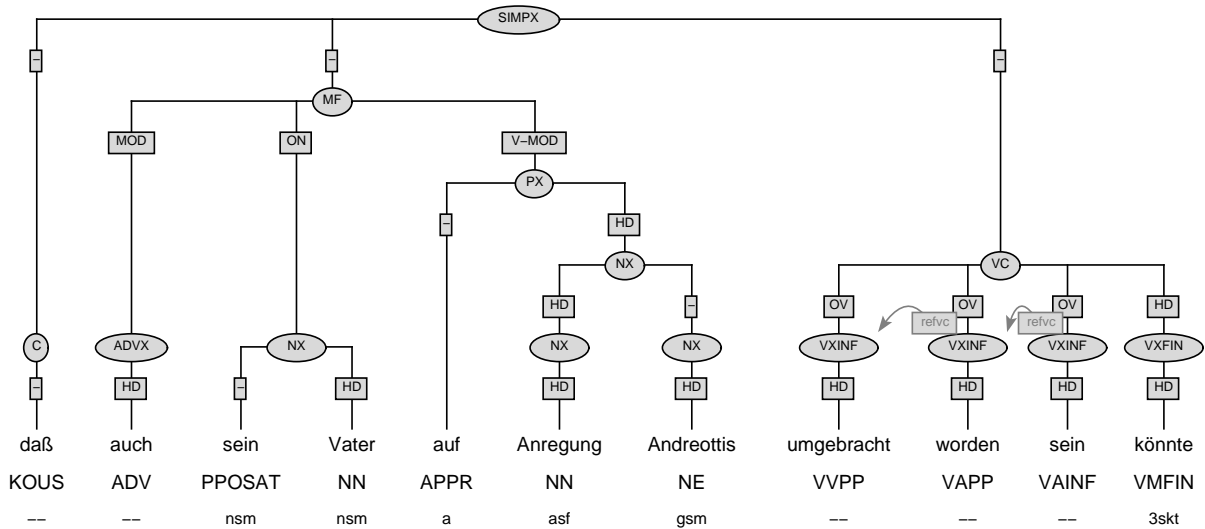
If there is no finite verb at all, the rightmost element of the verb complex (if there is more than one element) is annotated as the head of the sentence. This often occurs in headlines (cf. 5.2 and 7.4).
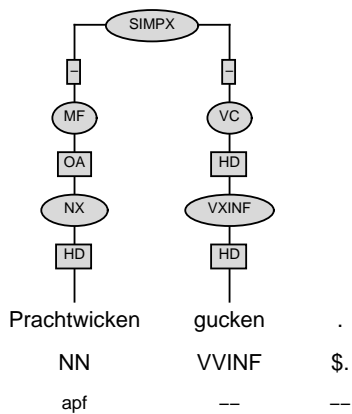
4.7.3 Ersatzinfinitiv Constructions

In order to indicate *Ersatzinfinitiv* constructions, two specific field node labels are introduced. VCE is the node label for the part of the verb complex consisting of the finite verb which subcategorizes for the *Ersatzinfinitiv*. MFE is the node label for the second part of MF between VCE and the second part of the verb complex VC (e.g. [C *die*] [MF *uns*] [VCE *hätten*] [MFE *mißtrauisch*] [VC *machen müssen*]).
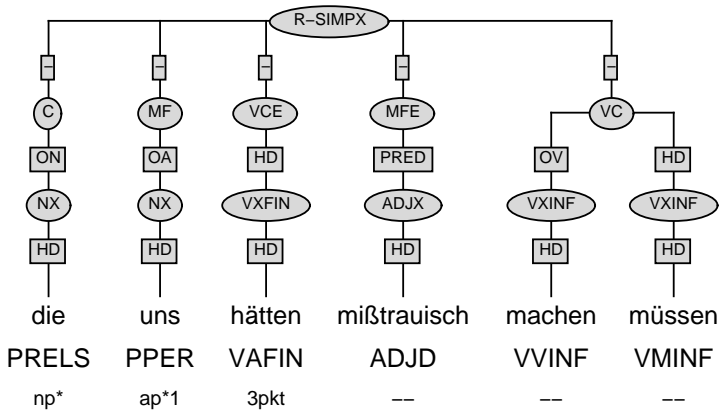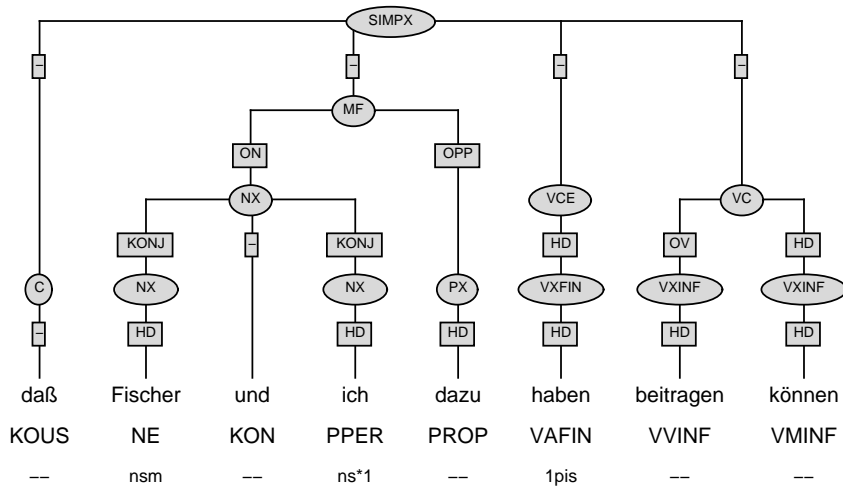
In the example below, the finite verb precedes the non-finite verbs although *müssen* is no *Ersatzinfinitiv*. Since its position corresponds to the position of the finite verb in real *Ersatzinfinitiv* constructions and here also a second middle field is possible, we follow the same annotation strategy.
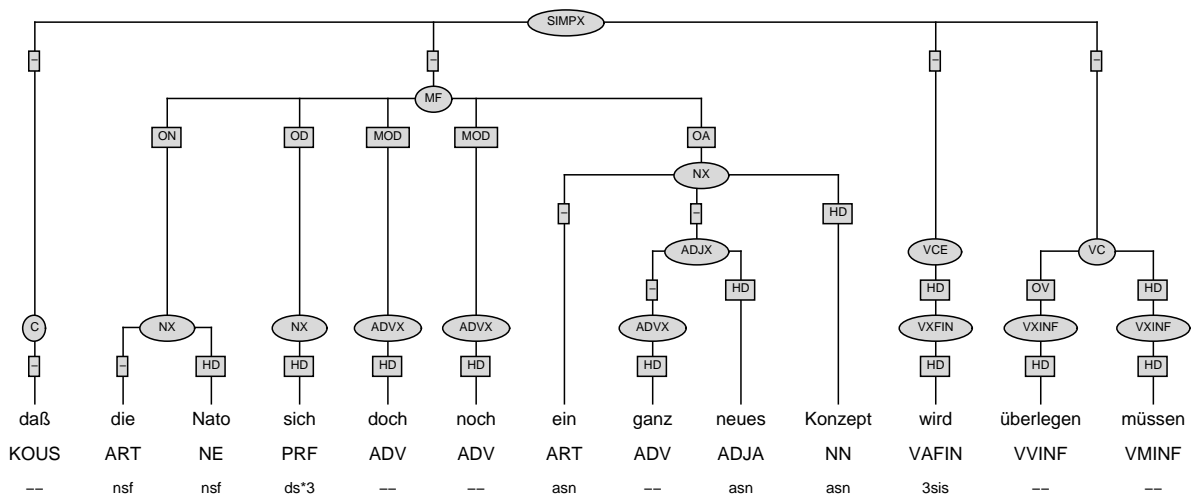
4.7.4 Infinitives with *zu*

Regarding infinitives with *zu*, *zu* determines the non-finiteness of the verb on its right hand side. This is the reason why *zu* is considered the head of the VXINF whereas the infinitive is assumed to be the complement. Like other infinitives, they occur in the verb complex:
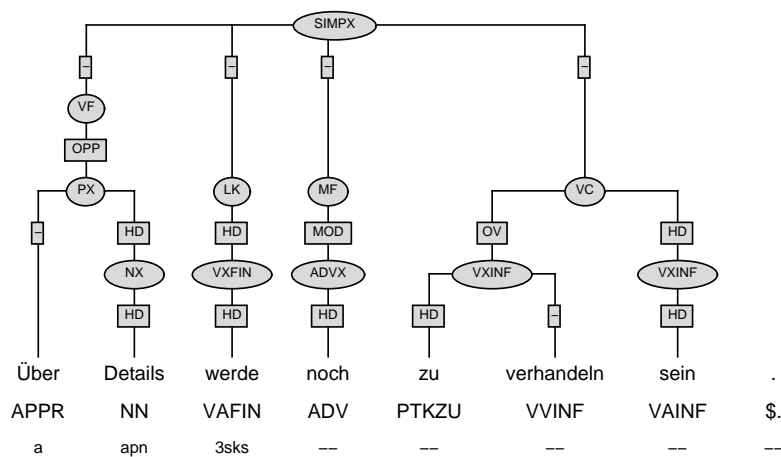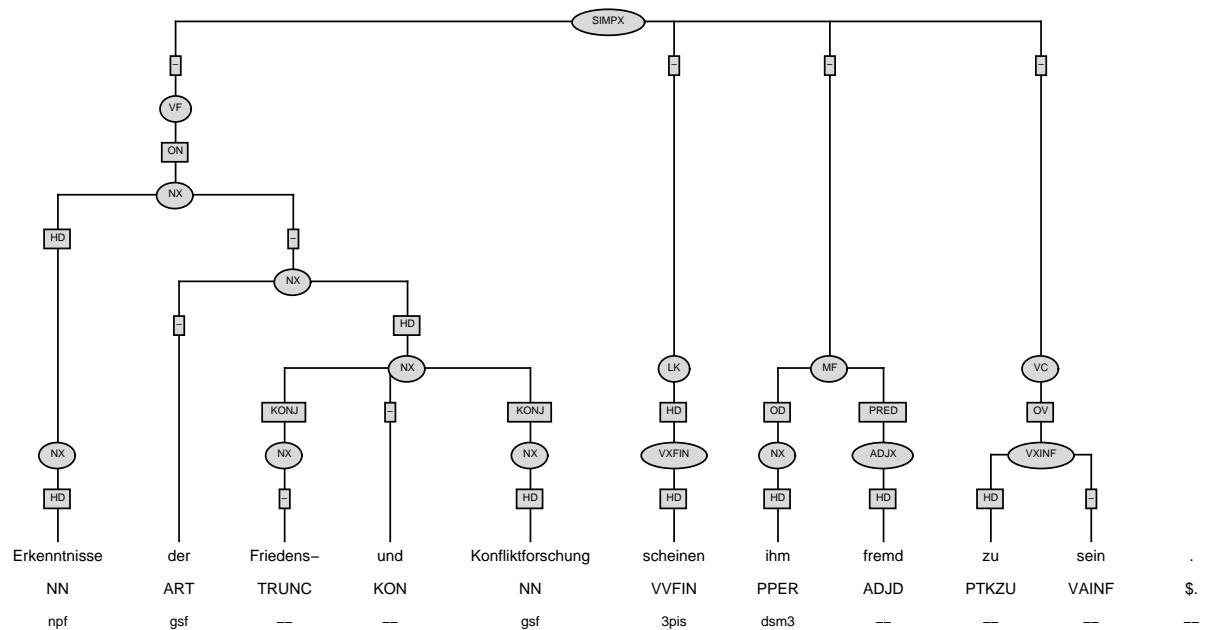
The infinitive with *zu* can also be realized as an infix of the verb. In this case, the verb is tagged as VVIZU. Moreover, it is projected to VXINF with the grammatical function HD:
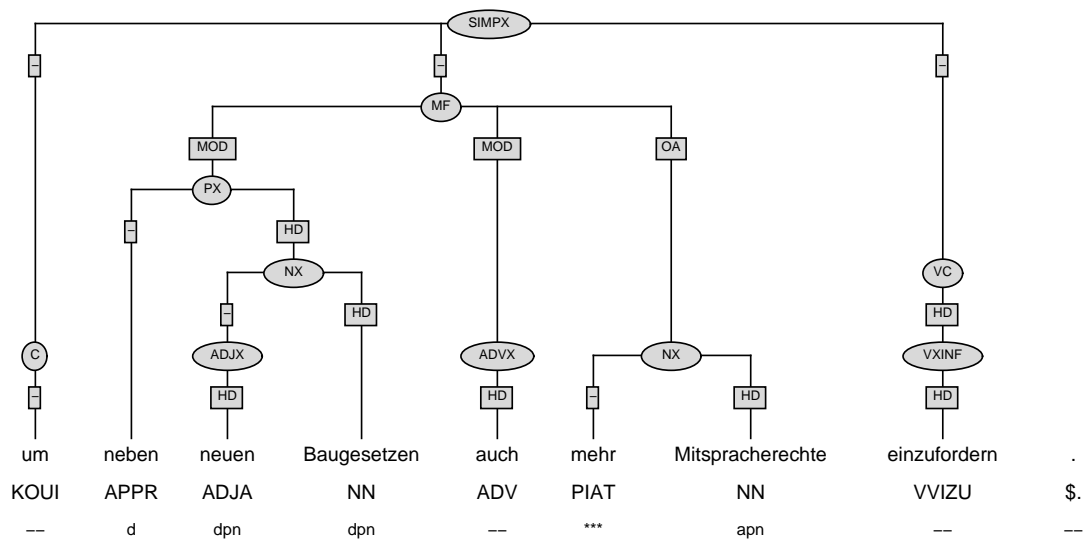
Beside the examples above, the infinitive with *zu* occurs in optional (in most cases with *um zu*) and obligatory infinitive clauses.
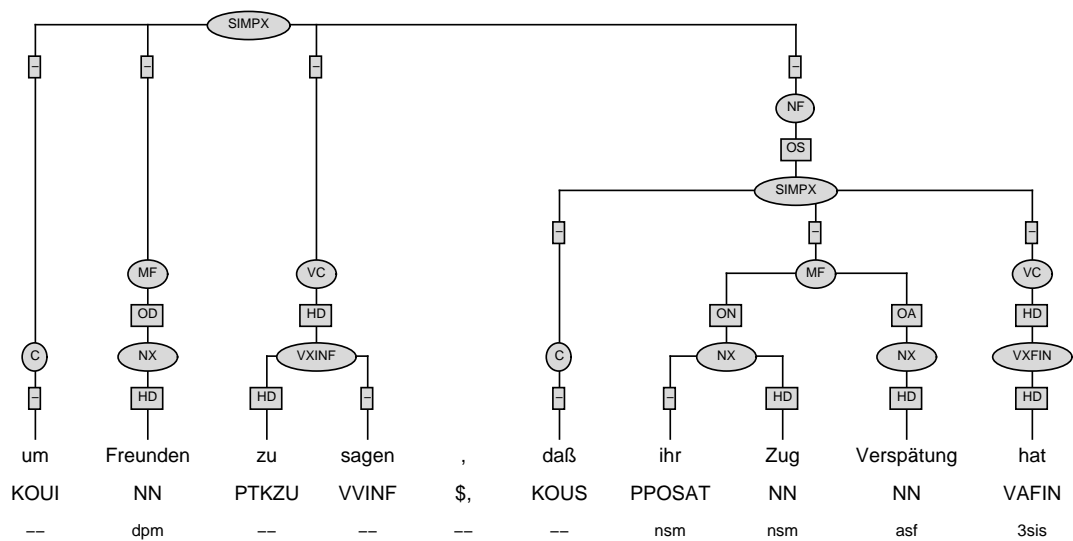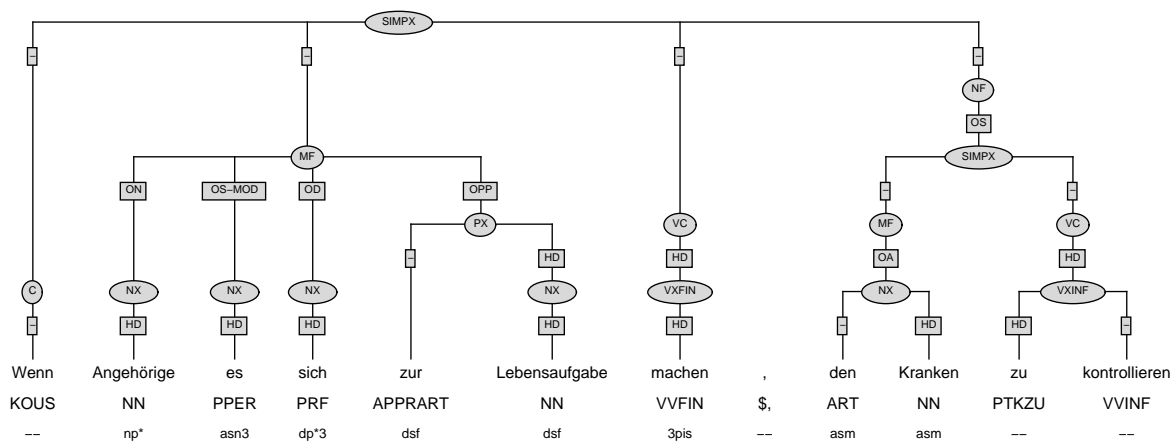
Infinitive clauses can consist of only one verb complex:

SIMPX
FKOORD
KONJ · · KONJ
FKONJ · FKONJ
FKONJ · NF
MF · OS
OA · V–MOD · SIMPX
VF · LK · PX · LK · VC · VC
ON · HD · HD · HD · HD · HD · HD · HD
NX · VXFIN · NX · NX · VXFIN · VC · VXINF
HD · HD · · HD · · HD · HD · VPT · HD ·

Er	wendet	den	Blick	von	der	Wand	und	fängt	an	zu	erzählen	.
PPER	VVFIN	ART	NN	APPR	ART	NN	KON	VVFIN	PTKVZ	PTKZU	VVINF	$.
nsm3	3sis	asm	asm	d	dsf	dsf	––	3sis	––	––	––	––
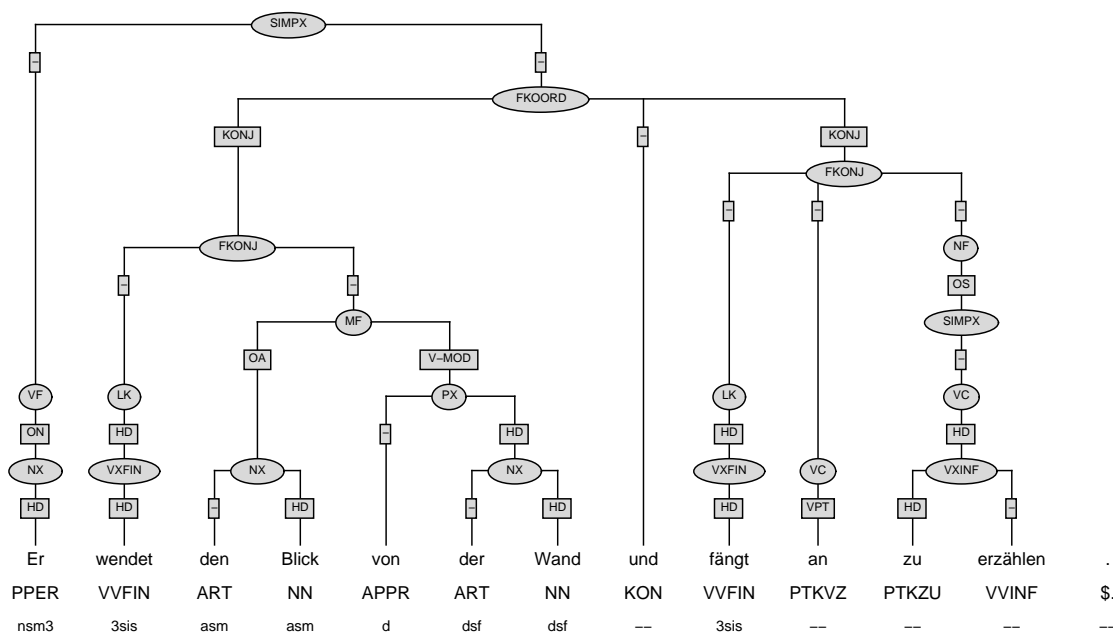
4.7.5   Coherency and Incoherency of Verbal Constructions

The notion of coherency attributed to Bech (1955 57) covers the relation of dependency between adjacent verbal elements, i.e. the relation of subcategorization between a verb and a non-finite verbal complement. Kiss (1995) calls this relation *infinitive Komplementation* (non-finite complementation). Bech (1955 57) distinguishes between three different modi of obligatory and optional coherency:

1. verbs constructing coherently and incoherently, e.g. *versprechen, versuchen*

    coherent, extraposition possible:
    a. [*wie er mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen versteht*]
    incoherent, extraposition:
    b. [*wie er versteht,*][*mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen*]

2. verbs constructing only coherently, e.g. *wollen, möchten*

    coherent, no extrapostion possible:
    a. [*wie er mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umgehen will*]
    b.*[*wie er will mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umgehen*]

3. verbs constructing only incoherently, e.g. *überreden, überzeugen*

    incoherent, extraposition obligatory:
    a. [*wie er sie überredet,*][*mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen*]
    b.*[*wie er sie* [*mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen*] *überredet*]

Coherent and incoherent constructions of verbs are annotated differently. In case of coherency, the verbal complement is part of the verb complex. In the clause *wie er mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen versteht*, for instance, the infinitive with *zu* is the verbal object of the finite verb. While in case of incoherency, the verbal complement is annotated as a sentential complement, i.e., *mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen* in the clause *wie er sie überredet, mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen* is a sentential object in NF.

We define that a construction is incoherent, if extraposition in NF is possible. That is, whenever it is possible to shift the infinitival complement together with a constituent of MF, which it subcategorizes for, into NF, these elements are annotated as sentential objects. Therefore, the coherent example above (*wie er mit kritischen politischen Gegenpositionen umzugehen versteht*) is annotated with a sentential object in MF since extraposition is possible (cf. the incoherent example 1.b.).
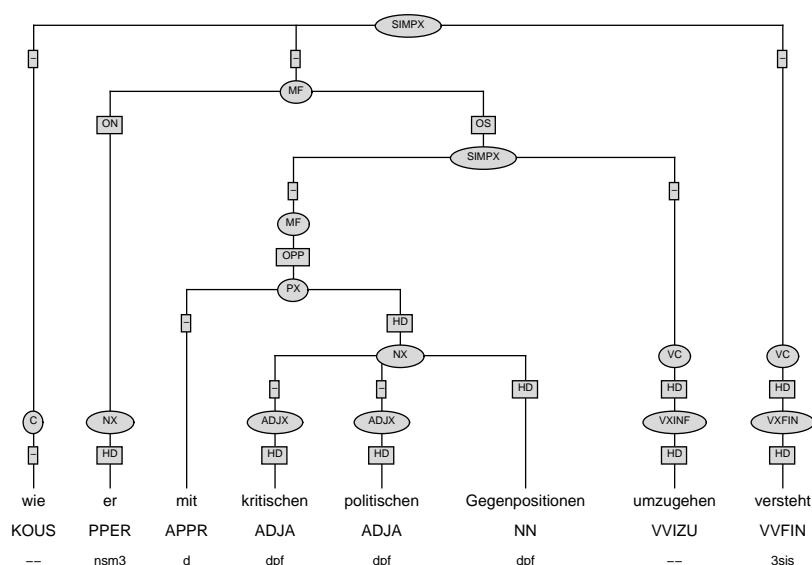
If a complement of the verb within the sentential object is located out of the sentence boundaries, e.g. in the C-field, the secondary edge label refcontr gives additional information about the dependency relation (cf. 3.4.6).

4.7.6 AcI Constructions

AcI (accusativus cum infinitivo) verbs are a small group of verba sentiendi (e.g. *sehen, hören, fühlen, spüren*) which subcategorize for an accusative and an infinitive. The verbs *lassen, machen, heißen* have a modal verb like reading in which they also select an accusative and an infinitive.

The infinitive itself subcategorizes for complements with respect to its valency but its subject is realized by an accusative which is the direct object of the AcI verb.

Since AcI constructions are coherent infinitive constructions in which extraposition is not possible (cf. (Eisenberg 1999 2001), p.355), the AcI is not annotated as a sentential object (* *wenn man nur noch hört das eigene Herz schlagen*). The infinitive as the verbal object of the AcI verb is located in the verb complex and the accusative is realized as OA in MF.

Wenn man nur noch das eigene Herz schlagen hört
KOUS PIS ADV ADV ART ADJA NN VVINF VVFIN
-- ns* -- -- asn asn asn -- 3sis
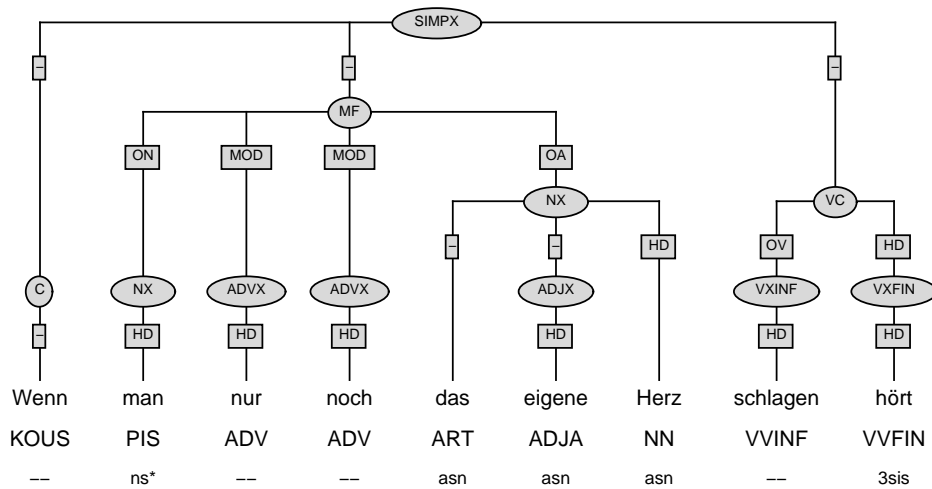
As a consequence of this analysis, we annotate two accusative objects (OA) if the AcI construction comprises a transitive infinitive verb such as *beenden* in the following example. *Uns* functions as its subject and *die Diskussion* as its direct object. Both are in accusative case and both are labelled OA.

