

Annotation Guidelines for Rhetorical Structure

Manfred Stede
University of Potsdam
stede@uni-potsdam.de

Maite Taboada
Simon Fraser University
mtaboada@sfu.ca

Debopam Das
University of Potsdam
debdas@uni-potsdam.de

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Notes:

- Parts of this document are a translation of the Chapter ‘Rhetorische Struktur’ from the collection of annotation guidelines in Stede (2016).
- These guidelines explain the procedure of RST analysis only in an abstract manner (for “on paper” analysis). Hints on using a specific annotation tool will be provided separately.
- All linguistic examples for which no source is provided are fictitious. Our corpus examples are from the RST Discourse Treebank (RST-DT) (Carlson et al., 2003) and translations from the Potsdam Commentary Corpus (PCC) (Stede and Neumann, 2014).
- Thanks are due to Gisela Redeker for discussion of these guidelines and suggestions for improvement.

1 Background

Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thompson, 1988, Taboada and Mann, 2006)¹ postulates that a coherent text can be characterized by means of a tree structure whose leaves are the “elementary discourse units” (henceforth: EDUs), and whose internal nodes are labelled with a *coherence relation*. The theory proposes a list of about 25 such relations, which may be said to hold between two EDUs or (recursively) between larger spans of text. With most of the relations, the two units are not of equal “weight”. Instead, one of them is said to play the central role of this local constellation, while the other one has merely a supportive function. The former unit is called the *nucleus* of this (instance of a) coherence relation; the latter is its *satellite*.

¹These two papers are recommended as background reading for annotators.

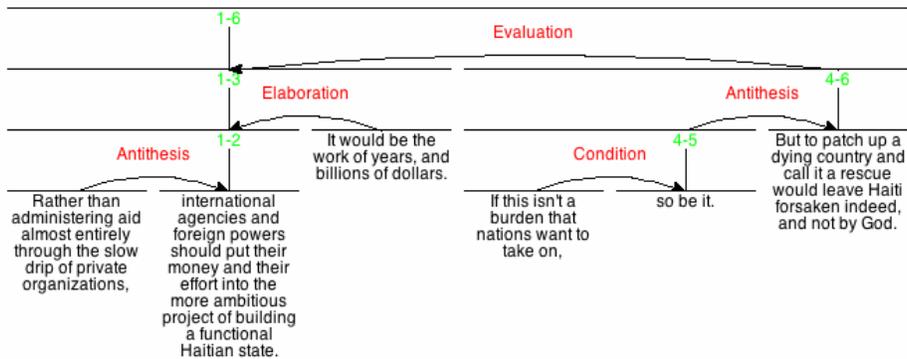


Figure 1: Example of an RST analysis of a text excerpt (Source: George Packer: Suffering. *The New Yorker* 42, 2010)

For illustration, Figure 1 shows the RST analysis of a short piece from a text, which has been produced using the *RSTTool*² software. Horizontal lines denote text units: either EDUs, corresponding to the leaves of the tree, or sequences of EDUs forming larger spans. Curved arrows connect the satellite of a relation to its nucleus, which furthermore is marked by a vertical line that connects it to its embedding larger segment. The names of the relations are given in red.

What is the status of such an analysis? We define it as the *reconstruction of the author's plan from the perspective of the reader*. Under this view, RST is a tool for the explication of the reader's text understanding: The tree structure demonstrates to a good extent the intention that the author supposedly had when producing the text. Notice that this view implies that an RST analysis by definition includes a certain amount of subjectivity – different readers might very well produce somewhat different analyses, which can nonetheless be equally legitimate or “valid”.

2 Goal of the annotation

The rhetorical structure of a text describes how adjacent spans of units are connected to each other. This may be a relatively loose thematic “continuation” (e.g., using the coherence relation ELABORATION) or a very specific kind of connection, as for example in a *if...then* structure corresponding to the relation CONDITION. The set of coherence relations will be described in detail below in Section 4. Overall, an RST analysis consists of four tasks:

- Break the text into elementary discourse units; this step will be explained in Section 3.
- Decide on the *hierarchical structure* of the text: Which adjacent units are

²<http://www.wagsoft.com/rsttool> (accessed: Sep 30, 2015)

to be connected to each other in what order – what is the resulting tree structure that covers the complete text?

- When joining two adjacent units into a larger one, decide on the coherence relation to be applied.
- Decide on the *nucleus/satellite* status of the linked units. For most relations, this follows automatically from their definition. Some relations come in two variants, allowing to select the nucleus freely. In general, the overall text structure that is being created can impose constraints on the nuclearity assignment – which thus may put some restrictions on what relations can or should be used.

In practice, the last three tasks are not performed separately but are closely tied to one another. At the end of the annotation process, the complete text has to be covered by the tree structure, without any gaps (EDUs that are not participating in the analysis). At any point, adjacent units are being related to one another such that no crossing edges originate in the tree. (In other words, the tree is “projective”.)

Another important property of the tree is that no node has more than one parent node, which means that any unit of the text can play only one role in the rhetorical structure. It thus cannot function as a satellite in two distinct relations, being linked to different nuclei. On the other hand, it is possible that a single nucleus has multiple satellites, as it is illustrated with the example in Figure 2. The final sentence amounts to the central statement of the text and therefore constitutes the *central nucleus* of the text: If you start at the top (root) node of the tree and move to that leaf, along the path you encounter only nucleus links.

The motivation for that sentence results directly from sentence 2, which is—according to this analysis—the second-most important one in the text. We can check this with a paraphrase text, according to which a sequence of the “nuclear” EDUs of the text, connected in a way that reflects the coherence relations, should result in a summary of the text: “Since you should be careful when camping in the wilderness, do not store any meat in your tent.”

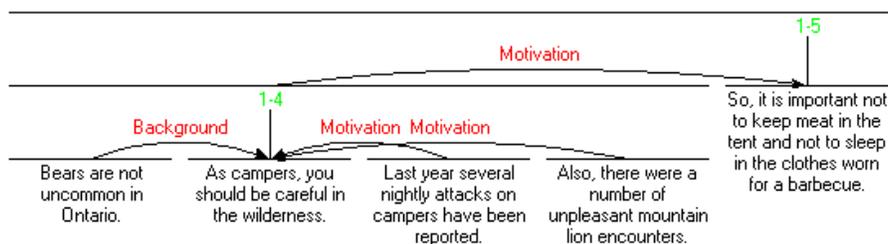


Figure 2: Another example of an RST analysis

In the analysis, the MOTIVATION relation holds between sentences 1–4 (satellite) and 5 (nucleus). The structure now postulates that it automatically also holds between the nucleus of 1–4 (i.e., 2) and 5. This property of RST trees has been formulated as the *strong nuclearity principle* by Marcu (2000). It is particularly relevant when analyzing argumentative texts.

For sentences 1–4, the analysis sees no further hierarchical structure; instead, it connects 1, 3 and 4 individually to 2. One might argue that the first three sentences deal with the topic of bears, and therefore 1 should be the BACKGROUND of 2–3, but sentence 4 also connects to 2 (in a parallel way), so that building a unit for 1–3 would be counterintuitive for the structure of the text.

As we have seen, the different spans of the text receive different “weights” by assigning nuclearity status to EDUs and larger units. In the following, we call the central units of the text “strongly nuclear”: The path connecting them to the root of the tree includes no or only very few satellite links.

The next section explains