Lassen Sie uns die Diskussion jetzt beenden
VVFIN PPER PPER ART NN ADV VVINF
3pis np*3 ap*1 asf asf -- --
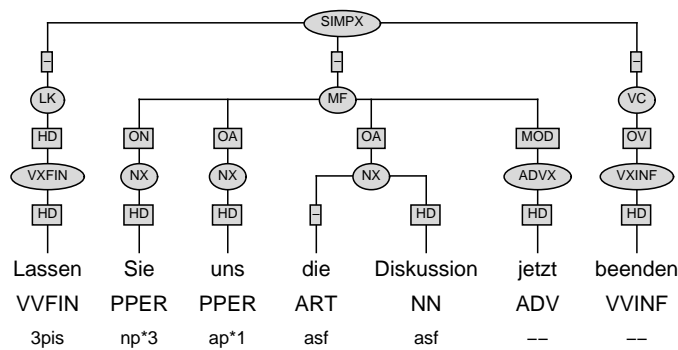
4.7.7 Imperatives

Imperative verbs have only one singular and one plural form and are not inflected concerning the grammatical category person. Their form corresponds to second person singular and plural verbs which are tagged as VVIMP or VAIMP.

> *Warte mal!* (warte/VVIMP:s)
> instead of
> *Wartest du mal?* (wartest/VVFIN:2sis)

It is important to keep apart imperative sentences from imperative verbs. An imperative sentence does not need to comprise an imperative verb form as is shown in the following examples

> *Warten Sie mal bitte!* (warten/VVFIN:3pis)
> *Bitte warten!* (warten/VVINF:–)
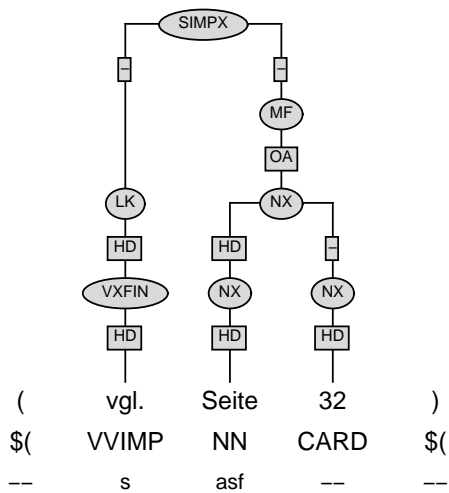
Normally imperative verbs are lacking the subject, but the addressed person can also be mentioned to stress the utterance:
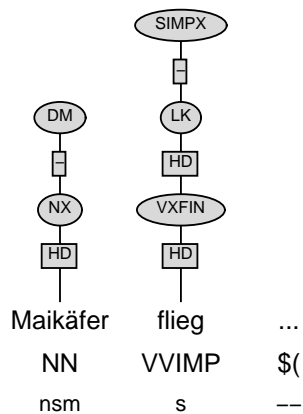
4.7.8 Particle Verbs

Separable verb particles are tagged as PTKVZ and annotated with the edge label VPT:
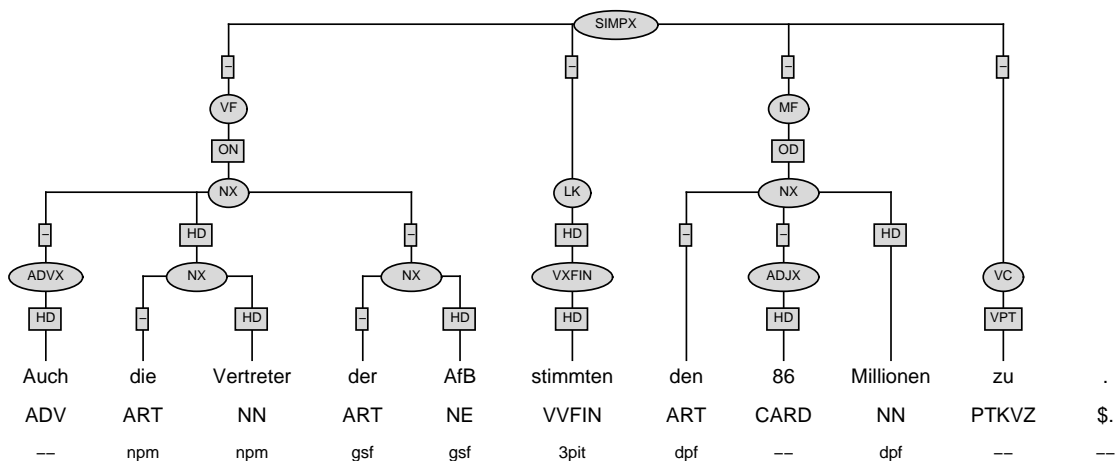
In verb-final clauses, the particle verb occurs unseparated within the verb complex:

Rußland	wollte	bislang	einer	UN–Resolution	nur	zustimmen
NE	VMFIN	ADV	ART	NN	ADV	VVINF
nsn	3sit	––	dsf	dsf	––	––
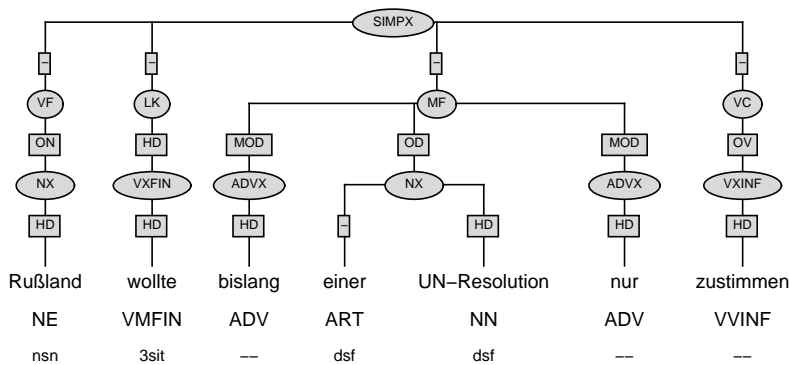
4.7.9 Verbs with Predicate

Typically, the complement type PRED (predicate) occurs with verbs like *sein, haben, scheinen, aussehen, sich anhören, klingen*, etc. PRED is annotated, if the following conditions apply:

- if it is not possible to determine the case of the constituent in question properly (e.g. *gut* in *Das ist gut.*)

- if the constituent in question actually predicates the subject, i.e. the subject is characterized as having the property expressed by PRED (e.g. in *Die Ursache war unklar. Die Ursache* is characterized by the property of being unclear)

- many PRED verbs are raising-verbs (subject without theta-role)

- if *als*-phrases are selected by the verb they are labelled as PRED (e.g. *Unter dem Motto Kino-Extrem agiert der Regisseur als Filmjockey.*)

Unter	dem	Motto	"	Kino–Extrem	"	agiert	der	Regisseur	als	Filmjockey
APPR	ART	NN	$(	NN	$(	VVFIN	ART	NN	KOKOM	NN
d	dsn	dsn	––	dsn	––	3sis	nsm	nsm	––	nsm
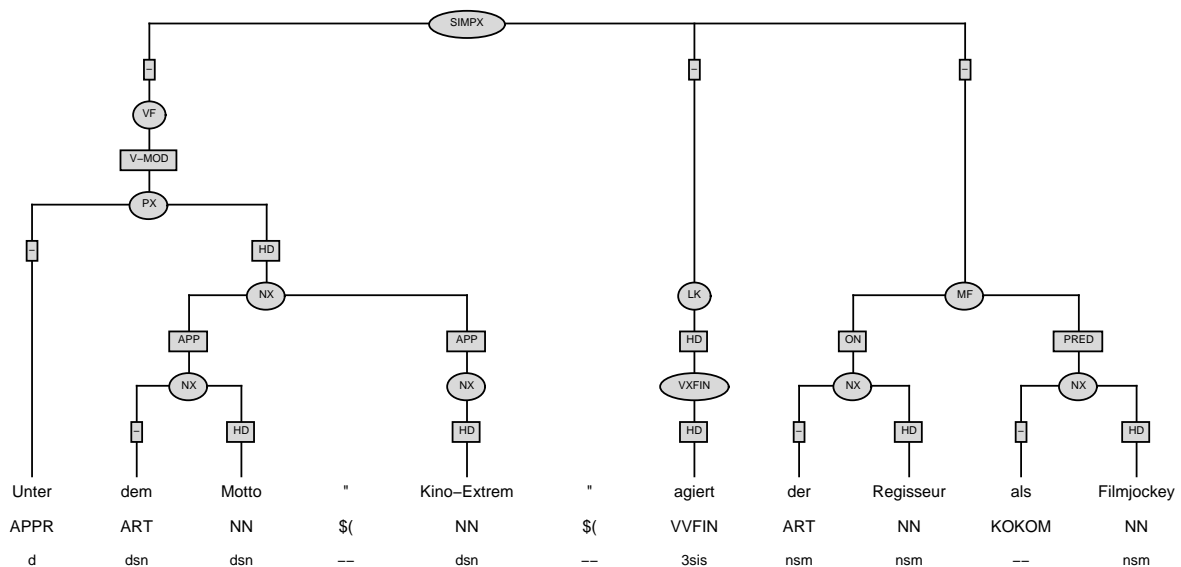
Some examples for verbs that take predicates: *recht sein, recht haben, leid tun, frei sein, fertig sein, sich gut/schlecht treffen, gut/schlecht finden*, etc.

PRED verbs have to be distinguished carefully from verbs occurring with ordinary modifiers (V-MOD) such as *gut passen*.

With respect to topological fields, note that PRED usually marks the border between MF and NF, i.e., whatever constituent occurs on the right hand side of PRED belongs to NF. In general, this constituent is an adjunct which PRED does not subcategorize for:

```
                         SIMPX
        ┌────────────┬────────────┬────────────┐
       VF           LK           MF           NF
       ON           HD          PRED         V–MOD
       NX          VXFIN         NX          ADVX
       HD           HD           HD           HD
       Das          ist        Politik        hier
       PDS         VAFIN         NN           ADV
       nsn          3sis         nsf          ––
```

```
                         SIMPX
        ┌────────────┬────────────┬──────────────────────┐
       VF           LK           MF                      NF
                                                        V–MOD
       ON           HD          PRED                     PX
                                               ┌──────────┴─────┐
       NX          VXFIN        ADJX                            HD
                                                              NX
                                                       ┌──────┴────┐
       HD           HD           HD                                HD
       es           ist          kalt        an      diesem       Tag
       PPER        VAFIN        ADJD         APPR     PDAT          NN
       nsn3         3sis         ––           d       dsm          dsm
```
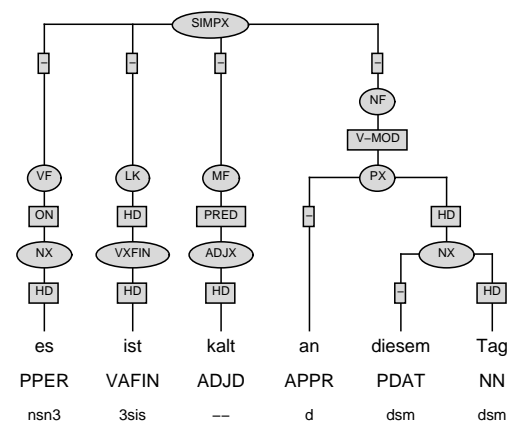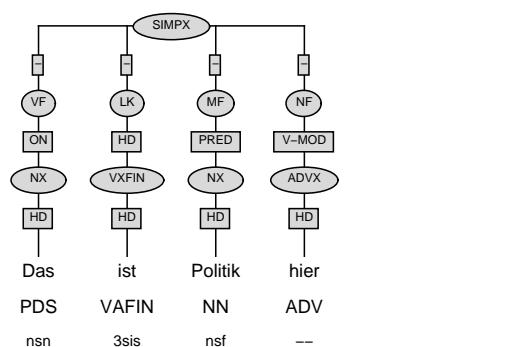
But there are exceptions in which PRED does not necessarily constitute the border between MF and NF:

- Another constituent may occur between PRED and VC, for instance, if an ambiguous modifier follows PRED.
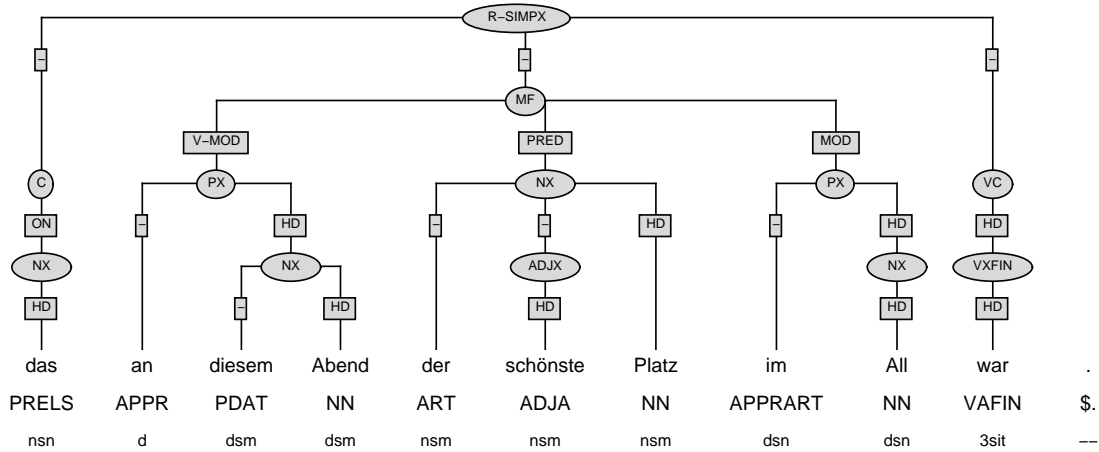
- PRED subcategorizes for the constituent that follows it. Complements of PREDs are always attached to a field since they are assigned a grammatical function within the sentence structure (cf. 8.1):
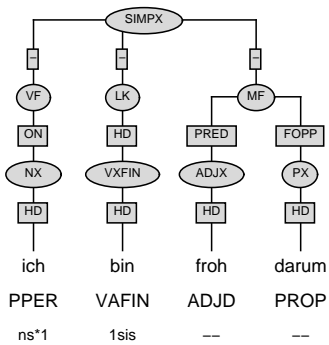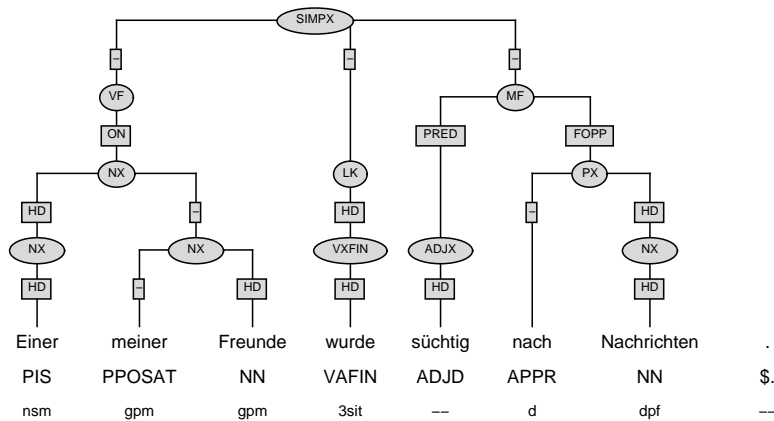
- Because of the word order rule that pronouns in MF have to precede other constituents, PRED might not be the last element in MF if it is a pronoun:

Bravo   kann   es   nicht   gewesen   sein   .

NN   VMFIN   PPER   PTKNEG   VAPP   VAINF $.

nsf   3sis   nsn3   --   --   --   --

er   war   es   nicht

PPER   VAFIN   PPER   PTKNEG

nsm3   3sit   nsn3   --
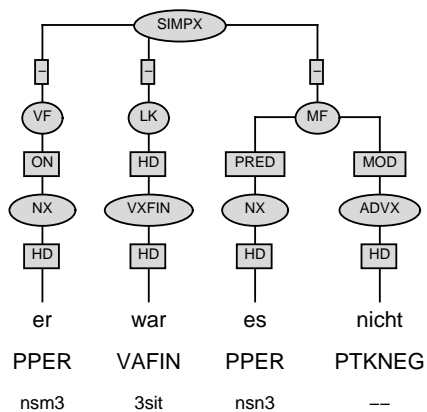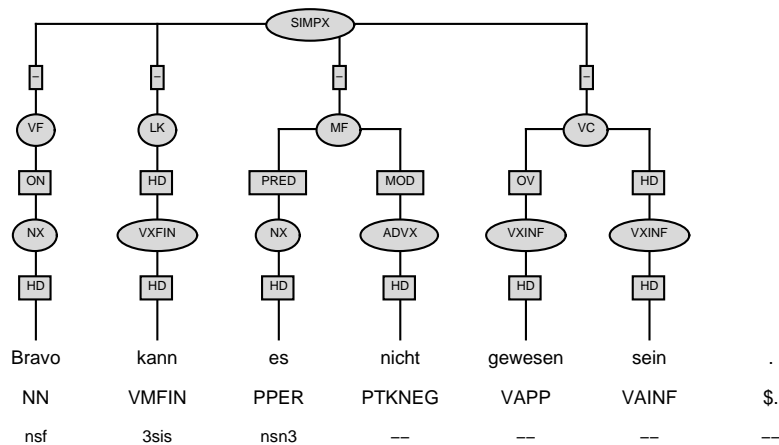
4.7.10   Modal Verbs

Modal verbs are always tagged as VMFIN or VMINF regardless of their use as an auxiliary
or a main verb. If a modal verb functions as an auxiliary verb, it is projected like any
other auxiliary verb. If a modal verb is the main verb of a sentences, verbal modifiers
refer to the modal verb in the same way as they refer to other main verbs:

"   Die   wollten   die   BLG   schonen   .   "

$(PDS   VMFIN   ART   NE   VVINF $. $(

--   np*   3pit   asf   asf   --   --   --

Tree 1 (SIMPX):

- SIMPX
  - LK — HD — VXFIN — HD: Hätte
  - MF
    - ON — NX — HD: sie
    - OD — NX — HD: sich
    - OA — NX — HD: das
    - MOD — ADVX — HD: nicht
    - OA–MOD — NX — HD: alles
    - V–MOD — ADVX — HD: vorher
  - VC
    - OV — VXINF — HD: überlegen
    - HD — VXINF — HD: können
  - ?

Hätte	sie	sich	das	nicht	alles	vorher	überlegen	können	?
VAFIN	PPER	PRF	PDS	PTKNEG	PIS	ADV	VVINF	VMINF	$.
3skt	nsf3	ds*3	asn	––	asn	––	––	––	––

Tree 2 (SIMPX):

- SIMPX
  - C — V–MOD — PX — HD: Warum
  - MF
    - ON — NX — HD: Daewoo
    - OPP — PX
      - nach
      - HD — NX — HD: Bremen
  - VC — HD — VXFIN — HD: mußte

Warum	Daewoo	nach	Bremen	mußte
PWAV	NE	APPR	NE	VMFIN
––	ns*	d	dsn	3sit

Chapter 5

Attachment Principles for Phrases

5.1 Attachment to Fields

Phrases are attached to the topological field in which they occur. Their edge labels denote their grammatical function within the sentence structure. In LK and VC there can only occur verb forms, separable verbal prefixes, or infinitive particles. LK and VC mark the beginning and the end of MF (cf. 3.2).

5.2 Attachment of Ambiguous Complements

The partially free word order and the morphological properties of German can cause ambiguity concerning the grammatical function of a constituent. In the following example, the syntactic structure does not give any information about case assignment. Both noun phrases can be identified as ON or OA:
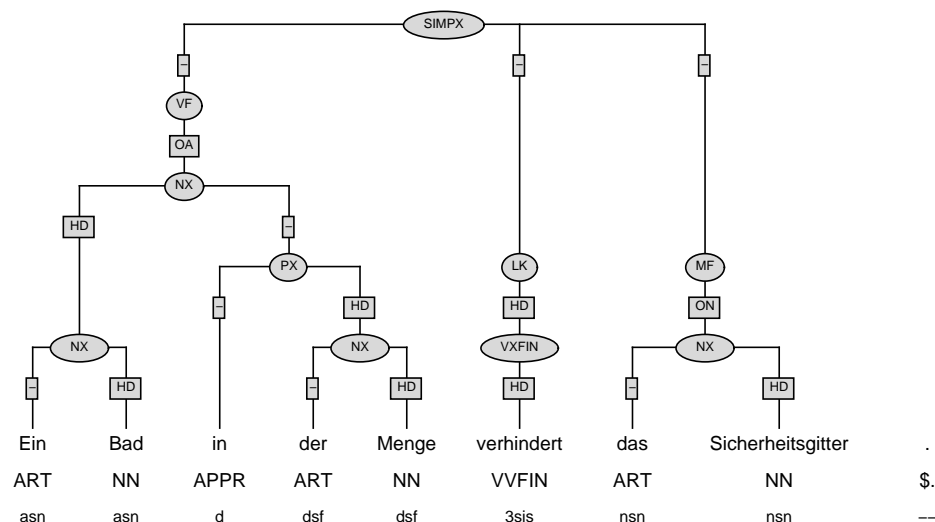
Headlines like the following are lacking the finite verb. Therefore, in the first example it cannot be decided if it is an active or a passive construction, i.e., if the noun phrase is ON or OA. The second example is an active construction, but again the noun phrase can be both, ON or OA:

```
         SIMPX
        /     \
      MF       VC
      |        |
      ON       HD
      |        |
      NX      VXINF
      |        |
      HD       HD
      |        |
Kriegsverbrecher  verurteilt

      NN        VVPP

      npm       --
```

```
         SIMPX
        /     \
      MF       VC
      |        |
      OA       HD
      |        |
      NX      VXINF
      |        |
      HD       HD
      |        |
Prachtwicken  gucken      .

      NN      VVINF      $.

      apf      --        --
```
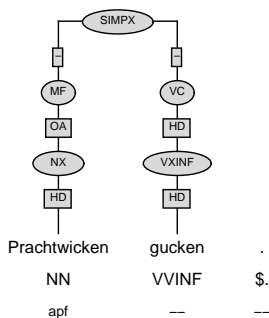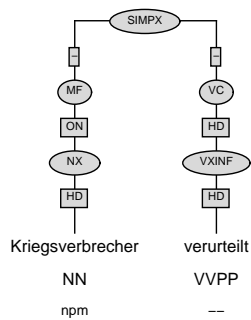
Since we do not assign specific edge labels for ambiguous complements, we formulate the following *preference principle for case assignment*:

Preference principle for case assignment:

If case assignment is ambiguous, we decide on the more plausible grammatical function and on the more plausible sequence of grammatical functions respectively. The main criteria for the decision are the unmarked word order and the semantic content.

Therefore, in the first example above, OA appears in VF whereas ON has its position in MF. For elliptical headlines, we assume a passive construction if the verb in VC is a past participle and an active construction if the verb in VC is an infinitive (cf. 4.7.2 and 7.4).

5.3 Modifier Attachment

Modifiers either modify one specific constituent or more than one constituent. The scope of modification can even range over the whole sentence structure. Therefore, they are either unambiguous or ambiguous. An unambiguous constituent that modifies just one other constituent within a tree structure is either adjacent or discontinuous. In the first case, it is immediately attached to the constituent which it modifies, concerning the attachment rules for phrases. In the second case, the dependency, which can even go beyond the border of topological fields, is indicated by X-MOD edge labels, which express the non-ambiguity of the modifier (e.g. OA-MOD is the modifier of OA). Thus, edge labels like OA-MOD, V-MOD, OPP-MOD, MOD-MOD, etc. express that the respective constituent modifies only one other constituent in the sentence (OA, V, OPP, a modifier, etc.) which is not adjacent:

Für / diese / Behauptung / hat / Beckmeyer / bisher / keinen / Nachweis / geliefert / .
APPR / PDAT / NN / VAFIN / NE / ADV / PIAT / NN / VVPP / $.
a / asf / asf / 3sis / nsm / -- / asm / asm / -- / --
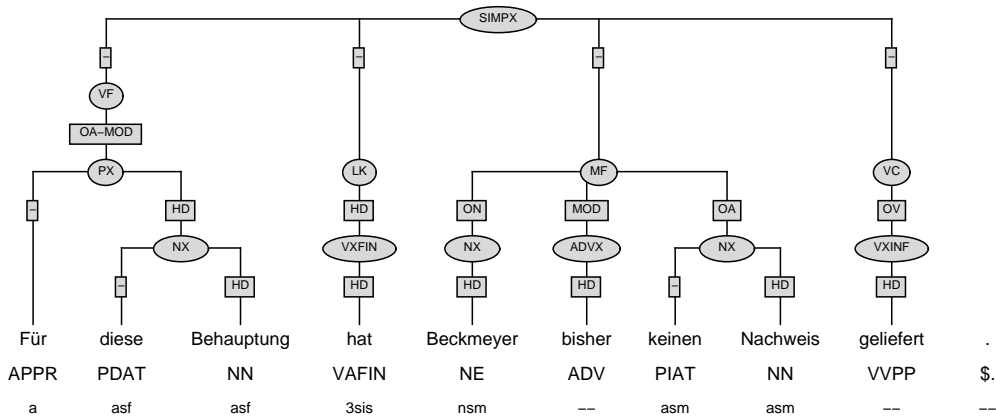
If a modifying constituent is ambiguous (i.e. it modifies more than one constituent, the entire sentence, or a constituent that occurred in previous sentences), it is attached to its topological field and given the ambiguous edge label MOD to preserve ambiguity. In the following example *an der Uni* either modifies the accusative object *den Entwicklungsprozeß* or the verb *fortsetzen*:

Phantasievoll / und / energisch / will / er / den / Entwicklungsprozeß / an / der / Uni / fortsetzen
ADJD / KON / ADJD / VMFIN / PPER / ART / NN / APPR / ART / NN / VVINF
-- / -- / -- / 3sis / nsm3 / asm / asm / d / dsf / dsf / --
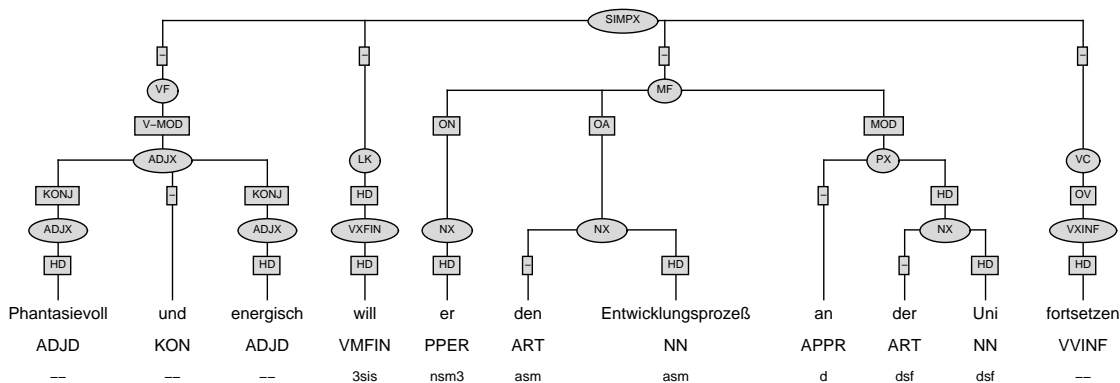
We formulate the following definitions for MOD and X-MOD:

Definition of MOD:

A constituent is called MOD, if it cannot be assigned a more specific label, either because it is ambiguous or because there is no more specific label (e.g. for sentence modifiers or for constituents that refer to some sentence external expression). Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a modifier is definite or not. In cases of doubt, modifiers are marked as ambiguous (MOD) rather than as definite modifiers.

Definition of X-MOD:

X is a variable that can be replaced by labels for syntactic categories like OA, OPP, MOD, V. X-MOD marks long-distance modification which is unambiguous, e.g. relative clauses (*Aber es gäbe (intelligente Lösungen OA), (die kein Geld kosten OA-MOD)*).

Typical MODs and V-MODs:

Generally, modifying subclauses (e.g. *Katastrophenstimmung herrscht erst, [wenn*

nichts mehr zu verheimlichen ist] (MOD).) are MOD because they modify the complete main clause. Modifying particles and adverbs like *da, dann, auch, eigentlich, ja, vielleicht, auch, natürlich* usually show attachment ambiguity and therefore are annotated as MOD. Only if they unambiguously express the modification of the verb (e.g. *Das Buch liegt da.* or *Er geht auch.*) they carry the edge label V-MOD. Pronominal adverbs (PROP) like *dabei, dafür, trotzdem, deswegen, hierauf, etc.* are either ambiguous (e.g. *Dabei* (MOD) *erscheinen Sie in anderen Verlagen.*) or unambiguous [e.g. *Er achtet dabei* (V-MOD) *auf alles.*). Non-pronominal adverbs such as *vorher, später*, etc. in most cases give temporal or local information. Thus, they are rather V-MOD than MOD.

5.3.1 Modifier Attachment in the Initial Field

Since only one constituent is allowed in the initial field, all elements preceding and following the head are attached as premodifiers (low attachment) or postmodifiers (high attachment) according to the attachment rules explained in 4.1.
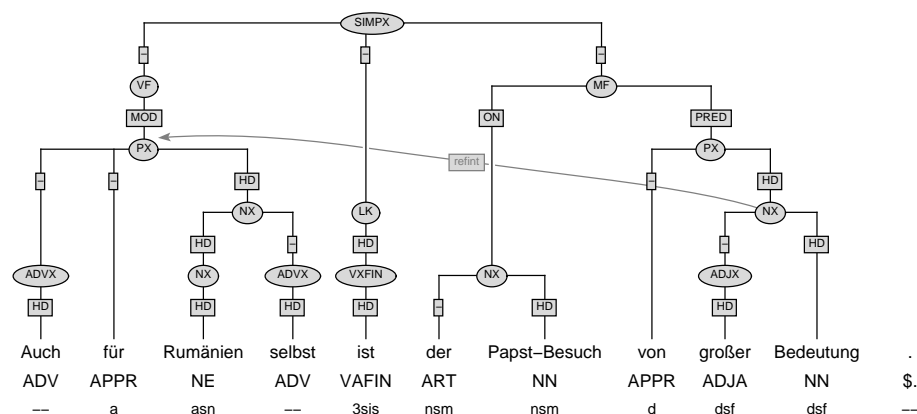
5.3.2 Attachment across Punctuation Marks

The punctuation marks : and - and ... separate a syntactic construction within a unit unless there is no syntactic dependency relation between the two parts (cf. 3.4.5) like in the following:

Attachment is necessary if the part following the punctuation mark has a grammatical function within the sentence structure:

5.3.3 Ambiguous Modifiers in Isolated Phrases

Since isolated phrases (cf. 3.4.5) do not consist of topological fields, ambiguous modifiers (MOD) have to be attached to the phrase itself. The isolated phrase is projected one level higher and the modifier is attached on this higher level. Thus, the information about ambiguity can be preserved even without topological fields or explicit MOD labelling, just by the existence of yet another projection level of the phrase.

The overall attachment strategy has been chosen in order to keep syntactic structure

flat and to be able to preserve attachment ambiguity where necessary.

In the following examples, *so* may refer to something that is implicit or has been mentioned before:
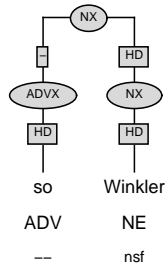
If there is more than one ambiguous modifier in an isolated phrase, all of them are attached on the next higher level. The mother node of this isolated phrase is marked with the node label of the modified phrase.
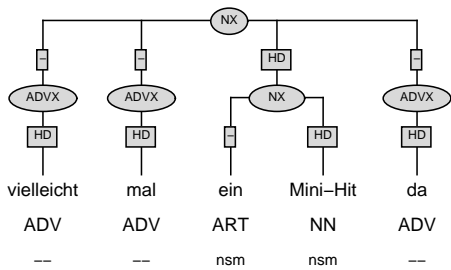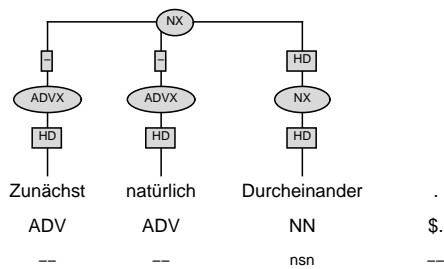
Chapter 6

The Annotation of Sentences

The approach of topological fields supports the *flat clustering principle* inasmuch MF and NF allow for more than one constituent being attached to the same field node. The field nodes form a level of annotation between the phrase level and the sentence level. The last step to complete a sentence structure is to attach the field nodes to the highest annotation level of the whole structure: the root node.

In the following sections, the annotation of sentence structures will be demonstrated.

6.1 Sentence Initial Fields

6.1.1 The C-Field in Verb-Final Clauses

The C-field (complementizer field) is the field for subordinating conjunctions KOUS (e.g. *daß, wenn, da, weil, ob*), KOUI (e.g. *um (+zu)*), relative pronouns (PRELS), interrogative (PWAV) pronouns and (complex) interrogative or relative phrases. Thus, it only occurs in verb-final clauses, except for comparison clauses with the conjunction *als*.

In case of a conjunction, we directly project to the C-field:
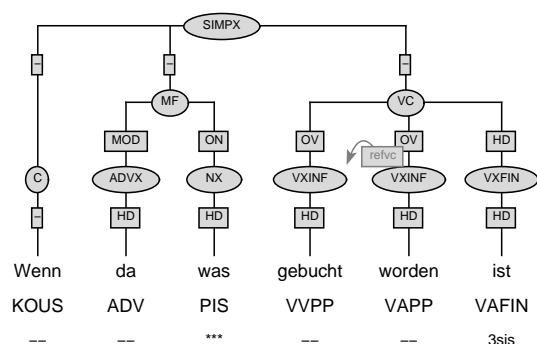
There are conjunctions in German which consist of two elements (e.g. *so daß* and *als ob*). Both of them are also directly attached to the C-field, while none of them carries a head label.
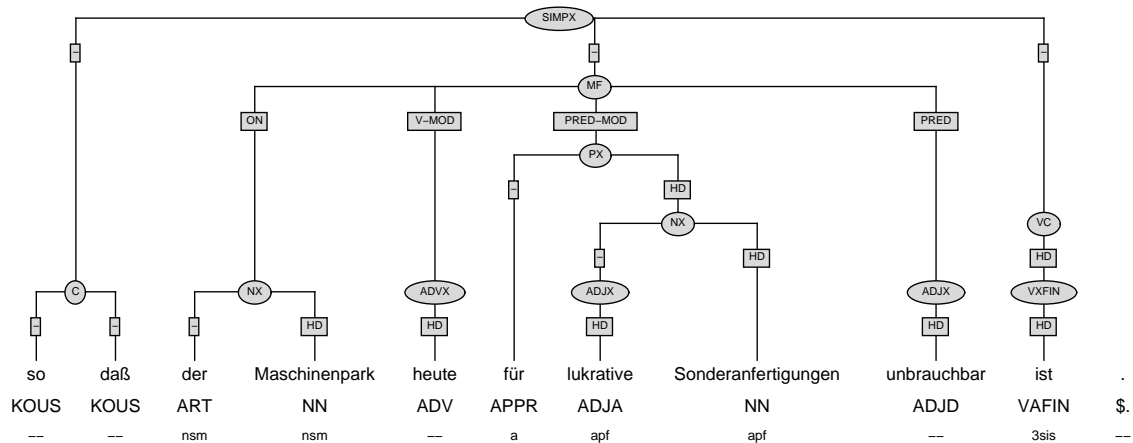
Since C generally does not contain more than one constituent, the adverb *auch* in the following example is not supposed to occur in the C-field together with the conjunction *wenn*. The *wenn*-clause is annotated as the modifier of the adverbial phrase *auch*, i.e., the adverbial phrase subcategorizes for the verb-final clause.
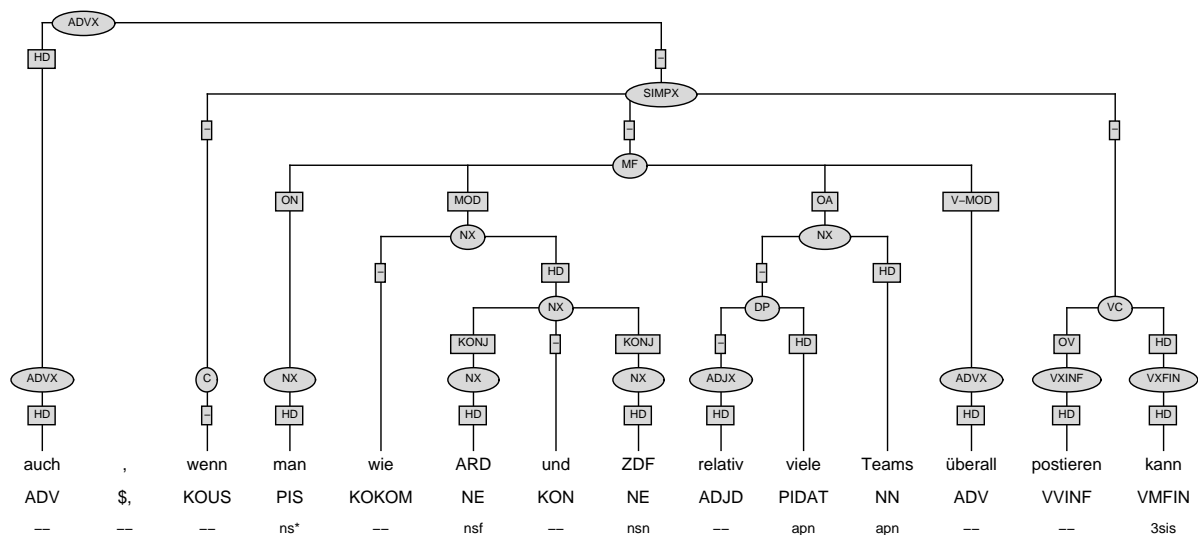
If the constituent in the C-field is a pronoun or a complex phrase, it is first projected to the phrase level and then projected to the C-field. The edge label below the C-Field denotes the grammatical function of this constituent.

The syntax tree for: zu deren Ablaß die tonale Ebene natürlich nicht ausreicht

	zu	deren	Ablaß	die	tonale	Ebene	natürlich	nicht	ausreicht
	APPR	PRELAT	NN	ART	ADJA	NN	ADV	PTKNEG	VVFIN
	d	gp*	dsm	nsf	nsf	nsf	--	--	3sis
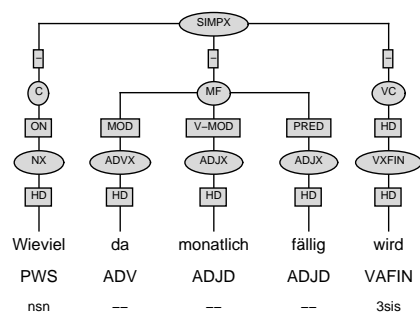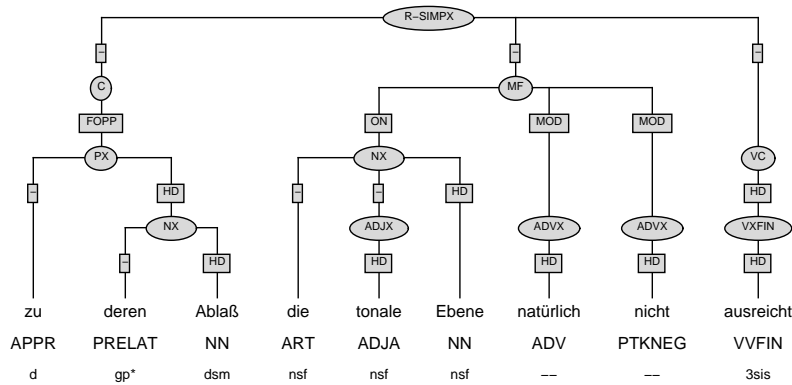
6.1.2 The C-Field in Verb-Second Clauses

Only comparison clauses with *als* allow for a C-field and a left sentence bracket in the same clause:

	als	sei	das	deren	Pflicht
	KOUS	VAFIN	PDS	PDAT	NN
	--	3sks	nsn	gsf	nsf
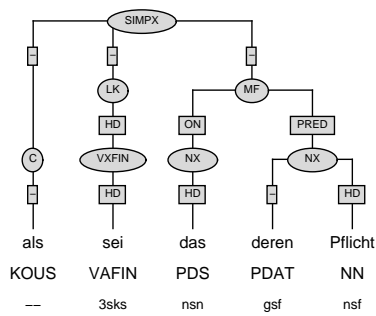
6.1.3 The KOORD-Field in all Clause Types

The KOORD-field is optionally the left-most field of all clause types (V-1, V-2, V-end). Therefore, it can only occur at the beginning of a syntactic unit (cf. 3.4.3).

For verb-second clauses, it can be regarded as an alternative field to the PARORD-field. The KOORD-field contains coordinative particles like *und, oder, aber*, etc. (cf. Höhle (1986)). Here are two examples of different clause types:

Und	Koring	war	früher	einmal	in	schiefes	Licht	geraten
KON	NE	VAFIN	ADV	ADV	APPR	ADJA	NN	VVPP
––	nsm	3sit	––	––	a	asn	asn	––

Oder	ist	Bremerhaven	nicht	günstiger	?
KON	VAFIN	NE	PTKNEG	ADJD	$.
––	3sis	nsn	––	––	––
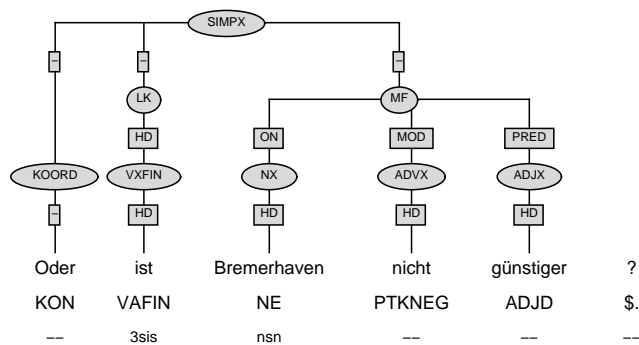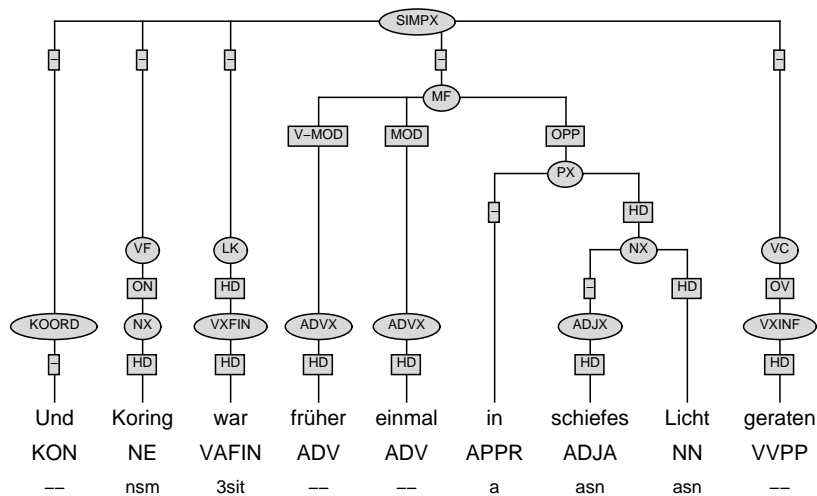
6.1.4 The PARORD-Field in Verb-Second Clauses

PARORD is an alternative field to KOORD for verb-second clauses only. Typical PARORD expressions are *denn, weil*[1]:

Denn	auch	die	gehen	davon	aus
KON	ADV	PDS	VVFIN	PROP	PTKVZ
––	––	np*	3pis	––	––

---
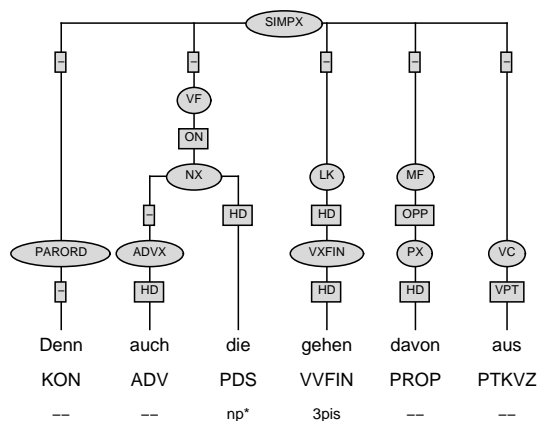
[1] *weil* can occur in verb-second and in verb-final clauses. In the first case, it is in the PARORD-field, in the latter case, it belongs to the C-field.

6.1.5 Resumptive Constructions: The LV-Field

Resumptive constructions are analysed as suggested by Höhle (1986) and Kathol (1995), by using the field LV (*Linksversetzung*) which is located to the left of VF. In general, the LV-field is not restricted to one constituent. The typical feature of a resumptive construction is that there is a (pronominal) constituent somewhere in the sentence, on the right hand side of the LV-field, which refers back to the expression within the LV-field. Therefore, we use the X-MOD label to indicate this kind of long-distance dependency.

Tree 1 (SIMPX): LV / ON–MOD / PX ... with terminals:

Word	POS	Morph
Vom	APPRART	dsm
introvertierten	ADJA	dsm
Einzelgänger	NN	dsm
zum	APPRART	dsm
stilbildenden	ADJA	dsm
Popstar	NN	dsm
,	$,	--
das	PDS	nsn
muß	VMFIN	3sis
ja	ADV	--
auch	ADV	--
erst	ADV	--
einmal	ADV	--
verkraftet	VVPP	--
werden	VAINF	--

Tree 2 (SIMPX): LV / FOPP–MOD / SIMPX ... with terminals:

Word	POS	Morph
Doch	KON	--
wie	KOUS	--
es	PPER	nsn3
weitergehen	VVINF	--
soll	VMFIN	3sis
,	$,	--
darüber	PROP	--
herrscht	VVFIN	3sis
kein	PIAT	nsm
Konsens	NN	nsm
.	$.	--

Grammatical functions within a LV-construction are assigned according to the following principle:

- The LV-constituent is licensed by some (pronominal) constituent within the core sentence. The core sentence exceeds from VF to NF. Therefore, the licensing constituent is considered to be modified by the constituent within the LV-field.

For instance, ON-MOD is licensed by ON like in the first example above, which is also in strong accordance with the assumption that the original position of the subject in verb-second clauses is VF.

In constructions with *wenn ... dann ...*, the *wenn*-clause, which is semantically a precondition to the *dann*-clause, is in the LV-field in correlation with *dann*. Therefore, *dann* (MOD) refers back to the *wenn*-clause (MOD-MOD):
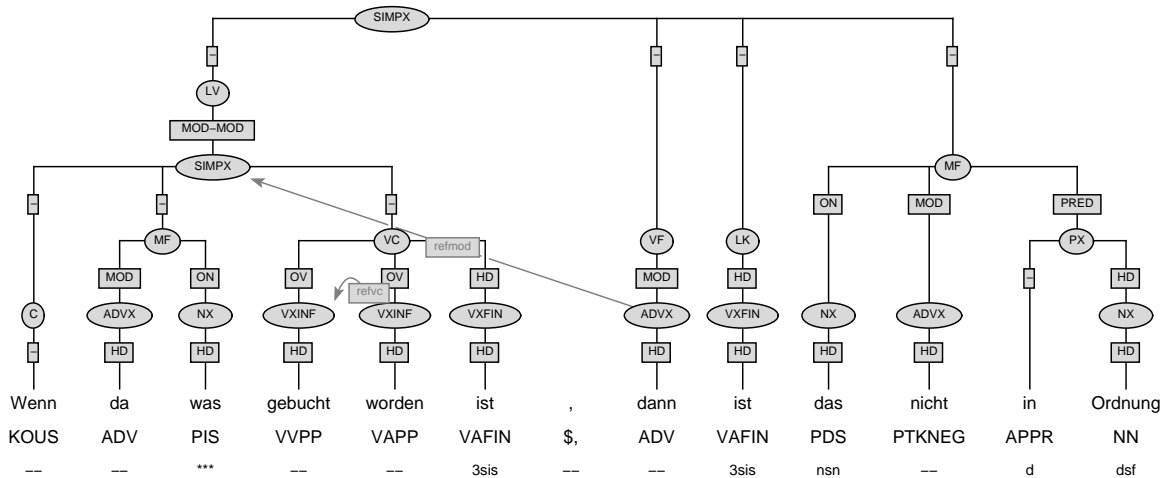
If *dann* is not present in the matrix clause , the *wenn*-clause occurs in VF. In this case, the *wenn*-clause is labelled as MOD because there is no explicit correlating constituent. It rather refers to the whole matrix clause, e.g. (*Wenn da was gebucht worden ist* (MOD), *ist das nicht in Ordnung.*)

6.2 Questions

6.2.1 W-Questions

In general, w-questions are verb-second clauses with interrogative pronouns in VF. The problem here is to decide on the syntactic category of the interrogative phrase.

We follow the strategy to assign PX to all PWAVs, which compositionally comprise a preposition such as *wobei, wofür, wogegen, woher, womit, woran, worauf, wovon, wozu* and also to causal PWAVs such as *warum, wieso, weshalb*. The (non-compositional) PWAVs *wann, wo* are analysed as ADVX.
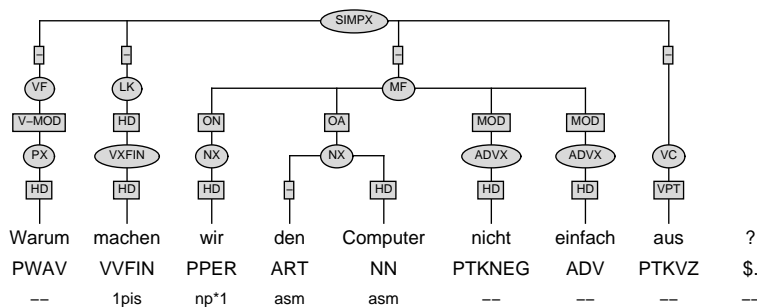
6.2.2 Yes - No Questions

Yes - no questions may occur in various forms, but the most typical form is the verb-first clause:

Tree 1:

```
                        SIMPX
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
             LK                       MF
             HD              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
           VXFIN            ON                   OA
             HD             NX                   NX
                         ┌───┴───┐               HD
                                HD
        Veruntreute      die    AWO          Spendengeld      ?
          VVFIN          ART    NN              NN           $.
           3sit          nsf    nsf             asn          --
```
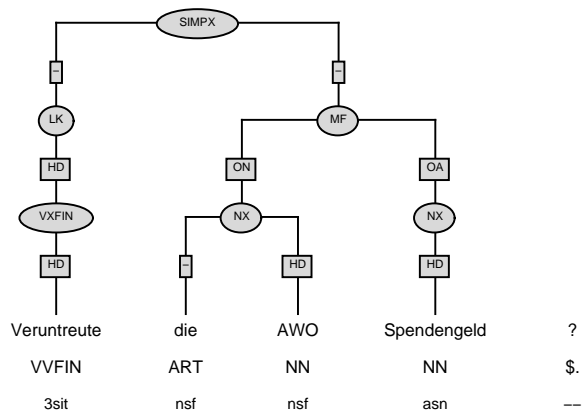
Otherwise, a question mark at the end of a verb-second or verb-final clause indicates that it is actually meant as a question:

Tree 2:

```
                           SIMPX
          ┌───────────┬──────────────┴──────┐
         VF          LK                      MF
         ON          HD          ┌───────────┴───────┐
         NX         VXFIN        MOD                 PRED
         HD          HD                              ADJX
                                 ADVX         ┌───────┴────┐
                                  HD         ADVX          HD
                                              HD
        Das         ist          doch        ganz         klar     ?
        PDS        VAFIN         ADV          ADV          ADJD    $.
        nsn         3sis          --           --           --      --
```

Tree 3:

```
                           SIMPX
          ┌────────────┬────────────────────┴──────┐
          C           MF                            VC
                  ┌────┴─────┐                      HD
         C       ON       V–MOD                   VXFIN
                 NX         PX                      HD
                 HD     ┌────┴────┐
                                 HD
                        NX
                        HD
        Ob       Ampler    auf     Sieg       fahre        ?
        KOUS       NE      APPR     NN        VVFIN        $.
         --        nsm      a       asm        3sks         --
```
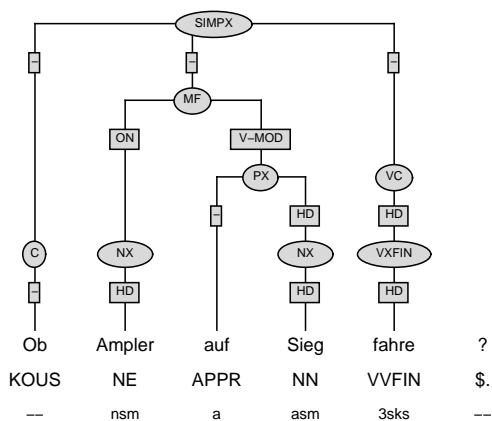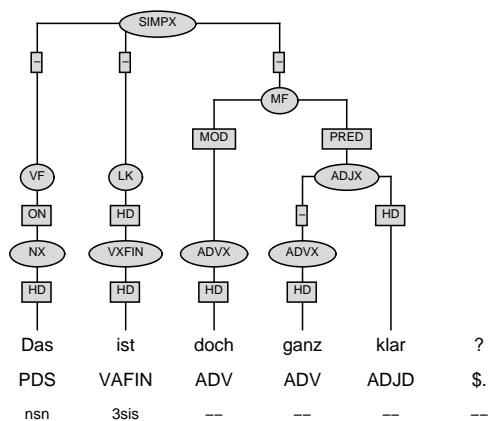
6.3 Relative Clauses

Considering relative clauses (R-SIMPX), the relative pronoun occurs in the C-field. It is first projected to the phrase level before it is attached to the C node. The relative clause itself is located in NF like in the following example if no other constituent follows. Its

edge label shows to which constituent of the matrix clause it is related. OA-MOD, for example, suggests that the relative clause refers to OA:
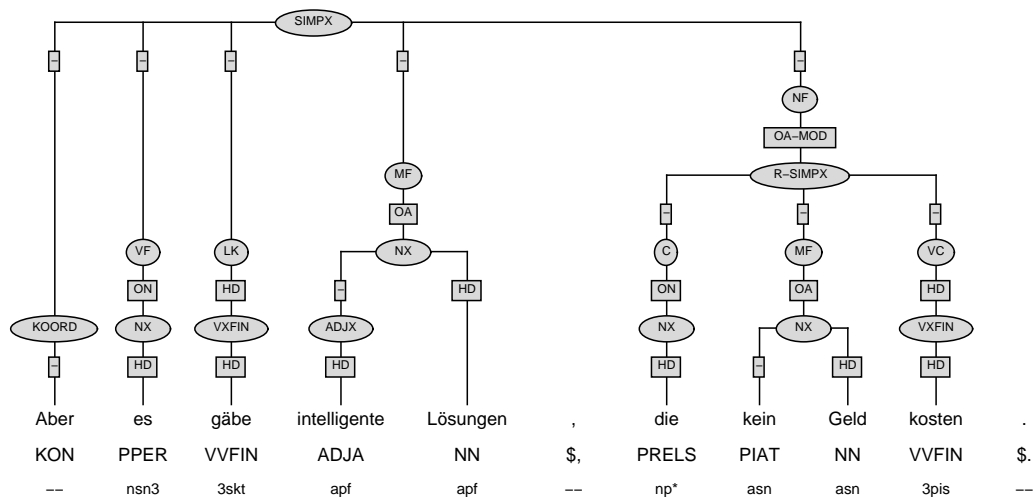
If the head noun phrase of the relative clause is the noun phrase of a prepositional phrase or a postmodifier within a complex phrase, the relative clause is labelled as MOD. Additionally, there is a secondary edge label named refint (cf. 3.4.6) from the head noun NX to the relative clause:
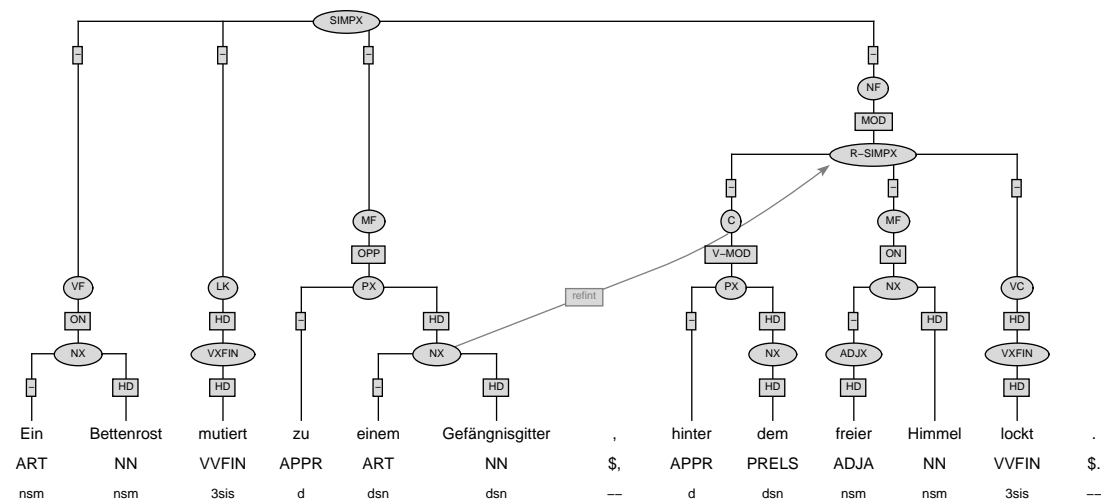
The position of the relative clause in NF is justified by the fact that it does not necessarily occur as an immediate constituent located to the right of the noun phrase to which it refers. For example, a verb complex can occur between the noun phrase and the relative clause (*Der Bettenrost ist zu einem Gefängnisgitter mutiert, hinter dem freier Himmel lockt.*). In sentences like this, the complexity of the noun phrase (NP + relative clause) is important. This so called *heavyness* follows Behaghel's first physical law (Behaghel 1932): complex noun phrases tend to find a position at the end of the sentence even if they deviate from their basic order. If the relative clause does not follow the noun phrase immediately, its unmarked position is in NF. Unless there is strong evidence for a position in MF, the relative clause is located in NF.

If the relative clause and its head noun phrase are adjacent constituents in VF or MF, the relative clause modifies the noun phrase directly as a postmodifier.

6.3.1 Event-modifying Relative Clauses

Relative clauses that modify an event which is not expressed by a nominal expression are annotated as SIMPX.

6.3.2 Independent Relative Clauses

Independent relative clauses (also 'nominal relative clauses', in German 'Freie Relativsätze') do not modify a head word but substitute an argument or adjunct in the clause. Consequently, they are labelled SIMPX on sentential level (instead of R-SIMPX) and they function as (sentential) subject (ON) or sentential object (OS). The latter is not uncontroversial since they are distributed like non-sentential, nominal arguments with respect to subcategorization restrictions.

The relative pronoun used in independent relative clauses normally belongs to the *w*-class of relative pronouns such as *wer* or *was* and is tagged with the STTS tag PWS.

(syntax tree diagram)

Wer	einfach	gut	unterhalten	werden	will	,	kommt	auf	seine	Kosten	.
PWS	ADV	ADJD	VVPP	VAINF	VMFIN	$,	VVFIN	APPR	PPOSAT	NN	$.
ns*	--	--	--	--	3sis	--	3sis	a	ap*	ap*	--

(syntax tree diagram)

Manchmal	muß	man	klar	sagen	,	was	man	will	.
ADV	VMFIN	PIS	ADJD	VVINF	$,	PWS	PIS	VMFIN	$.
--	3sis	ns*	--	--	--	asn	ns*	3sis	--

Independent relative clauses introduced by *wie* are currently annotated in a different manner. *Wie* is analysed as subordinating conjunction (KOUS). This type of structure is to be revised in a subsequent release.

6.4 Coordination

Coordination is a syntactic phenomenon that occurs on the following annotation levels: phrase level, field level, and sentence level. Within coordinations, the conjuncts are first projected to their phrase, field, or clause level. In a second step, they are attached to their mother node which is n-ary branching (conjunctions between the conjuncts). This scheme is the same for all syntactic categories.

The edge labels between the mother node and the conjuncts of the coordination are labelled as KONJ. This edge label supports the distinction between conjuncts, modifiers, and conjunctions within complex conjunctions (cf. 6.4.3), as well as the distinction between coordinations and elliptical constructions (cf. 6.5).

In contrast to coordinating conjunctions in the KOORD-field, coordinating conjunctions in coordinations (*und, oder,* etc.) are directly attached to the mother node of the conjuncts. The class of coordinating conjunctions consists of single, e.g. *und, oder, aber, als*, as well as of complex conjunctions, e.g. *entweder oder, weder noch, sowohl als.* Generally, coordinating conjunctions may coordinate constituents of any category. Moreover,

they can form asymmetric coordinations in which the conjuncts belong to different syntactic categories (cf. 6.4.2).[2] In order to distinguish conjunctions from conjuncts within a coordination, their edge labels are empty.
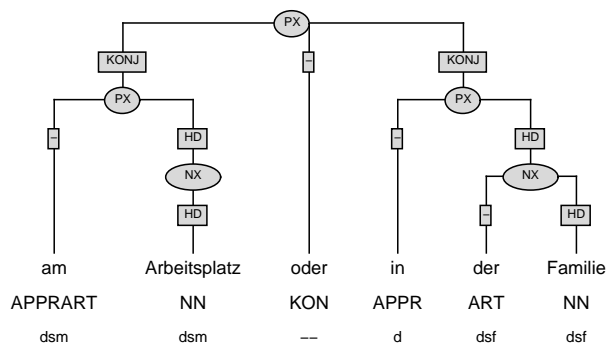
In the following, coordination on all annotation levels as well as specific cases of coordination, e.g. split coordinations, will be demonstrated.
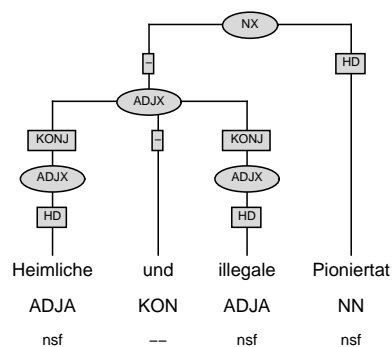
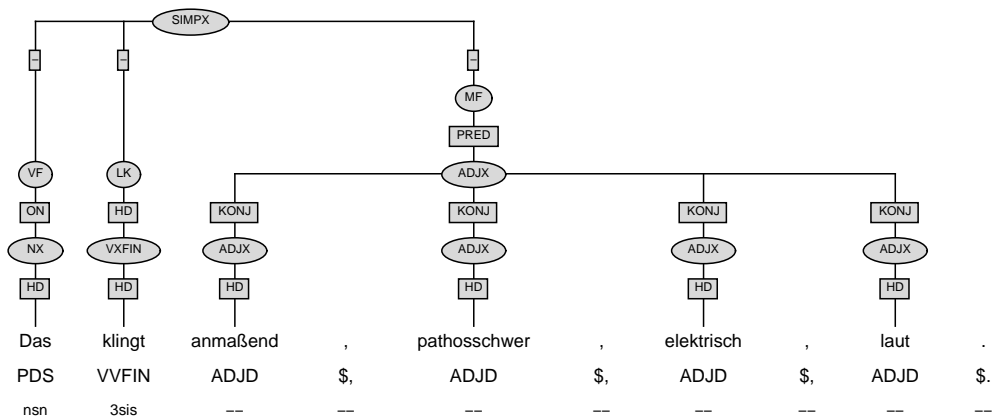## 6.4.1 Coordination of Phrases

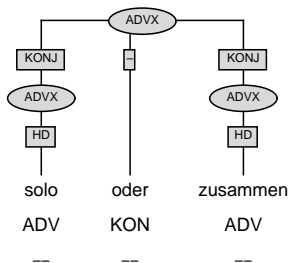**Noun Phrases**
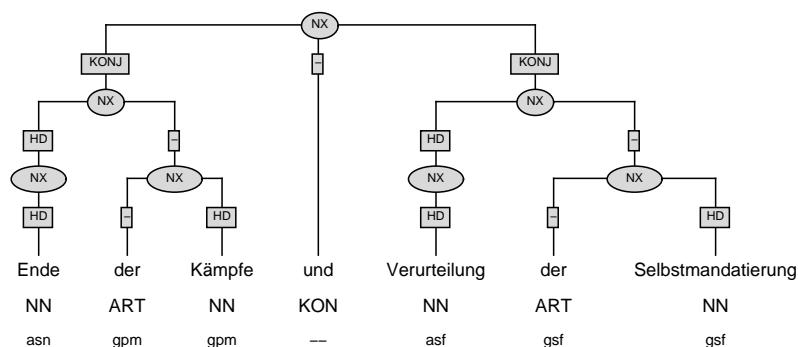
Prepositional Phrases

Adjectival Phrases

---

[2]If *bis* is used as a conjunction like in *10.000 bis (KON) 20.000 koreanischen Daewoo PKW* it is tagged as KON. But remember that *von ... bis ...* phrases are treated differently (cf. 4.4.1).

The syntax tree for: Das klingt anmaßend, pathosschwer, elektrisch, laut.

Das	klingt	anmaßend	,	pathosschwer	,	elektrisch	,	laut	.
PDS	VVFIN	ADJD	$,	ADJD	$,	ADJD	$,	ADJD	$.
nsn	3sis	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Adverbial Phrases

solo	oder	zusammen
ADV	KON	ADV
--	--	--

## 6.4.2   Asymmetric Coordination

Since constituents of different syntactic categories can be coordinated, it has to be decided on a label for the mother node of the coordination. In this case, the default strategy has been adopted to choose the syntactic category of the left-most conjunct as the category of the entire coordination:

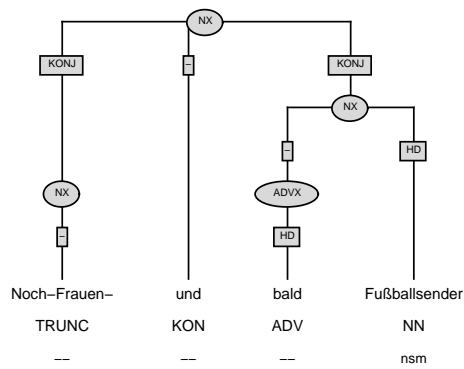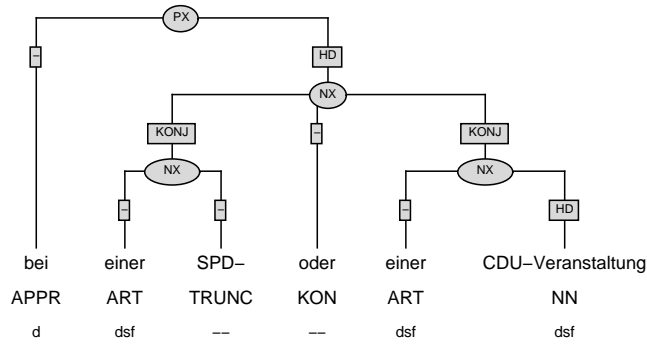| heute	,	So.	,	Mo.	,	u.	Di.
ADV	$,	NN	$,	NN	$,	KON	NN
--	--	nsm	--	nsm	--	--	nsm

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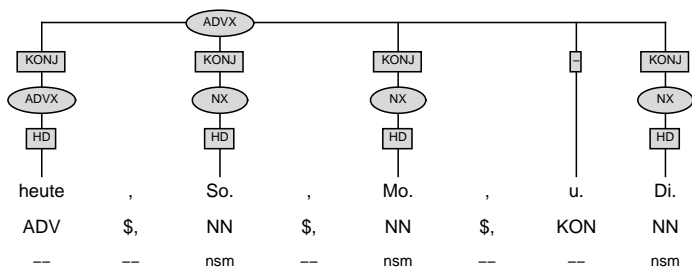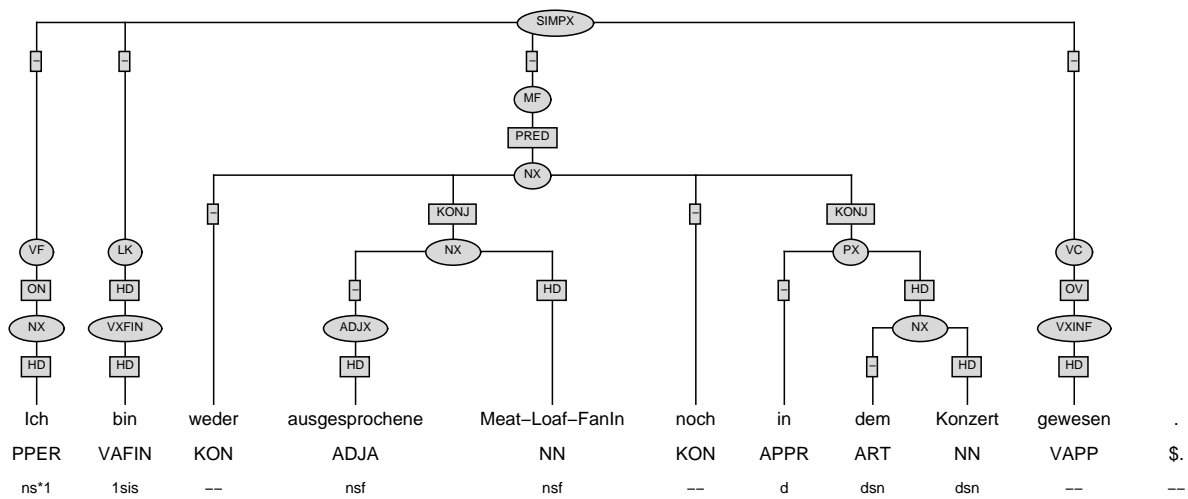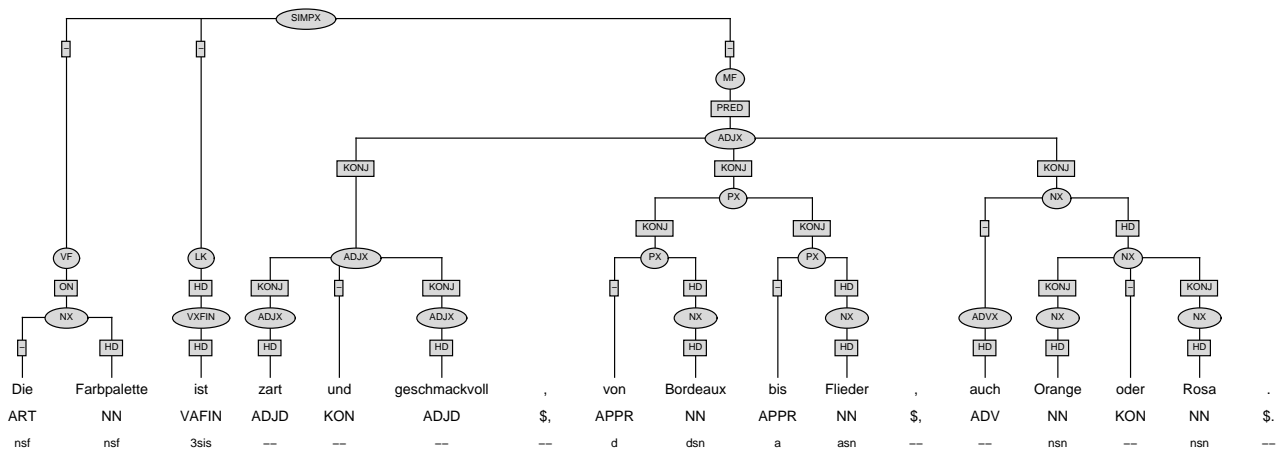
6.4.3 Coordinations with Complex Conjunctions

The conjuncts and conjunctions of a coordination with complex conjunctions are also attached on the same level following the above mentioned rules for coordination. Both parts of complex conjunctions like *entweder oder* and *sowohl als* are tagged as KON. The latter one usually occurs together with the adverb *auch*, which is tagged as ADV, projected to the phrase level, and then attached to the mother node of the coordination. The same applies for *nicht* in coordinations with *sondern*. *Sondern* is tagged as KON, whereas *nicht* is always tagged as PTKNEG:
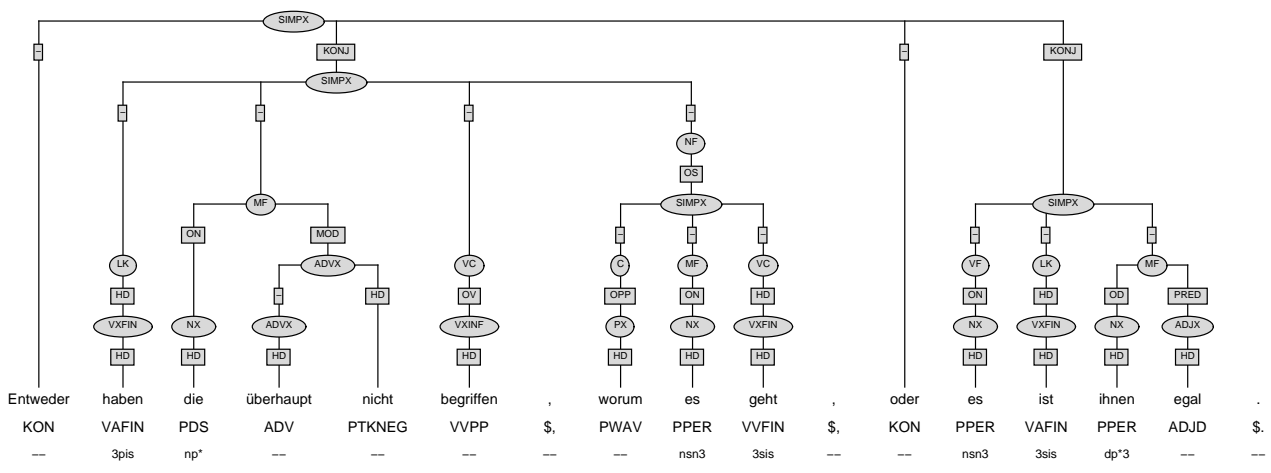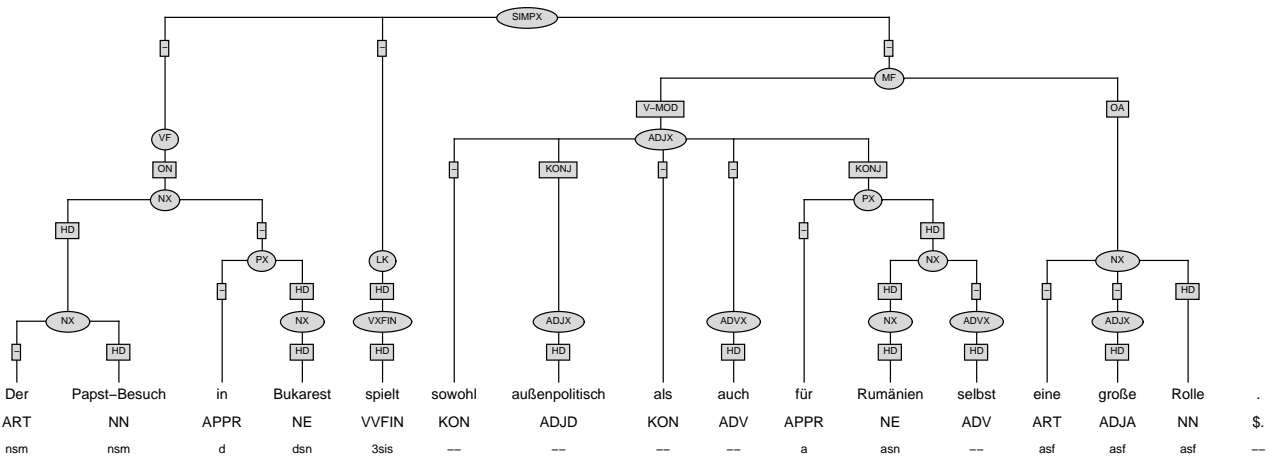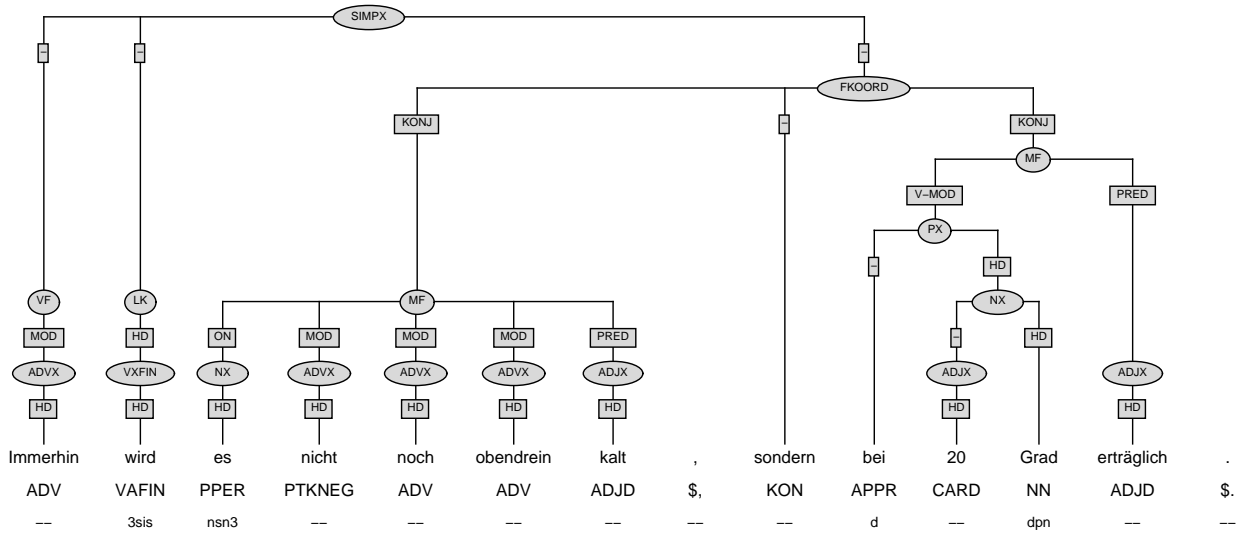
6.4.4 Coordinations with Truncated Words

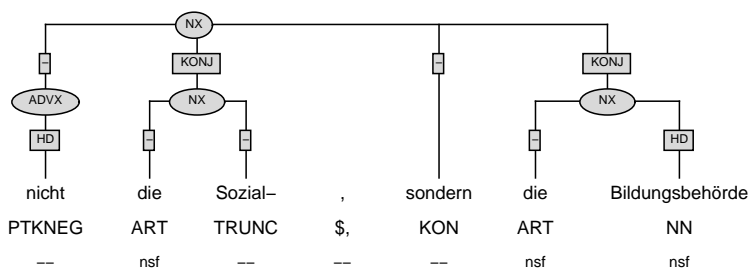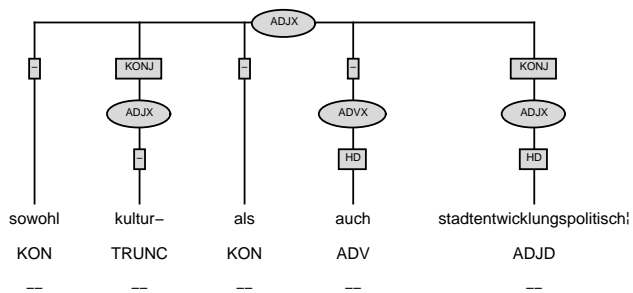Truncated words are projected to the phrase level. Their edge labels are empty. The phrases of both conjuncts are coordinated. The truncated words do not receive morphological annotation.

Tree 1 (NX):

KONJ — NX — Bau– / TRUNC / ——
— und / KON / ——
KONJ — NX — HD — Verkehrsplanungen / NN / dpf

Tree 2 (PX):

bei / APPR / d
HD — NX:
KONJ — NX — einer / ART / dsf — SPD– / TRUNC / ——
oder / KON / ——
KONJ — NX — einer / ART / dsf — HD — CDU–Veranstaltung / NN / dsf

Tree 3 (NX):

KONJ — NX — Noch–Frauen– / TRUNC / ——
und / KON / ——
KONJ — NX — ADVX — HD — bald / ADV / ——
HD — Fußballsender / NN / nsm
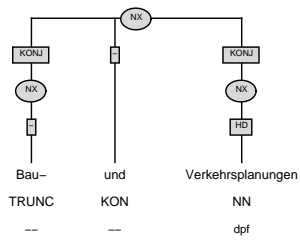
In the case of complex conjunctions, the conjuncts are annotated in the same way.

Tree 4 (ADJX):

sowohl / KON / ——
KONJ — ADJX — kultur– / TRUNC / ——
als / KON / ——
ADVX — HD — auch / ADV / ——
KONJ — ADJX — HD — stadtentwicklungspolitisch / ADJD / ——

Tree 5 (NX):

ADVX — HD — nicht / PTKNEG / ——
KONJ — NX — die / ART / nsf — Sozial– / TRUNC / ——
, / $, / ——
sondern / KON / ——
KONJ — NX — die / ART / nsf — HD — Bildungsbehörde / NN / nsf

Word initial TRUNCs are different from truncated words which include the second part of a word. The latter ones are treated like complete lexical heads, because they comprise the head morpheme of the complex word.

6.4.5   Attachment Principles of Coordination within Phrases

If two or more nominal conjuncts occur together with a common determiner and/or adjectival phrase, first the conjuncts are projected to their phrase level and then the determiner or the adjectival phrase is attached to the coordination on a higher level according to the *high attachment principle*. Thus, the modification scope comprises the entire coordination. The coordinated part is assigned the head function.
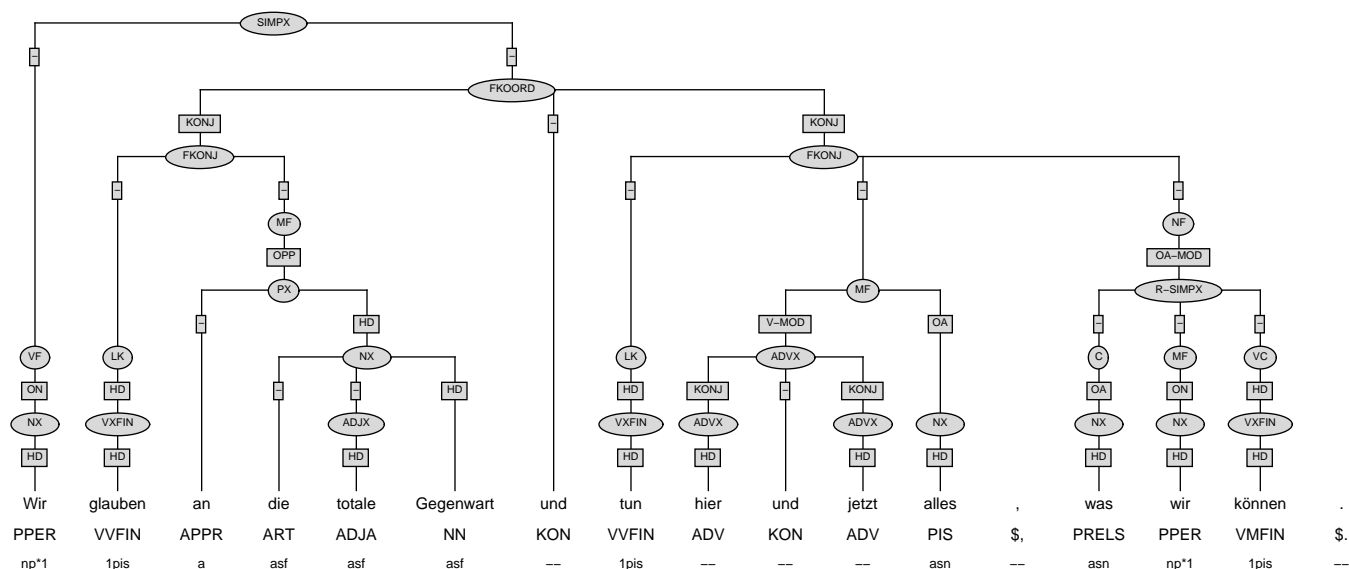
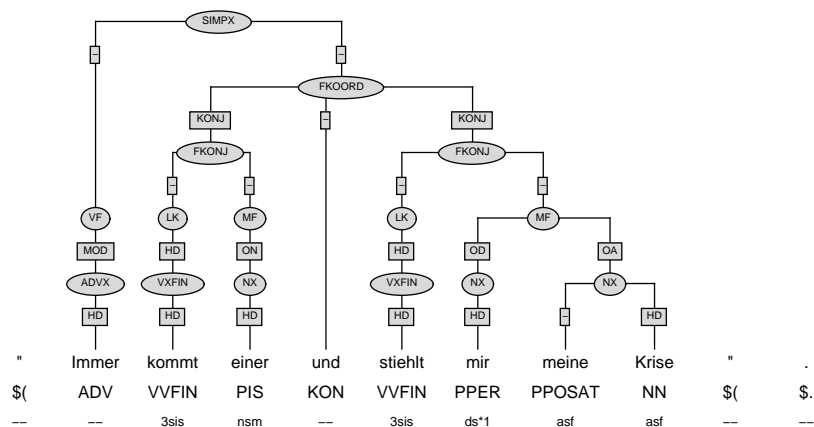### 6.4.6 Coordination of Topological Fields

The conjuncts of a coordination of topological fields are either single fields (cf. 6.4.4) or a combination of fields. Possible combinations are, for instance, (MF + VC), (LK + MF), (LK + MF + VC). The node label for these conjuncts is FKONJ (conjunct consisting of fields) and the mother node of a coordination of conjuncts of fields is FKOORD.

In a coordination of conjuncts of fields, the following annotation steps are involved:

1. The constituents are attached to the fields in which they occur in (MF, VC, NF, etc.).

2. Each conjunct (concatenation of fields or single field) is labelled as FKONJ.

3. The conjuncts are attached to the general coordination field FKOORD.

Wir	glauben	an	die	totale	Gegenwart	und	tun	hier	und	jetzt	alles	,	was	wir	können	.
PPER	VVFIN	APPR	ART	ADJA	NN	KON	VVFIN	ADV	KON	ADV	PIS	$,	PRELS	PPER	VMFIN	$.
np*1	1pis	a	asf	asf	asf	--	1pis	--	--	--	asn	--	asn	np*1	1pis	--

Often, the subject of the sentence occurs only in the left field conjunct:

| "	Immer	kommt	einer	und	stiehlt	mir	meine	Krise	"	.
$(	ADV	VVFIN	PIS	KON	VVFIN	PPER	PPOSAT	NN	$(	$.
--	--	3sis	nsm	--	3sis	ds*1	asf	asf	--	--

A coordination of fields may also be an embedded structure. In this case, FKOORD functions also as conjunct label:

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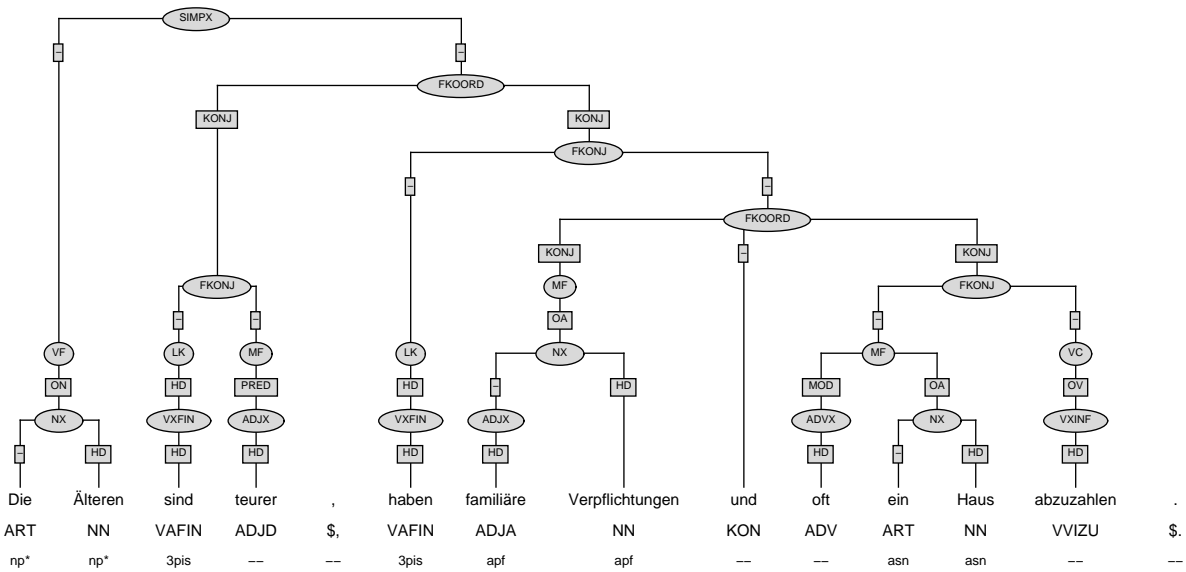
## 6.4.7 Attachment of Ambiguous Modifiers in Coordination

Within phrases, the modification scope of a premodifier can be ambiguous. Therefore, high attachment is applied to preserve ambiguity. In the following example, the adverb modifies the coordination of adjectives rather than only the first adjective:
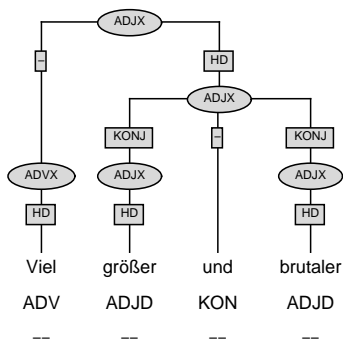

Modifying constituents are attached to a conjunct rather than to a field if their modification scope is limited to the conjunct.
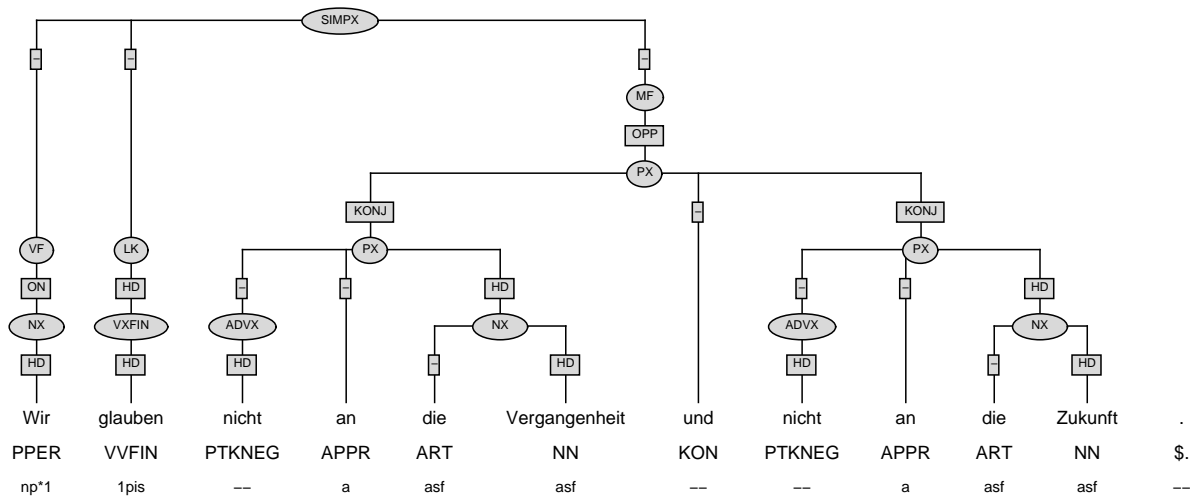
Also in coordinations with complex conjunctions, attachment on the phrase level is applied if possible.
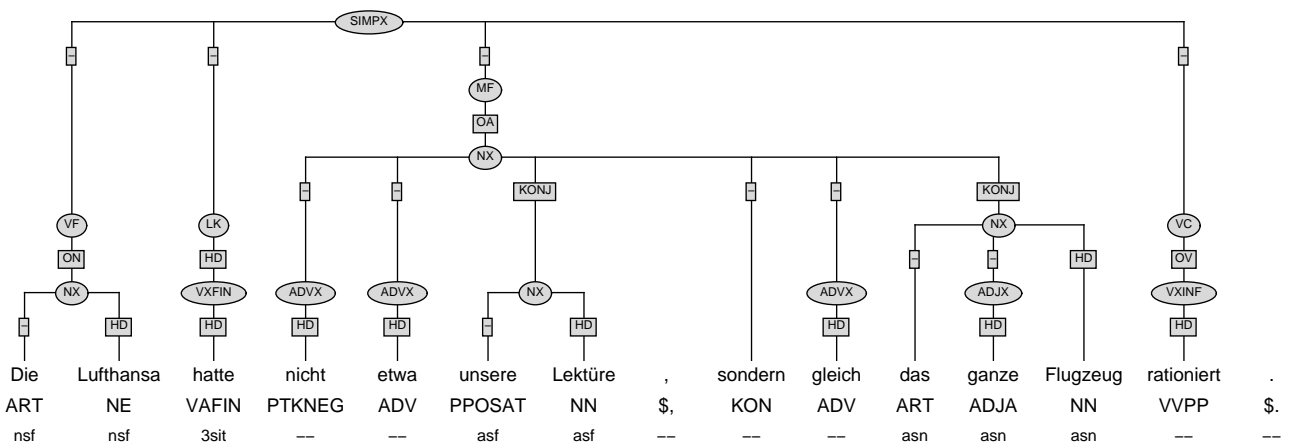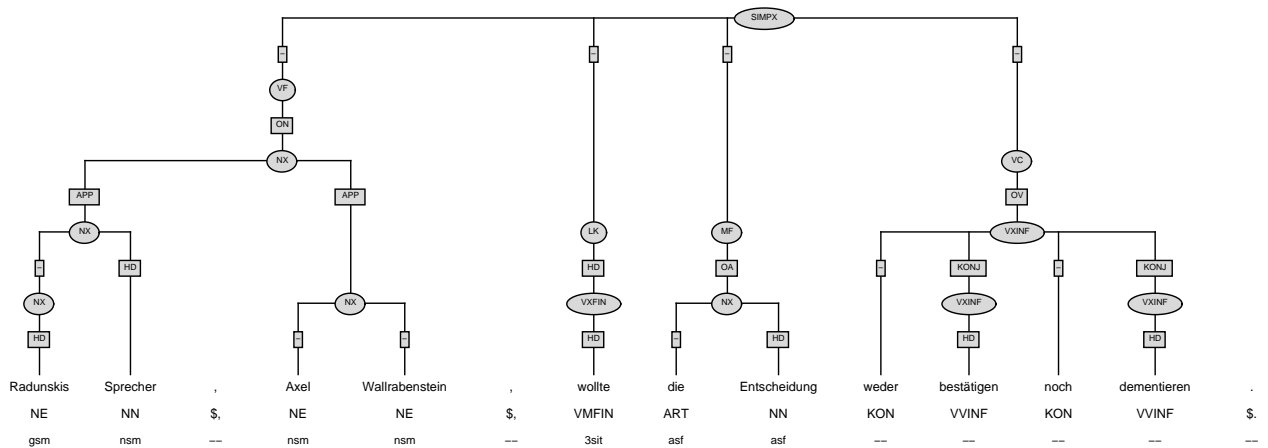
If there is more than one constituent within a conjunct, each with its own grammatical function, these constituents are first attached to the respective field node. Then, the fields are coordinated:
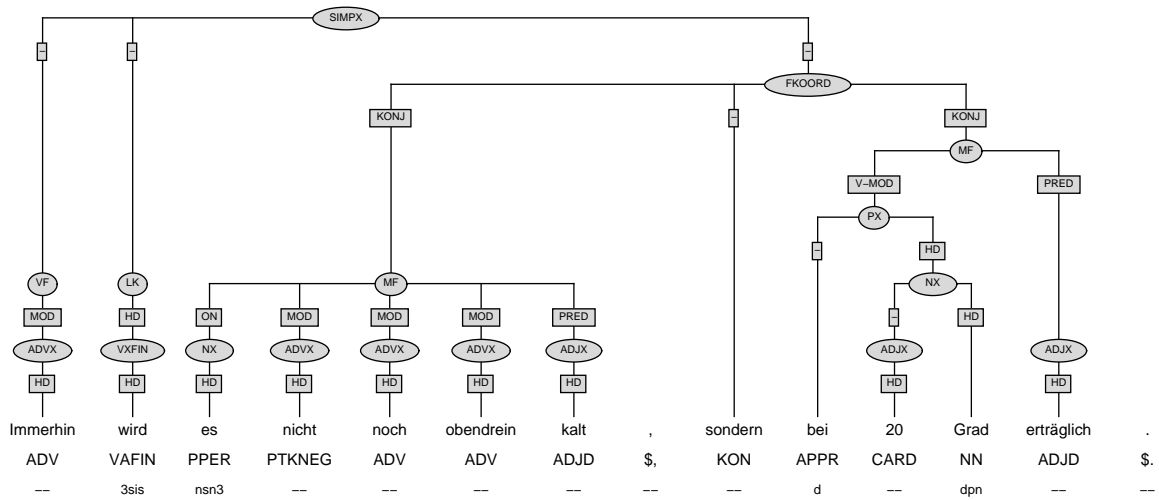
6.4.8 Coordination of Sentences

In accordance with the *longest match principle*, complete sentences are coordinated as paratactic constructions when they belong to the same syntactic unit (cf. 3.4.3), i.e., they are coordinated by a conjunction, a comma, or a dash:
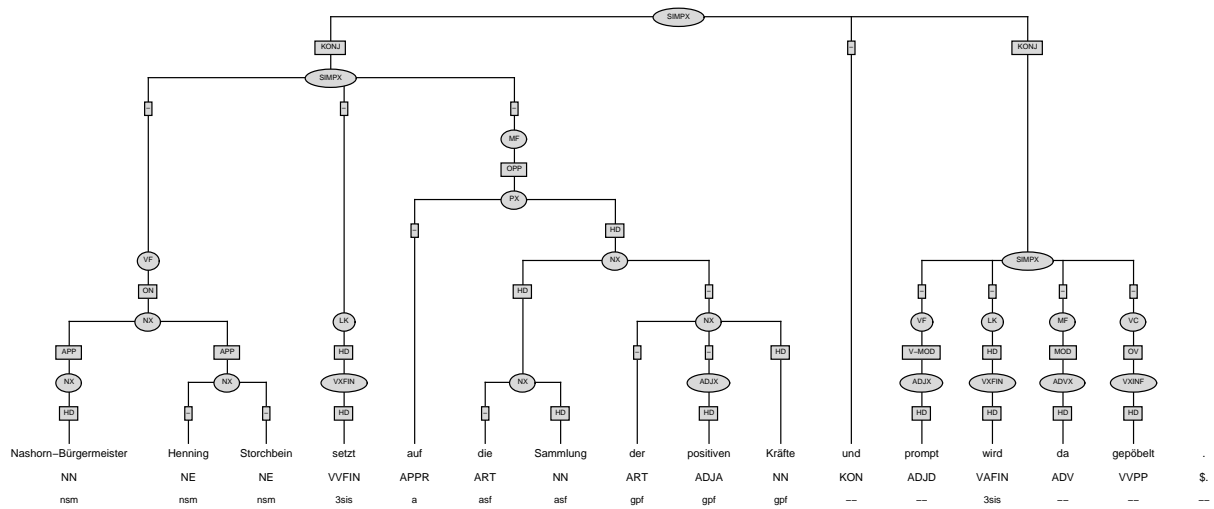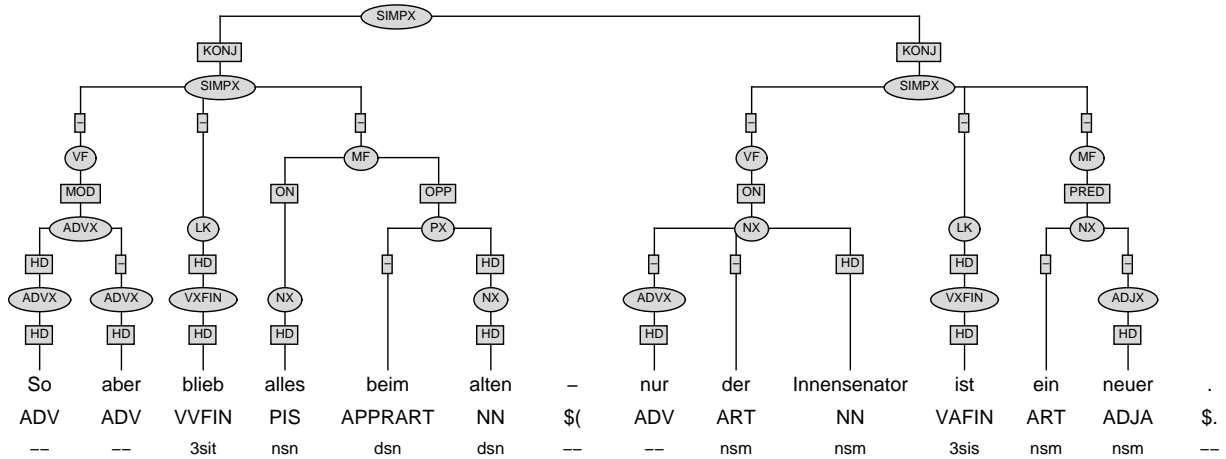
A coordination may also consist of two sentences with the subject of the whole construction only occurring in the left conjunct of the coordination.
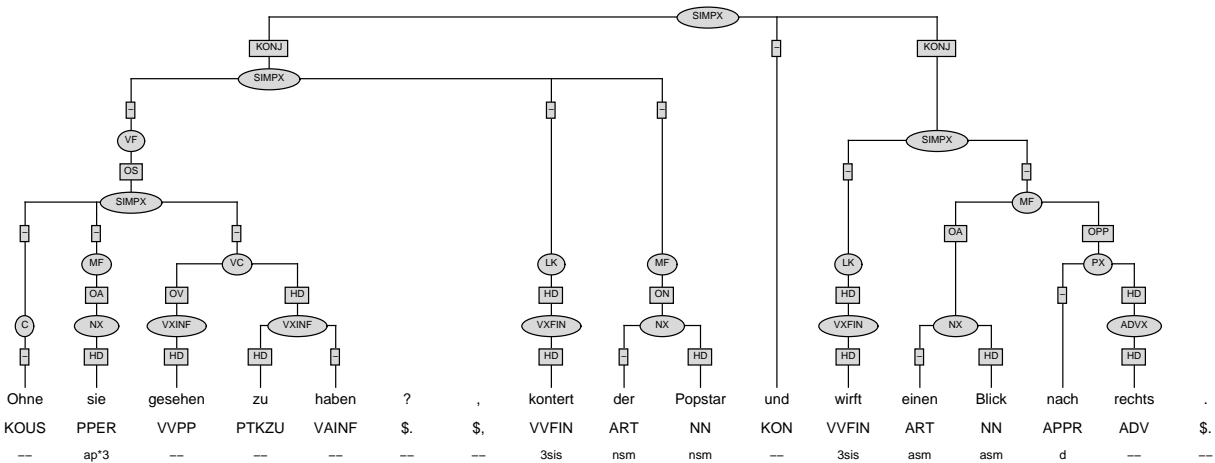
Subclauses (either in VF or in NF) with or even without a conjunction can also be coordinated.

6.4.9 Paratactic Constructions with *denn* and *weil*

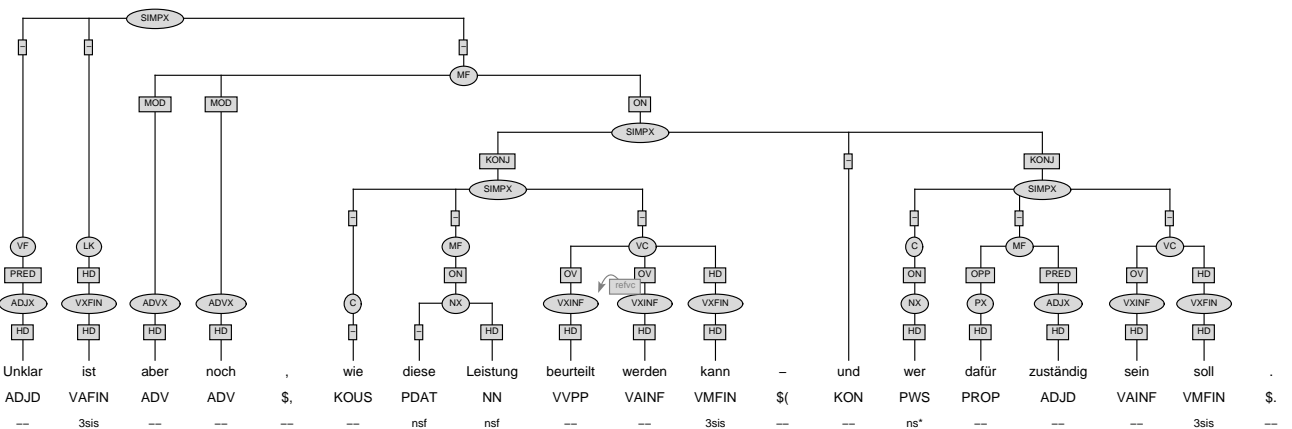Paratactic constructions consisting of verb-second clauses conjoined by the conjunctions *denn* and *weil*, which also occur in the PARORD-field in the beginning of a sentence, are treated as equal conjuncts (verb-second instead of verb-final in *weil*-clause). In order to distinguish coordination of sentences with conjunct of the PARORD field from the above mentioned coordinations of sentences, these paratactic constructions are labelled as P-SIMPX instead of SIMPX.
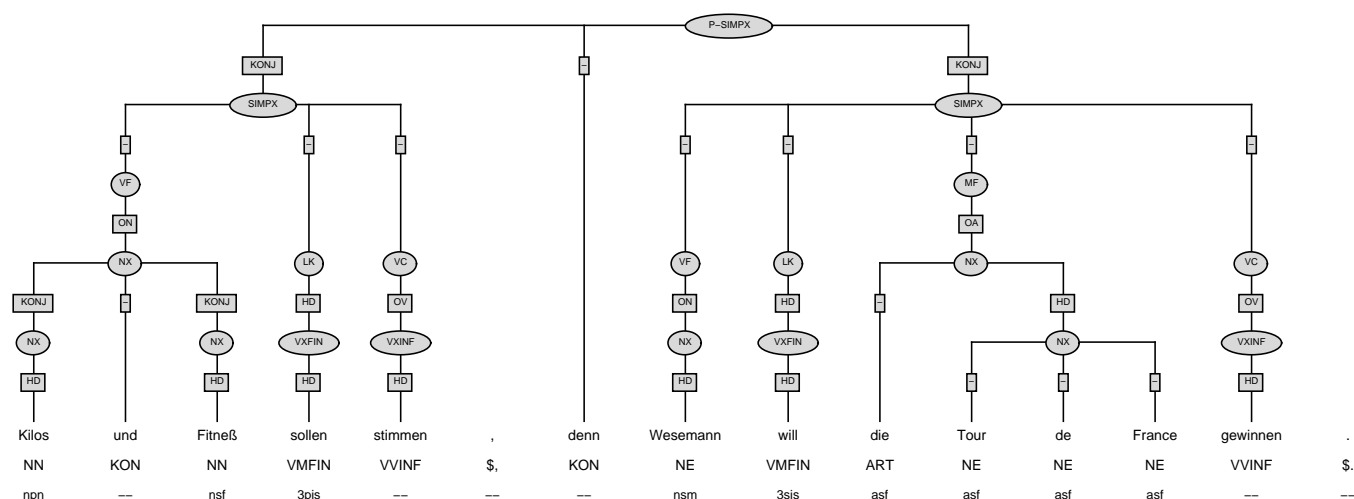
6.4.10 Conjunctions Occurring with Isolated Phrases

If a conjunct occurs isolated with a conjunction, high attachment is applied like in complete coordinations. But for isolated conjuncts, the conjunct is annotated as the head of the construction (HD instead of KONJ).
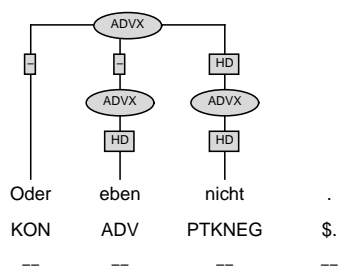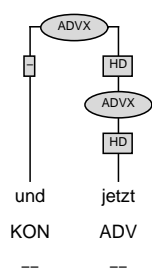
If there are modifiers which do not modify the conjunct itself because they are ambiguous or might modify something else rather than the conjunct, they are attached on the same (high) level as the conjunction:

NX

HD — — — HD PX

NX ADVX ADVX — HD NX HD

HD HD HD HD

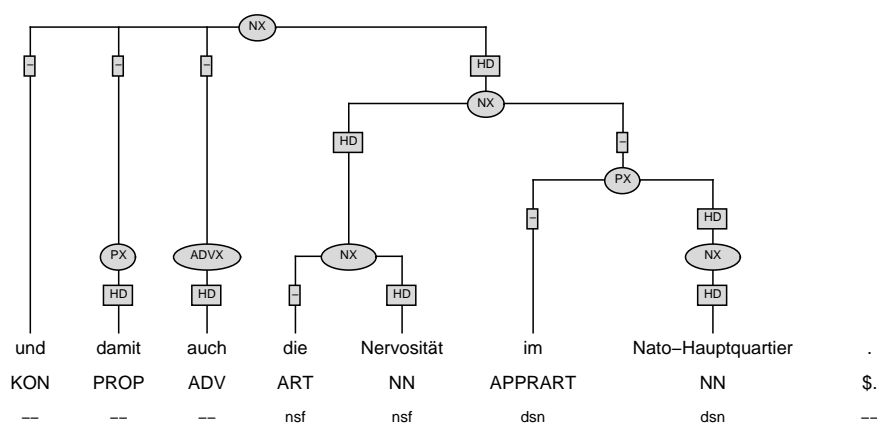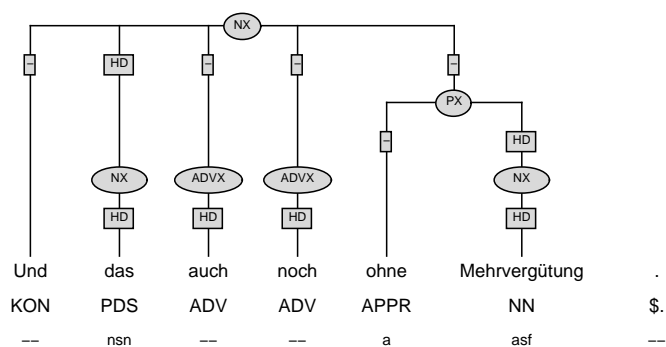| Und	das	auch	noch	ohne	Mehrvergütung	.
KON	PDS	ADV	ADV	APPR	NN	$.
--	nsn	--	--	a	asf	--

NX

— — — HD

NX

HD —

NX PX

PX ADVX — NX HD

HD HD HD HD — HD NX

HD

und	damit	auch	die	Nervosität	im	Nato–Hauptquartier	.
KON	PROP	ADV	ART	NN	APPRART	NN	$.
--	--	--	nsf	nsf	dsn	dsn	--

6.4.11 Split Coordinations

Closely related to isolated conjuncts are *split* coordinations. Generally, the left conjunct of a split coordination is located in MF, in rare cases in VF, and the right conjunct occurs in NF. In order to express the relation between them, the left conjunct carries the label of its grammatical function (ON, OA, OD, etc.) whereas the right conjunct carries a label that denotes that it is the conjunct of this grammatical function (e.g. ONK, OAK, ODK, etc.). In asymmetric coordination, the syntactic category of the second split conjunct determines the syntactic category one level higher up:
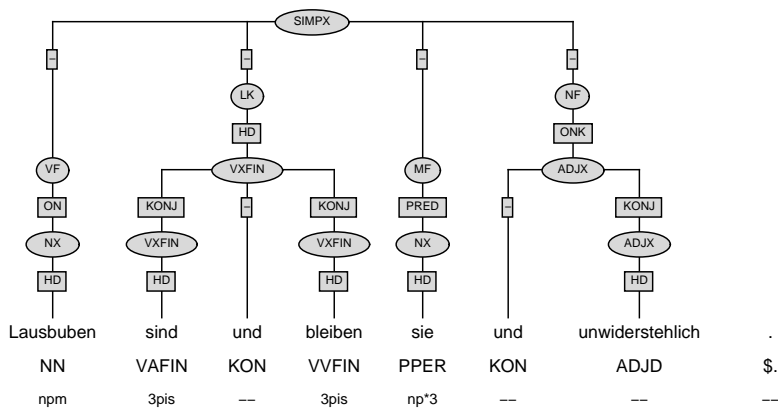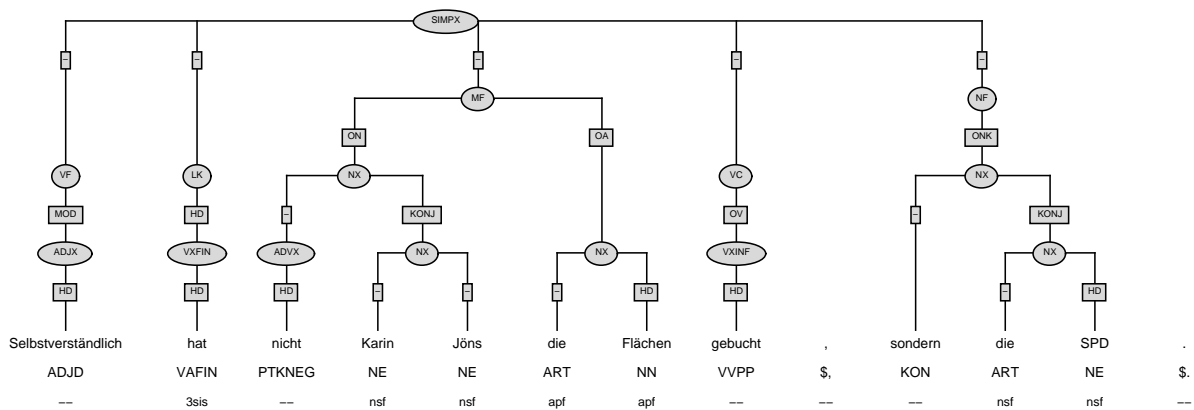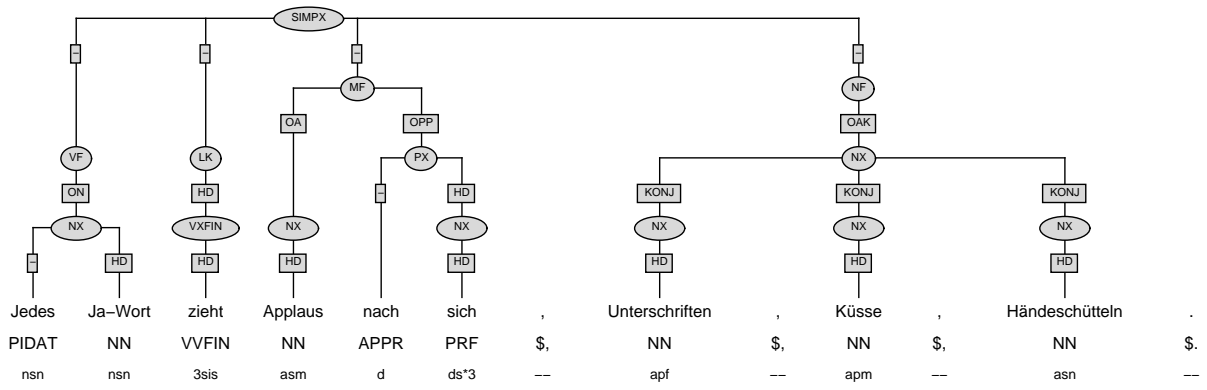
6.5 Elliptical Constructions

In elliptical constructions, syntactically necessary linguistic elements are missing which can be reconstructed from the context or the speech situation. Elliptical constructions appear on the phrase level as well as on the sentence level.

The model of topological fields does not make any assumptions about dependency relations, but it allows that topological fields may be left empty. For the description of elliptical sentence constructions, the scheme of topological fields is an appropriate model because neither crossing branches nor traces have to be used to annotate the surface structure of a sentence.

In elliptical phrases, the head word is missing. They are annotated like phrases without a head. Therefore, the edge labels of an elliptical phrase are empty:

die	irischen	Hinweisschilder	seien	den	walisischen	ziemlich	ähnlich
ART	ADJA	NN	VAFIN	ART	ADJA	ADV	ADJD
npn	npn	npn	3pks	dpn	dpn	––	––

in	und	um	Berlin
APPR	KON	APPR	NE
d	––	a	asn

vom	15.	4.	99
APPRART	ADJA	ADJA	CARD
dsm	dsm	dsm	––

Die	FDP	hat	in	Thüringen	knapp	4.000	,	in	Sachsen	3.300	und	in	Brandenburg	2.000	Mitglieder
ART	NE	VAFIN	APPR	NE	ADV	CARD	$,	APPR	NE	CARD	KON	APPR	NE	CARD	NN
nsf	nsf	3sis	d	dsn	––	––	––	d	dsn	––	––	d	dsn	––	apn

In elliptical sentence constructions, specific topological fields are not occupied. All constituents are attached to the appropriate field. In the first example, LK in the second conjunct is missing. In the second example, the subject is in NF and the main clause is lacking a verbal constituent:

111
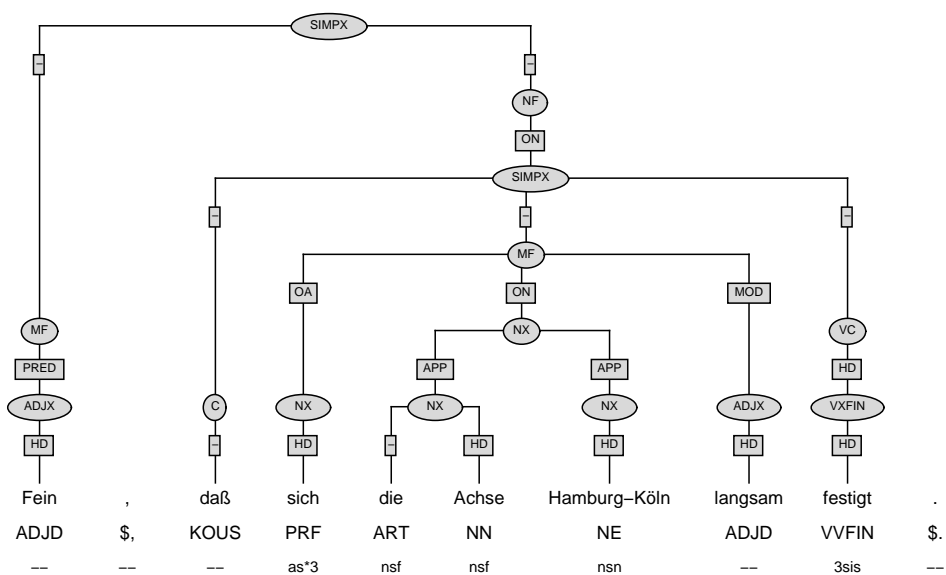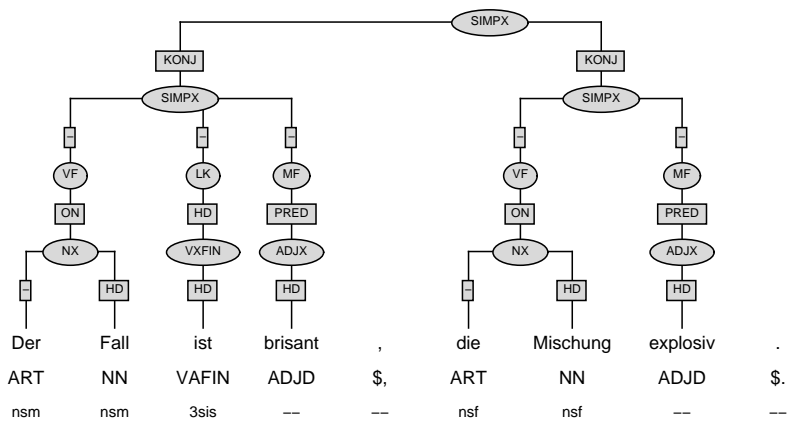
Chapter 7

The Annotation of Specific Syntactic Phenomena

7.1 Superlative and Comparative Forms

7.1.1 Superlative Forms

The particle *am*, which occurs as a particle with an adjective or an adverb in superlative constructions, is tagged as PTKA. Both, the particle and the adjective/adverb are attached on the same level forming an adverbial/adjectival phrase:
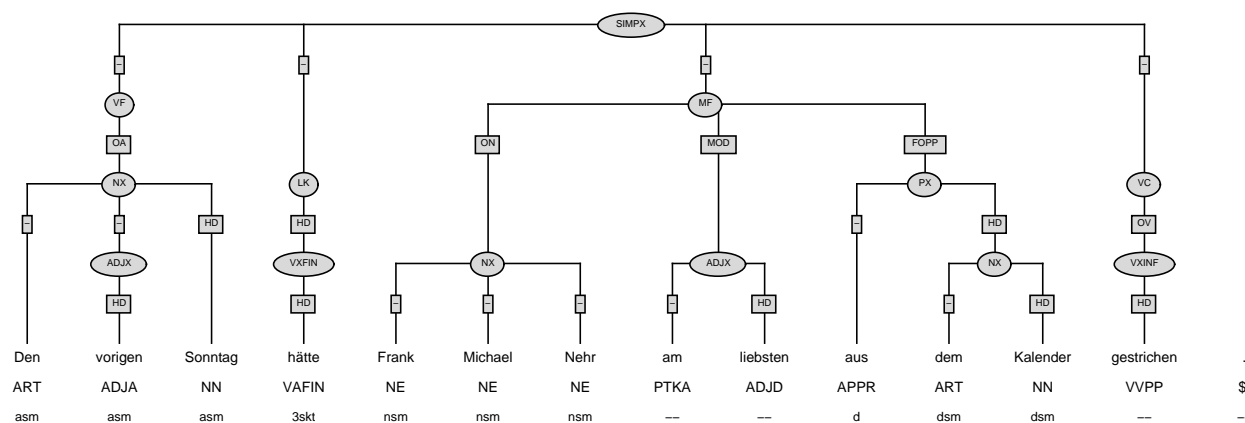
7.1.2 The Comparative Particles *wie* and *als*

Comparative particles in German are *als* and *wie*, in rare cases also *denn* (e.g. *Die werden dort seliger schlummern denn je.*). These particles are tagged as KOKOM and occur with all types of syntactic phrases (NX, ADVX, PX, etc.). They are directly attached to an adjacent comparative phrase. In case of a comparative phrase with a postmodifier, they are directly attached to the highest node of the complex phrase.

A comparative phrase can occur as an adjacent postmodifier of the head phrase:
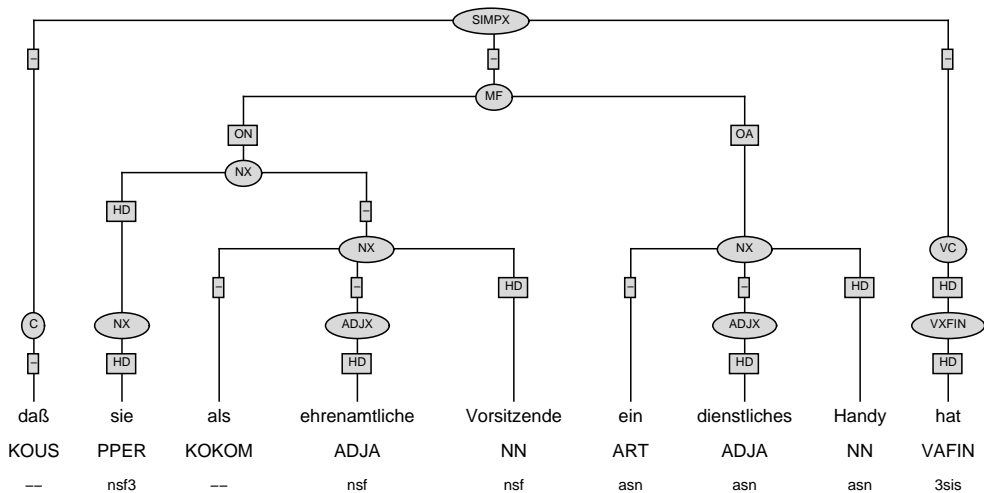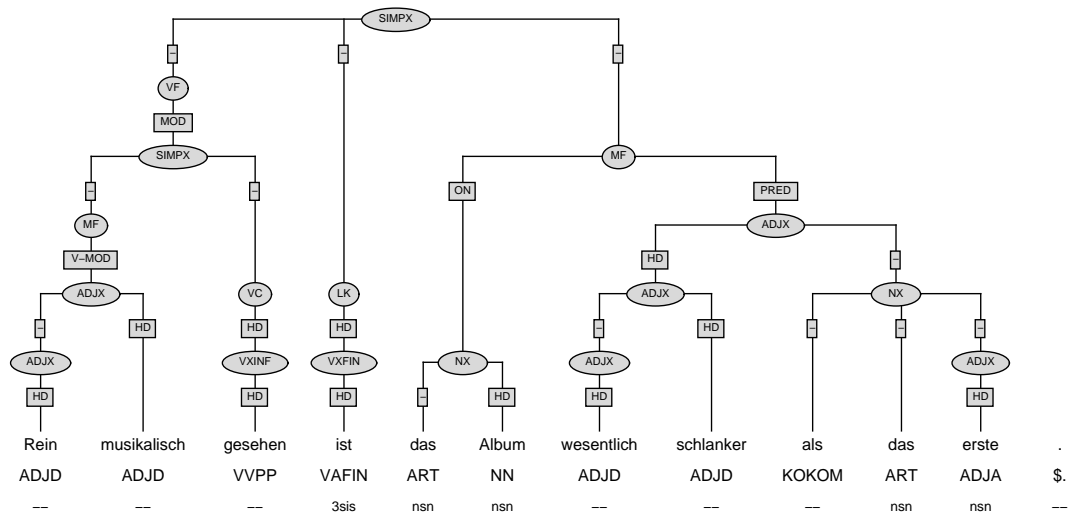
If there is a long-distance dependency between the comparative phrase and the head phrase, the dependency relation is denoted with the respective X-MOD label.
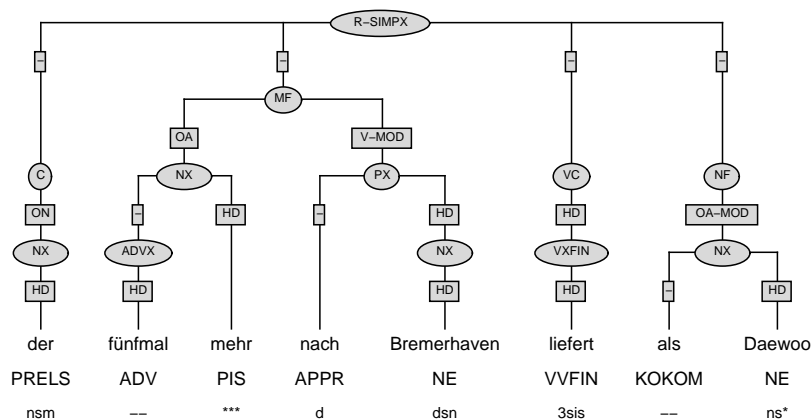
In case of a long-distance dependency between the comparative phrase and the main verb (cf. 4.7.9), the comparative phrase is either a complement (e.g. PRED) or an ambiguous or unambiguous modifier of the main verb (MOD or V-MOD).

The *high attachment principle* applies when the comparative particle has scope over a coordination of phrases (cf. 6.4.5). In this case, the two conjuncts are coordinated first. Then the particle is attached on a higher level.

```
            NX
    ┌────────┴──────────┐
   □                    HD
                         │
                        NX
              ┌──────────┼──────────┐
            KONJ         □         KONJ
              │                      │
             NX                     NX
          ┌───┴───┐             ┌────┴────┐
         □        □            □         □

  wie      Pete   Sampras    oder    Yewgeni   Kafelnikov
 KOKOM      NE      NE        KON       NE         NE

   --       dsm     dsm        --       dsm        dsm
```
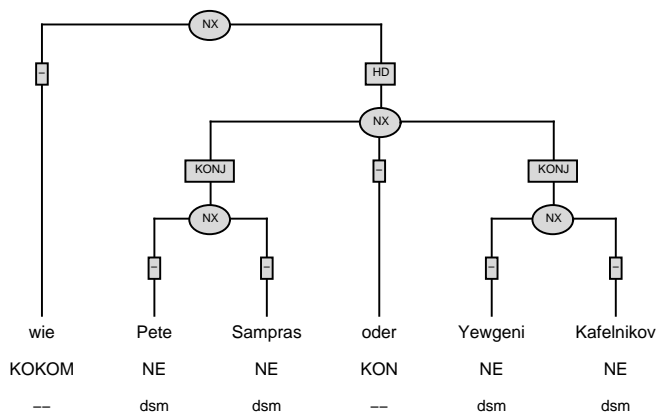
7.2   Verbal and Adjectival Use of Participles

In German, verbal participles which are passive verb forms (*Der Mensch wird angesehen*) can be used as adjectives: it can either function as an attribute adjective (*der angesehene Mensch*) or - depending on the context - also as a predicative adjective (*der Mensch ist angesehen.*). In contrast to the auxiliary *werden* in verbal passives, the auxiliary *sein* is used in constructions with adjectival passives. Concerning the problematic distinction between verbal and adjectival passives, we adapted the criteria in the Stuttgart-Tübingen tag set (STTS) (Schiller et al. 1995).[1]

1. Can the sentence be transformed into active form keeping the same semantics? If yes → VVPP

2. Is there a *von*-PP or an equivalent PP that gives evidence for verb semantics? If yes → VVPP

3. Is it possible to substitute the word in questions by a semantically similar adjective? If yes → ADJD

The following two tree structures show the annotation of the verbal and adjectival passives of the verbal participle *angesehen*. In the first example, the verbal participle is analysed as a VVPP in VC. In the second example, the verbal participle has an adjectival reading and is annotated as an ADJD in MF.

---

[1]Concerning the differences between verbal and adjectival passives in English cf. Bresnan (1995).

daß auch ein anderes Argument als gültig angesehen wurde
KOUS ADV ART ADJA NN KOKOM ADJD VVPP VAFIN
-- -- nsn nsn nsn -- -- -- 3sit

Es ist schade , daß akademische Leistungen so wenig angesehen sind
PPER VAFIN ADJD $, KOUS ADJA NN ADV ADV ADJD VAFIN
nsn3 3sis -- -- -- npf npf -- -- -- 3pis
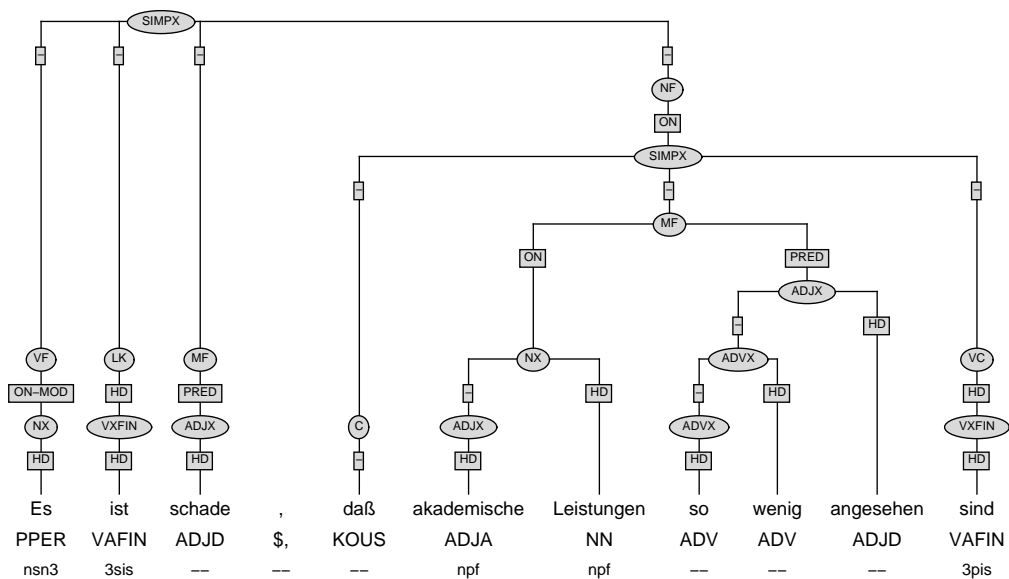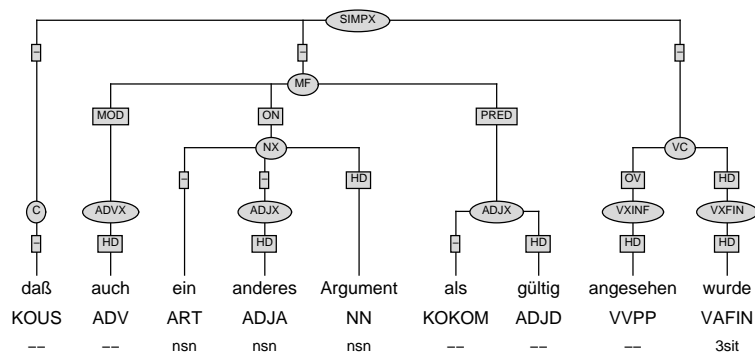
7.3   Topicalization

Topicalization is almost exclusively found in verb-second clauses. Consequently, the subject is not in the first position of the clause. Topicalized constructions bring about word order phenomena which differ from those occurring in MF, e.g., non-finite parts of VC are not allowed in MF.

Our annotation principles demand to analyse the topicalized verb complex and its non-finite parts as VC in the first position of the clause. VC is then attached to VF. If a part of MF is topicalized along with VC, first MF and VC are combined to form FKONJ before they are attached to VF:

Tree 1:

SIMPX — VF — VC — OV — VXINF — HD
LK — HD — VXFIN
MF — ON — NX — HD
V–MOD — PX — HD — NX — HD

Geplant	war	der	Papst–Besuch	seit	langem	.
VVPP	VAFIN	ART	NN	APPR	NN	$.
––	3sit	nsm	nsm	d	dsn	––

Tree 2:

SIMPX — VF — FKONJ — MF — FOPP — PX — HD — NX — HD
PRED — ADJX — HD
VC — OV — VXINF — HD
LK — HD — VXFIN
MF — ON — NX — HD
V–MOD — PX — HD — NX — HD — NX — HD
ADJX — HD

Auf	Pioneer	aufmerksam	geworden	war	der	BUND	durch	Informationen	französischer	Bauern	.
APPR	NE	ADJD	VAPP	VAFIN	ART	NE	APPR	NN	ADJA	NN	$.
a	asm	––	––	3sit	nsm	nsm	a	apf	gpm	gpm	––

7.4   Headlines

The syntax of headlines differs from other syntactic constructions in so far as headlines[2] often lack the finite verb or a verb at all. If a headline has only an infinitive, the case assignment follows the preference principle formulated in 5.2. Therefore, we assume in general the more plausible grammatical function in each case: a passive constructions with ON in MF if the verb in VC is a past participle and an active construction with OA in MF if the verb in VC is an infinitive.

---

[2]The identifier "HEADLINE" is inserted into the comment line above the sentence for each syntactic unit which is marked as a headline in the original data.

```
                          SIMPX
              ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
              │                            │
              MF                           │
    ┌─────────┴────────┐                   │
    ON               V–MOD                 │
    │                  │                    │
    NX                 PX                  VC
  ┌──┴──┐           ┌──┴──┐                │
  │     HD          │     HD              HD
  ADJX              │     NX              VXINF
  │                 │     │                │
  HD                │     HD              HD
  │                 │     │                │
  20   Dissidenten  in   China        festgenommen
  CARD     NN      APPR   NE             VVPP
  --       npm      d     dsn             --
```



```
        SIMPX
      ┌───┴────┐
      │        │
      MF       VC
      │        │
      OA       HD
      │        │
      NX     VXINF
      │        │
      HD       HD
      │        │
  WBM–Chefs  ablösen
      NN      VVINF
      apm      --
```
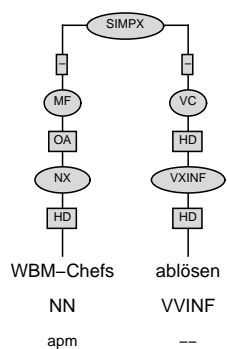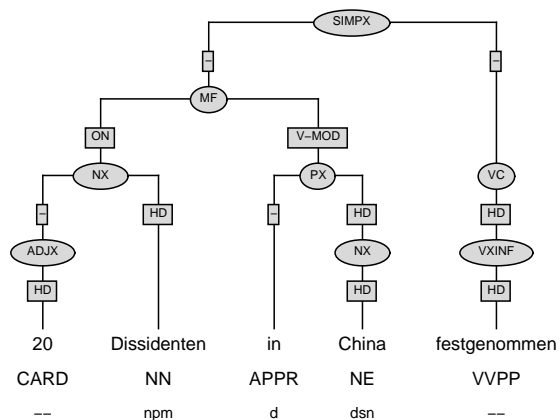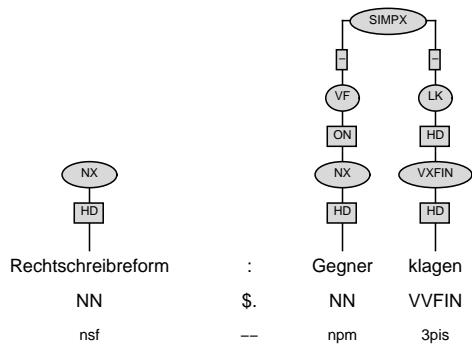
A headline can also consist of an elliptical sentence (cf. 6.5):


```
                 SIMPX
          ┌────────┴────────┐
          │                 │
          │                 MF
          │                 │
          │                PRED
          │                 │
          VF               ADJX
          │            ┌────┴────┐
          ON           │         HD
          │           ADJX       │
          NX           │         │
          │            HD        │
          HD           │         │
Welthandelsorganisationen vollkommen  kopflos
          NN          ADJD       ADJD
          nsf          --         --
```
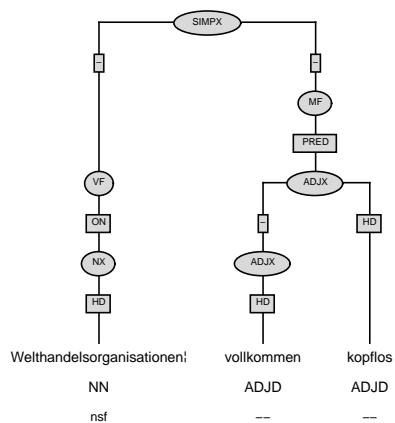
Headlines can also consist of more than one syntactic structure, for instance, separated by a colon or a dash (cf. 4.7.2 and 5.2):

Rechtschreibreform   :   Gegner   klagen
    NN $.   NN   VVFIN
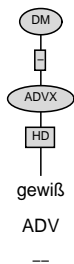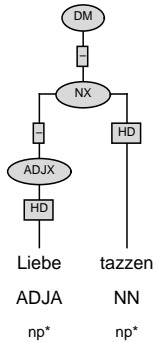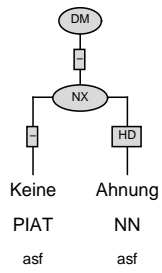   nsf   --   npm   3pis

7.5   Discourse Markers

Generally, discourse markers are expressions or phrases of greeting, apologizing, thanking, short emotional utterances, and interjections. Their node label is DM. The edge label of a discourse marker is empty, i.e., it does not have a head. Typical discourse markers are: *ja, nein, hallo, oh, aha, pst, nunja, gewiß, toll, nun ja,* etc.

In most cases, discourse markers occur as isolated expressions. Interjections, tagged as ITJ, are directly projected to DM without internal structure. The same applies for answer particles (PTKANT):


Oh
ITJ
--

ja
PTKANT
--

Phrases which function as discourse markers are first projected to their phrase level before they are assigned the node label DM.

gewiß
ADV
--

```
        DM
        |
        NX
       /  \
            HD
    Keine   Ahnung
    PIAT    NN
    asf     asf
```

```
        DM
        |
        NX
       /  \
            HD
     ADJX
      HD
    Liebe   tazzen
    ADJA    NN
    np*     np*
```

Isolated conjunctions and foreign language discourse markers are tagged according to their part of speech (KON and FM) and are projected to DM:

```
    DM
    |
    Und
    KON
    --
```

```
    DM
    |
    pardon
    FM
    --
```
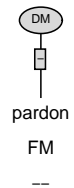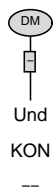
Discourse markers may also consist of an interjection or an answer particle and a phrase:

```
         DM
        /  \
     ADVX
      HD
    Nun     ja      .
    ADV     PTKANT  $.
    --      --      --
```
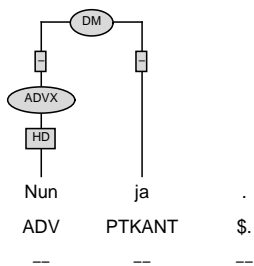
In some cases, discourse markers have a grammatical function within a phrase or a clause. Therefore, they are attached to the syntactic structure:

120
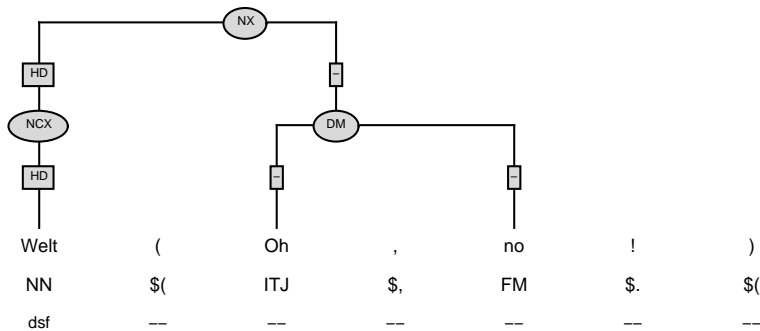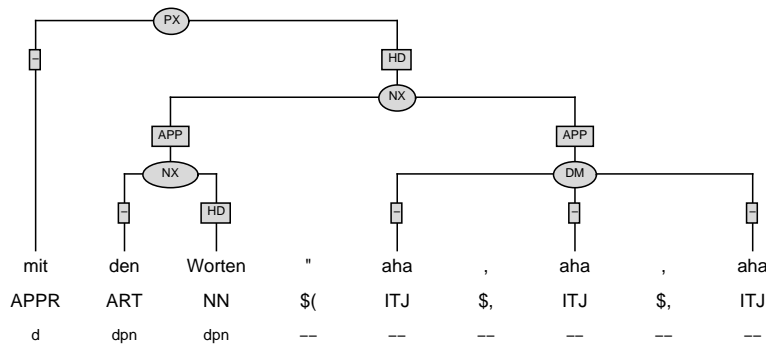
7.6 Parentheses

Parentheses occur as interjective utterances within a sentence. Since there is no dependency relation between the parenthesis and the rest of the construction, the parenthesis is not attached to the surrounding constituents. Often parentheses occur as SIMPX-clauses. Insertions like *sagte Mehmet Scholl* into direct speech are also annotated as parenthesis.[3]

---
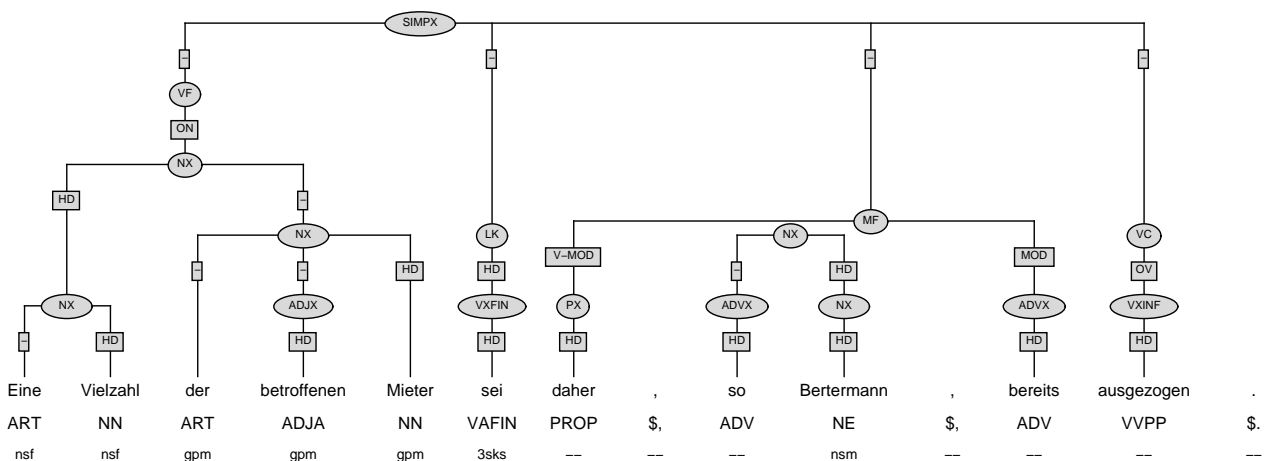
[3]On the TüBa-D/Z web page (`http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/en/tuebadz.shtml`), the treebank is also available in the Penn Treebank format. For this format, parentheses are attached to the tree structure with the edge label PAR. For further details about the Penn Treebank format cf. 9.

Ein Kuratorium , das ist wohl der Gedanke , macht sich immer gut .
ART NN $, PDS VAFIN ADV ART NN $, VVFIN PRF ADV ADJD $.
nsn nsn –– nsn 3sis –– nsm nsm –– 3sis as*3 –– –– ––

" Schön " , sagte Mehmet Scholl , " ist das nicht " .
$(ADJD $($, VVFIN NE NE $, $(VAFIN PDS PTKNEG $($.
–– –– –– –– 3sit nsm nsm –– –– 3sis nsn –– –– ––

122
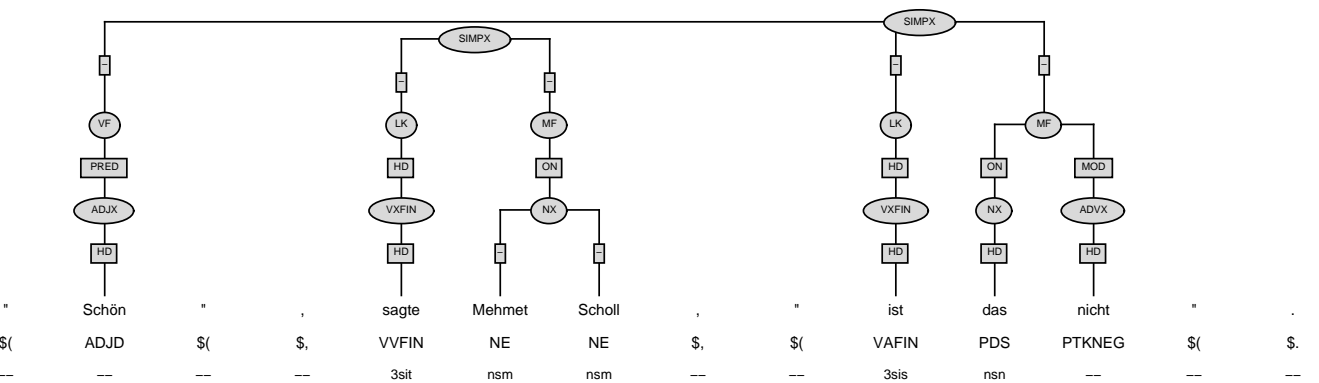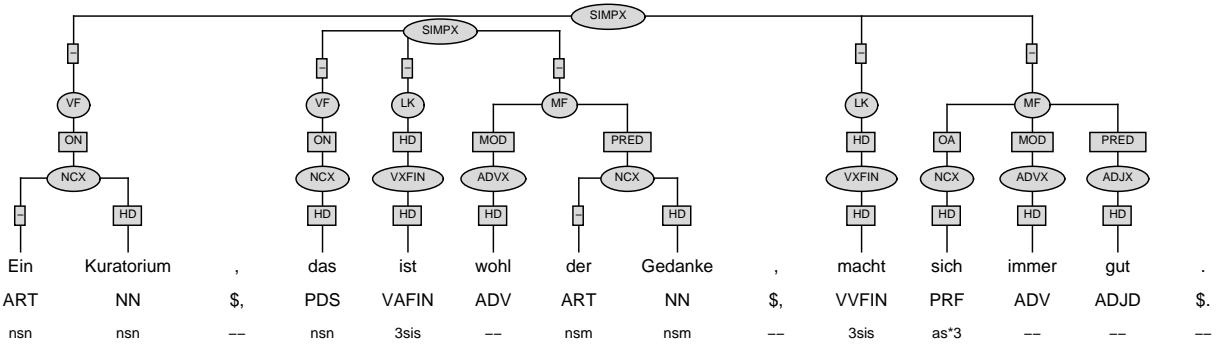
Chapter 8

Criteria for the Distinction of Grammatical Functions

8.1 Subcategorization of Verbs

The *TüBa-D/Z-Verblist* document[1] lists all verbs occurring in the treebank with their specific subcategorization frames. This reference list guarantees the consistent annotation of grammatical functions. For a detailed description of constructing the verb list see (Hinrichs and Telljohann 2009).

8.2 Subcategorization of PREDs

Since constituents which predicates subcategorize for have grammatical function within a sentence, they are neither marked as PRED-MOD nor attached to the predicate itself. These constituents are attached to a field and assigned the respective grammatical function like the constituent which is marked as FOPP in the following examples:

---

[1]In case of interest, please refer to web page (`http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/en/tuebadz.shtml`) for contact information.

Tree 1:

Für	den	Erfolg	des	Volksbegehren	sind	etwa	243.000	Unterschriften	erforderlich	.
APPR	ART	NN	ART	NN	VAFIN	ADV	CARD	NN	ADJD	$.
a	asm	asm	gsn	gsn	3pis	––	––	npf	––	––

Tree 2:

Die	älteren	Brüder	fühlen	sich	für	ihre	Schwestern	sehr	verantwortlich	.
ART	ADJA	NN	VVFIN	PRF	APPR	PPOSAT	NN	ADV	ADJD	$.
npm	npm	npm	3pis	ap*3	a	apf	apf	––	––	––
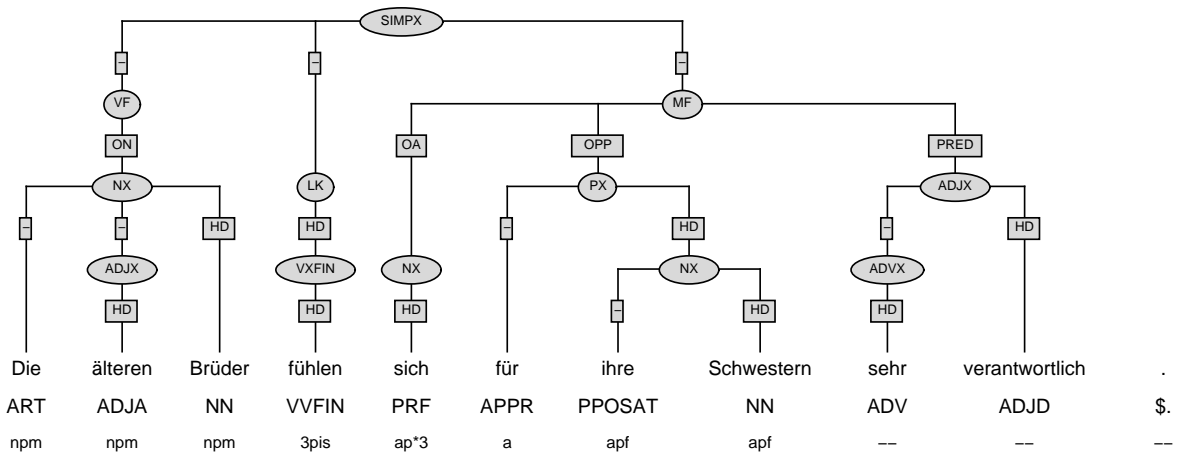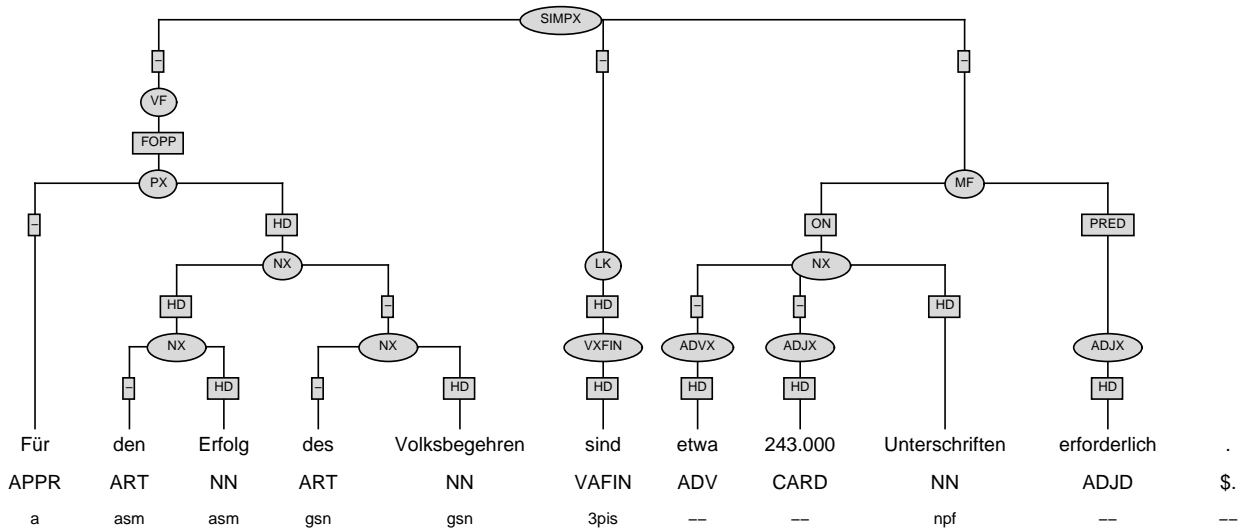
8.3 Distinction of FOPP, OPP, and V-MOD

One of the major problems is to distinguish, whether a given PP is an obligatory (OPP) or an optional (FOPP) complement of a specific verb in a specific reading, or whether it is a free adjunct (V-MOD) of that verb.

The *TüBa-D/Z-Verblist* is intended as a reference for these problematic cases.

In the following, we will briefly describe what criteria have been used in order to decide about the subcategorization with respect to PP complements/modifiers:

1. A PP is called **OPP** within a sentence if the sentence were ungrammatical without the OPP (or if there was at least a very noticeable change of meaning). For instance, *Sie gehen [OPP gegen die Faschisten] vor./ Das Gesetz ist [OPP in Kraft] getreten.*

2. A PP is called **FOPP** if it can be left out of this specific sentence without causing ungrammaticality (or a very noticeable change of meaning) and if its preposition is selected by this specific verb. For instance, *Insgesamt berichtet die Polizei [FOPP von 19 Festnahmen und 98 Ingewahrsamnahmen]./Später würden wir [FOPP über*

Auswandern] nachdenken. Here, the prepositions select these specific verbs and the PPs cannot be added to any arbitrary verb (which is possible for free adjuncts). In addition, in passive clauses, the subject of the original active clause, which has the form of a prepositional phrase, is marked as FOPP (*Sie wurden [FOPP von Autonomen] umringt.*).

3. A PP is called **V-MOD** if its preposition is not selected by this specific verb, i.e., it can be exchanged by any other modifying PP, and similarly, this PP can occur with arbitrary verbs (*Nur [V-MOD im griechischen Lager] gab es Probleme*). Typical V-MODs are temporal or local adjuncts specifying time and location of the action, event, or state expressed by the verb.

8.4   Distinction of MOD, MOD-MOD, and V-MOD

A typical case of modification of modifiers is a temporal expression (V-MOD) that further specifies another temporal expression (MOD-MOD) in the same clause:

1. *[V-MOD am Samstag] finden [MOD-MOD ab 16 Uhr] Führungen statt.*
   [MOD-MOD Wann] finden [V-MOD am Samstag] Führungen statt?

2. *[MOD da] finden [V-MOD am Samstag] Führungen statt.*
   [V-MOD wann] finden [MOD da] Führungen statt?
   [MOD dann] finden [V-MOD am Samstag] Führungen statt.
   da, dann, etc. can be either temporal, causal, consequential, or local expressions. Thus, one cannot make sure whether the following time expression *am Samstag* really refers to them. The only obvious observation is that the *time* expression is a V-MOD in any case.

For resumptive constructions (LV), there is also a clear criterion concerning the modification relations. Within a verb-second clause, a modifier occurring in VF is MOD/X-MOD, whereas the modifier in LV is MOD-MOD, not vice versa, because the modifier in VF occurs within the core of the sentence, whereas the modifier in LV has to be licensed by some other constituent in the core sentence, e.g. *Wenn da was gebucht worden ist, dann ist das nicht in Ordnung.* (cf. 6.1.5).

8.5   Distinction of ON, PRED, ON-MOD, and PRED-MOD

It is not always trivial to distinguish which constituent is ON, PRED, or ON-MOD for predicative verbs. For this reason, a few criteria and examples are listed here that can be of help. Here are some properties of ON and PRED:

1. Typically, PRED occurs in MF, whereas ON occurs in VF of verb-second clauses. This should be considered for annotation, if no other criterion (as described below) applies.

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2. Subject-verb agreement always has to be taken into account. For instance, if the verb is in plural form, the subject has to be plural as well.

3. If there is a suitable NP that could serve as subject, then this NP is annotated as subject rather than any other constituent with a different syntactic category (PP, ADVP, etc.).

For verb-second clauses, it is important to follow these two steps in exactly this order to stick to the distributional criterion that has been chosen for the PRED/ON distinction:

1. Have a look at the constituent in VF. If it is an NP which might serve as subject and if it agrees with the verb, annotate it as ON.

2. If it does not agree with the verb, annotate it as PRED (ADJP, ADVP, PP, etc.).

Examples:

1. *[ON neue Wortschöpfungen] sind [PRED es] nur.*
   [PRED es] sind nur [ON neue Wortschöpfungen].
   oder sind [PRED es] nur [ON neue Wortschöpfungen].
   [PRED das] sind ohnehin [ON die schwächsten Partner].
   [ON die schwächsten Partner] sind [PRED das] ohnehin.
   oder sind [PRED das] ohnehin [ON die schwächsten Partner].

   Subject-verb agreement suggests that *neue Wortschöpfungen* und *die schwächsten Partner* are the subject, because of their plural form regardless in which field they occur.

2. *[ON die Ursache] war [PRED unklar].*
   [PRED unklar] war [ON die Ursache]
   [ON Candan Ercettin] ist [PRED überall].
   [PRED überall] ist [ON Candan Ercettin].

   ADJPs and ADVPs typically have PRED function when occurring together with predicative verbs and NP subjects.

3. *[PRED aus den Trauernden] wird [ON ein wütender Mop].*

   ein wütender Mop is considered the subject, because it is a noun phrase. Therefore, the prepositional phrase is PRED.

4. *[ON das] ist [PRED eine einmalige Chance].*
   [ON eine einmalige Chance] ist [PRED das].
   [ON es] ist [PRED der erste Besuch eines Papstes].
   [ON der erste Besuch eines Papstes] ist [PRED es].

[ON Hauptauftraggeber] ist [PRED die Bremer Verwaltung].
[ON die Bremer Verwaltung] ist [PRED Hauptauftraggeber].

The NP in VF position agrees with the verb and therefore has subject priority. As a consequence, the constituent in MF is PRED.

5. *[PRED wer] bin [ON ich].*
   [PRED was] ist [ON das].

   In w-questions, the interrogative pronoun is always PRED because here also the agreement rule applies.

6. *[ON-MOD es] sei [PRED wichtig], [ON daß man ...].*
   [ON Aufgabe des Festspielhauses] sei [PRED-MOD es], [PRED das Haus spielfertig zu halten].

   If a sentential subject or a sentential predicate occurs with an expletive *es*, the expletive *es* is either ON-MOD or PRED-MOD (cf. 4.2.10).

Chapter 9

The TüBa-D/Z Data Formats

The TüBa-D/Z treebank is released in five different data formats :

1. the NEGRA Export format

2. the Penn Treebank format

3. the Export-XML format (incl. anaphora and coreference relations)
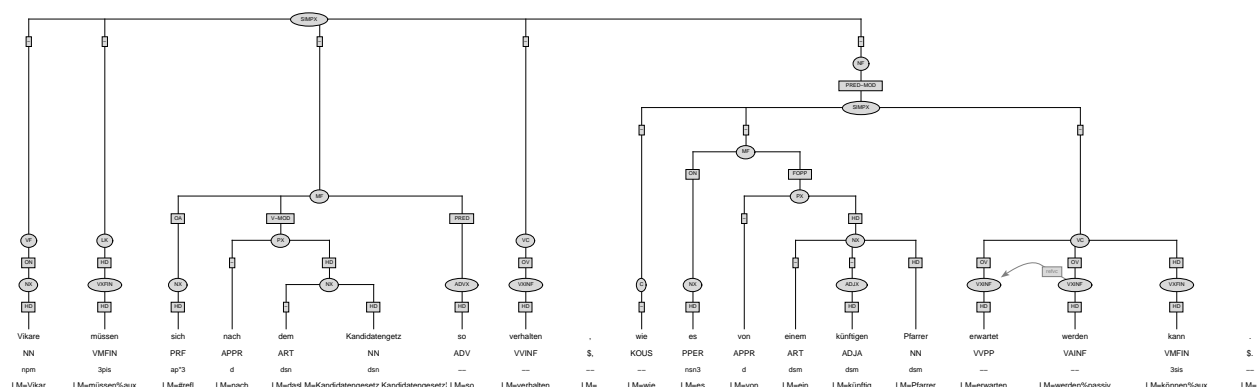
4. the TIGER-XML format

5. the CoNLL format

9.1   The NEGRA Export Format

This format is provided by the annotation tool Annotate (Brants and Skut 1998), it is created automatically from the database underlying the annotation process in Annotate. The NEGRA Export format is a line-oriented pointer-based representation of the syntactic annotation. It is also the most complete data format since it preserves all the information available during the manual annotation. A more complete description of the negra Export format can be found in (Brants 1997).

There are two versions of this format; NEGRA Export format 3 contains 3 layers of token information (token, POS tags, morphology), lemmata are displayed in the 'comment' column; NEGRA Export format 4 contains a 4th layer of lemma annotation.

An example of the NEGRA Export format 4 is given below, combined with the graphical representation of the syntactic annotation for the sentence "Vikare müssen sich nach dem Kandidatengetz so verhalten, wie es von einem künftigen Pfarrer erwartet werden kann".

Graphical representation (print out of the annotate tool):

Vikare	müssen	sich	nach	dem	Kandidatengetz	so	verhalten	.	wie	es	von	einem	künftigen	Pfarrer	erwartet	werden	kann	.
NN	VMFIN	PRF	APPR	ART	NN	ADV	VVINF	$.	KOUS	PPER	APPR	ART	ADJA	NN	VVPP	VAINF	VMFIN	$.
npm	3pis	ap*3	d	dsn	dsn	—	—	—	—	nsn3	d	dsm	dsm	dsm	—	—	3sis	—
LM=Vikar	LM=müssen%aux	LM=#refl	LM=nach	LM=das	LM=Kandidatengesetz Kandidatengesetz	LM=so	LM=verhalten	LM=,	LM=wie	LM=es	LM=von	LM=ein	LM=künftig	LM=Pfarrer	LM=erwarten	LM=werden%passiv	LM=können%aux	LM=.

The first line of the sentence representation (marked as 'begin of sentence' (BOS) includes the sentence id (here: 24538), the identity of the last annotator (here the one with id 2), the time of the last modification (in UNIX format, i.e. seconds since 1/1/1970) and the id of the origin of the file (1146 points to article 155 of the edition of 11/7/1992).

In the right column, secondary edges (here: 'refvc' pointing from node # 518 to node # 517, a dependency within the verbal complex) as well as corrections of misspellings (here: 'Kandidatengesetz') are also represented. Optionally, there is a version of NEGRA Export format 4 that contains anaphoric relations (here: 'es' is marked as expletive).

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Export format 4:

```
#BOS 24538 2 1134150923 1146
Vikare            Vikar             NN      npm     HD      500
müssen            müssen%aux        VMFIN   3pis    HD      502
sich              #refl             PRF     ap*3    HD      504
nach              nach              APPR    d       -       506
dem               das               ART     dsn     -       505
Kandidatengetz    Kandidatengesetz  NN      dsn     HD      505     %% Kandidatengesetz
so                so                ADV     --      HD      507
verhalten         verhalten         VVINF   --      HD      509
,                 ,                 $,      --      --      0
wie               wie               KOUS    --      -       511
es                es                PPER    nsn3    HD      512
von               von               APPR    d       -       515
einem             ein               ART     dsm     -       514
künftigen         künftig           ADJA    dsm     HD      513
Pfarrer           Pfarrer           NN      dsm     HD      514
erwartet          erwarten          VVPP    --      HD      517
werden            werden%passiv     VAINF   --      HD      518
kann              können%aux        VMFIN   3sis    HD      519
.                 .                 $.      --      --      0
#500              --                NX      --      ON      501
#501              --                VF      --      -       523
#502              --                VXFIN   --      HD      503
#503              --                LK      --      -       523
#504              --                NX      --      OA      508
#505              --                NX      --      HD      506
#506              --                PX      --      V-MOD   508
#507              --                ADVX    --      PRED    508
#508              --                MF      --      -       523
#509              --                VXINF   --      OV      510
#510              --                VC      --      -       523
#511              --                C       --      -       521
#512              --                NX      --      ON      516     %% R=expletive
#513              --                ADJX    --      -       514
#514              --                NX      --      HD      515
#515              --                PX      --      FOPP    516
#516              --                MF      --      -       521
#517              --                VXINF   --      OV      520
#518              --                VXINF   --      OV      520     refvc   517
#519              --                VXFIN   --      HD      520
#520              --                VC      --      -       521
#521              --                SIMPX   --      PRED-MOD        522
#522              --                NF      --      -       523
#523              --                SIMPX   --      --      0
#EOS 24538
```
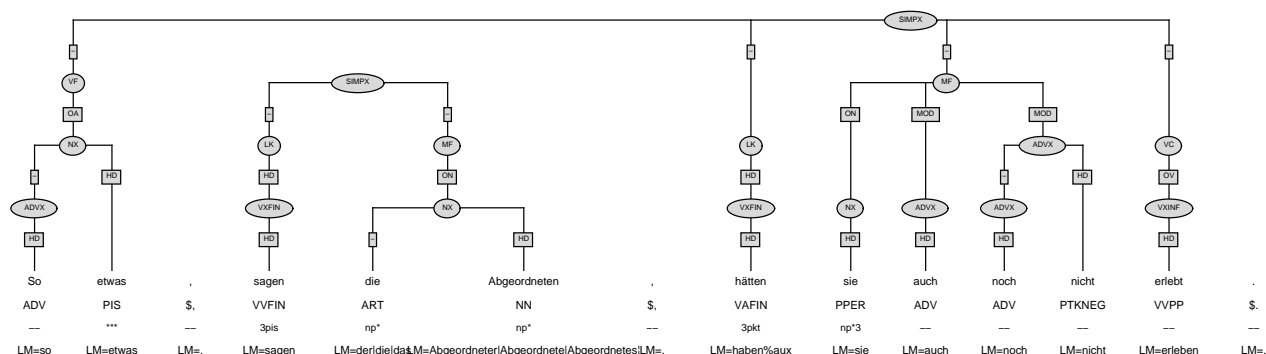
The only deviation from context-freeness which the annotation scheme allows concerns the annotation of parentheses. Parentheses are annotated as separate trees with no attachment to surrounding trees. The following tree gives an example for such a phenomenon (for a more complete description of the annotation cf. 7.6).

Graphical representation:

So etwas , sagen die Abgeordneten , hätten sie auch noch nicht erlebt .
ADV PIS $, VVFIN ART NN $, VAFIN PPER ADV ADV PTKNEG VVPP $.
--- *** -- 3pis np* np* -- 3pkt np*3 -- -- -- -- --
LM=so LM=etwas LM=, LM=sagen LM=der|die|das LM=Abgeordneter|Abgeordnete|Abgeordnetes LM=, LM=haben%aux LM=sie LM=auch LM=noch LM=nicht LM=erleben LM=.

The pointer-based representation of the NEGRA Export format separates information about the linear precedence of words from attachment information so that parentheses can be represented naturally without having to resort to explicitly marking non-attached nodes. Here, the SIMPX node dominating the parenthesis (node #517) is marked as not having a mother node.

Export format 3:

```
#BOS 7307 5 1121695339 364
So              ADV        --          HD    500    %% LM=so
etwas           PIS        ***         HD    501    %% LM=etwas
,               $,         --          --    0      %% LM=,
sagen           VVFIN      3pis        HD    513    %% LM=sagen
die             ART        np*         -     515    %% LM=der|die|das
Abgeordneten    NN         np*         HD    515    %% LM=Abgeordneter|Abgeordnete|Abgeordnetes
,               $,         --          --    0      %% LM=,
hätten          VAFIN      3pkt        HD    503    %% LM=haben%aux
sie             PPER       np*3        HD    505    %% LM=sie
auch            ADV        --          HD    506    %% LM=auch
noch            ADV        --          HD    507    %% LM=noch
nicht           PTKNEG     --          HD    508    %% LM=nicht
erlebt          VVPP       --          HD    510    %% LM=erleben
.               $.         --          --    0      %% LM=.
#500            ADVX       --          -     501
#501            NX         --          OA    502
#502            VF         --          -     512
#503            VXFIN      --          HD    504
#504            LK         --          -     512
#505            NX         --          ON    509
#506            ADVX       --          MOD   509
#507            ADVX       --          -     508
#508            ADVX       --          MOD   509
#509            MF         --          -     512
#510            VXINF      --          OV    511
#511            VC         --          -     512
#512            SIMPX      --          --    0
#513            VXFIN      --          HD    514
#514            LK         --          -     517
#515            NX         --          ON    516
#516            MF         --          -     517
#517            SIMPX      --          --    0
#EOS 7307
```

9.2 The Penn Treebank Format

This format is based on the format of the Penn Treebank (Mitchell et al. 1993). The attachment of constituents is shown via bracketing and indentation. Thus, all constituents which show the same level of indentation are attached on the same level. In the Penn Treebank format, grammatical functions, which are shown in the NEGRA Export format in the column "edge label", are attached to the syntactic label via a colon. Thus, the label "NX:OA" means that the constituent is a noun phrase with the grammatical function accusative object.

The Penn Treebank format is a representation that combines the linear representation of words with their attachment to higher constituents. For this reason, this format is restricted to completely context-free tree structures, i.e. it cannot adequately represent the annotation of parentheses in TüBa-D/Z. In order to capture the original syntactic annotation as well as the original word order in the sentence, it was decided to introduce a new edge label to mark such cases: PAR. Thus, the sentence "So etwas , sagen die Abgeordneten , hätten sie auch noch nicht erlebt .", as shown above is represented in the Penn Treebank format by the following bracketed structure:

Comments are preceded by a double '%' sign. The comment behind the structure is intended to help the reader locate the beginning of the parenthesis and it is not part of the actual data.

```
%% sent. no. 7307
(
  (SIMPX
    (VF
      (NX:OA
        (ADVX
          (ADV:HD So)
        )
        (PIS:HD etwas)
      )
    )
  ($, ,)
    (SIMPX:PAR                        %% here starts the parenthesis!
      (LK
        (VXFIN:HD
          (VVFIN:HD sagen)
        )
      )
      (MF
        (NX:ON
          (ART die)
          (NN:HD Abgeordneten)
        )
      )
    )
  ($, ,)
    (LK
      (VXFIN:HD
        (VAFIN:HD hätten)
      )
    )
    (MF
      (NX:ON
        (PPER:HD sie)
      )
      (ADVX:MOD
        (ADV:HD auch)
      )
      (ADVX:MOD
        (ADVX
          (ADV:HD noch)
        )
        (PTKNEG:HD nicht)
      )
    )
    (VC
      (VXINF:OV
        (VVPP:HD erlebt)
      )
    )
  )
  ($. .)
)
```

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Commas, which are not attached to the tree, are indented on the highest level although they are included in the bracketing of the constituent surrounding them. In the sentence below, e.g., the first comma is grouped into the noun phrase NX via word order. The indentation, however, signals that the comma cannot necessarily be attached to this node. It is also conceivable that it may be attached to one of the lower nodes, NX or R-SIMPX. In the case of the second comma, there are even more possible attachment sites.

```
%% fragment of sent. no. 33
(
  (R-SIMPX
    (C
      (NX:ON
        (PRELS:HD die)
      )
    )
    (MF
      (NX:OA
        (NX=ORG:HD
          (ART:-NE die)
          (NN:HD AWO)
        )
  ($, ,)
        (R-SIMPX
          (C
            (PX:V-MOD
              (PWAV:HD wo)
            )
          )
          (MF
            (NX:ON
              (PPER:HD er)
            )
            (NX:PRED
              (NN:HD Kreisvorsitzender)
            )
          )
          (VC
            (VXFIN:HD
              (VAFIN:HD ist)
            )
          )
        )
      )
    )
  )
  ($, ,)
    (VC
      (VXFIN:HD
        (VVFIN:HD prüfte)
      )
    )
  )
  ($. .))
```

9.3 The Export-XML Format

The XML format is a custom-made XML format that follows the NEGRA Export file format. It is designed to accommodate all original information provided in the Export format, including e.g. comments . Dominance relations between nodes are represented directly within the XML tree structure. Nodes without parent node (e.g. the sentence node SIMPX and punctuation marks do not have any "parent" attribute. They have the edge label "- -" that can be linked to an implicit root node. Thus, it is possible to represent parentheses without the use of additional labels.

Anaphora is expressed by a link between two related nodes. Coreference sets therefore are represented implicitly by chains of nodes that are part of a referential relation.

The following example shows the XML structure for the sentence "Schillen erklärte, sie werde als Kriegsgegnerin kandidieren". The personal pronoun "sie" is anaphoric to the antecedent noun phrase "Schillen". In the XML document, a `<relation>` tag is added below each node that is part of a referential relation. It encodes the type of referential relation and the node ID of the antecedent node. In our example, the antecedent is the node with ID `s1723_500`, that is the NX dominating the named entity "Schillen". This NX in turn is in a coreferential relationship with node `s1721_11` (word number 11 in sentence 1721), thus part of a coreference chain.

Please note that the format of Export-XML has changed from release 6 to release 7 of the TüBa-D/Z. There are XMLPerl skripts available for the old Export-XML format and a Java library of the new Export-XML format.

Graphical representation of the tree without annotation of the referential relation:
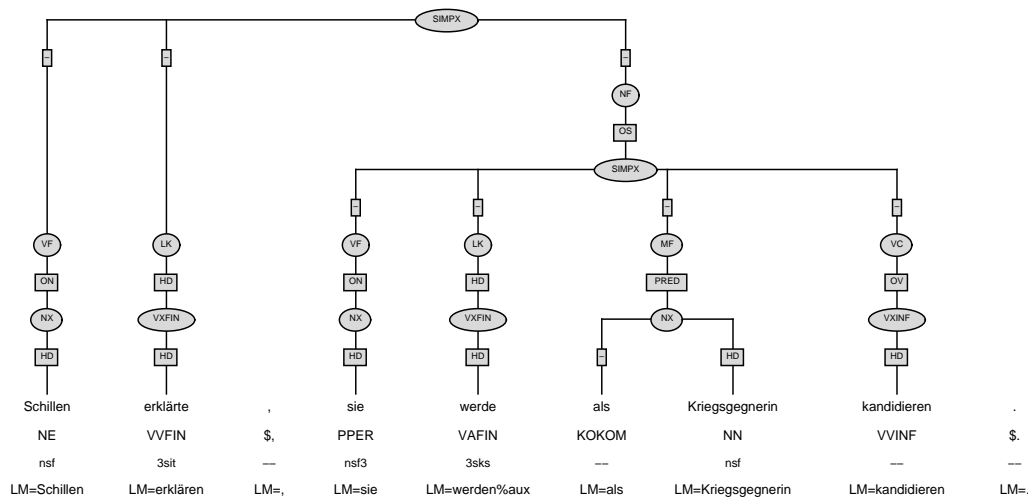
XML format including the referential relation:

```
<sentence xml:id="s1723">
 <node xml:id="s1723_514" cat="SIMPX" func="--">
  <node xml:id="s1723_501" cat="VF" func="-" parent="s1723_514">
   <node xml:id="s1723_500" cat="NX" func="ON" parent="s1723_501">
    <relation type="coreferential" target="s1721_11"/>
    <ne xml:id="ne_29507" type="PER">
     <word xml:id="s1723_1" form="Schillen" pos="NE" morph="nsf" lemma="Schillen" func="HD" parent="s1723_500"/>
    </ne>
   </node>
  </node>
  <node xml:id="s1723_503" cat="LK" func="-" parent="s1723_514">
   <node xml:id="s1723_502" cat="VXFIN" func="HD" parent="s1723_503">
    <word xml:id="s1723_2" form="erklärte" pos="VVFIN" morph="3sit" lemma="erklären" func="HD" parent="s1723_502"/>
   </node>
  </node>
  <word xml:id="s1723_3" form="," pos="$," lemma="," func="--"/>
  <node xml:id="s1723_513" cat="NF" func="-" parent="s1723_514">
   <node xml:id="s1723_512" cat="SIMPX" func="OS" parent="s1723_513">
    <node xml:id="s1723_505" cat="VF" func="-" parent="s1723_512">
     <node xml:id="s1723_504" cat="NX" func="ON" parent="s1723_505">
      <relation type="anaphoric" target="s1723_500"/>
      <word xml:id="s1723_4" form="sie" pos="PPER" morph="nsf3" lemma="sie" func="HD" parent="s1723_504"/>
     </node>
    </node>
    <node xml:id="s1723_507" cat="LK" func="-" parent="s1723_512">
     <node xml:id="s1723_506" cat="VXFIN" func="HD" parent="s1723_507">
      <word xml:id="s1723_5" form="werde" pos="VAFIN" morph="3sks" lemma="werden%aux" func="HD" parent="s1723_506"/>
     </node>
    </node>
    <node xml:id="s1723_509" cat="MF" func="-" parent="s1723_512">
     <node xml:id="s1723_508" cat="NX" func="PRED" parent="s1723_509">
      <word xml:id="s1723_6" form="als" pos="KOKOM" lemma="als" func="-" parent="s1723_508"/>
      <word xml:id="s1723_7" form="Kriegsgegnerin" pos="NN" morph="nsf" lemma="Kriegsgegnerin" func="HD"
       parent="s1723_508"/>
     </node>
    </node>
    <node xml:id="s1723_511" cat="VC" func="-" parent="s1723_512">
     <node xml:id="s1723_510" cat="VXINF" func="OV" parent="s1723_511">
      <word xml:id="s1723_8" form="kandidieren" pos="VVINF" lemma="kandidieren" func="HD" parent="s1723_510"/>
     </node>
    </node>
   </node>
  </node>
 </node>
 <word xml:id="s1723_9" form="." pos="$." lemma="." func="--"/>
</sentence>
```

9.4 The TIGER-XML Format

The TIGER-XML format was designed by Lezius (2002) as interchange format for the TIGERSeach treebank query tool. The corpus body contains sentences "s" containing one or several "graphs". Graphs are annotated stand-off: A list of terminal nodes is followed by nonterminals with their edges.

TIGER-XML doesn't include the full set of annotations. POS, morphology, and lemmas are included; corrected word forms and anaphora are missing.

A detailed description is provided in chapter V "The TIGER-XML treebank encoding format" of the TIGERSearch User's Manual (König et al. 2003).

Sentence 1723 in TIGER-XML format:

```
<s id="s1723">
<graph root="s1723_514">
<terminals>
 <t id="s1723_1" word="Schillen" lemma="Schillen" pos="NE" morph="nsf" />
 <t id="s1723_2" word="erklärte" lemma="erklären" pos="VVFIN" morph="3sit" />
 <t id="s1723_3" word="," lemma="," pos="$," morph="--" />
 <t id="s1723_4" word="sie" lemma="sie" pos="PPER" morph="nsf3" />
 <t id="s1723_5" word="werde" lemma="werden%aux" pos="VAFIN" morph="3sks" />
 <t id="s1723_6" word="als" lemma="als" pos="KOKOM" morph="--" />
 <t id="s1723_7" word="Kriegsgegnerin" lemma="Kriegsgegnerin" pos="NN" morph="nsf" />
 <t id="s1723_8" word="kandidieren" lemma="kandidieren" pos="VVINF" morph="--" />
 <t id="s1723_9" word="." lemma="." pos="$." morph="--" />
</terminals>
<nonterminals>
 <nt id="s1723_500" cat="NX=PER">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_1" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_501" cat="VF">
  <edge label="ON" idref="s1723_500" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_502" cat="VXFIN">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_2" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_503" cat="LK">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_502" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_504" cat="NX">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_4" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_505" cat="VF">
  <edge label="ON" idref="s1723_504" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_506" cat="VXFIN">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_5" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_507" cat="LK">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_506" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_508" cat="NX">
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_6" />
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_7" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_509" cat="MF">
  <edge label="PRED" idref="s1723_508" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_510" cat="VXINF">
  <edge label="HD" idref="s1723_8" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_511" cat="VC">
  <edge label="OV" idref="s1723_510" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_512" cat="SIMPX">
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_505" />
    <edge label="-" idref="s1723_507" />
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_509" />
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_511" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_513" cat="NF">
  <edge label="OS" idref="s1723_512" />
 </nt>
 <nt id="s1723_514" cat="SIMPX">
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_501" />
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_503" />
  <edge label="-" idref="s1723_513" />
 </nt>
</nonterminals>
</graph>
</s>
```

9.5 The CoNLL Format

CoNLL format contains a dependency version of TüBa-D/Z in the format of the CoNLL-X shared task. The conversion was done automatically, but is oriented at the annotation guidelines by Foth (2006).

CoNLL format is a table format containing a series of tabular-separated lines. Each line contains the following information:

1. ID – a sequential ID for each token

2. FORM – the word form (token)

3. LEMMA – the gold standard lemma of the token

4. CPOSTAG – simplified part-of-speech tag

5. POSTAG – part-of-speech tag according to STTS tag set

6. FEATS – tag with morphological information

7. HEAD – regent of the token in the dependency analysis, or "0" for tokens without regent

8. DEPREL – dependency relation between the token and its regent, or "ROOT" for tokens without regent

Sentence 1723 in CoNLL format:

```
1    Schillen        Schillen        N       NE      nsf     2    SUBJ
2    erklärte        erklären        V       VVFIN   3sit    0    ROOT
3    ,               ,               $,      $,      --      2    -PUNCT-
4    sie             sie             PRO     PPER    nsf3    5    SUBJ
5    werde           werden%aux      V       VAFIN   3sks    2    S
6    als             als             KOKOM   KOKOM   --      8    KOM
7    Kriegsgegnerin  Kriegsgegnerin  N       NN      nsf     6    CJ
8    kandidieren     kandidieren     V       VVINF   --      5    AUX
9    .               .               $.      $.      --      8    -PUNCT-
```

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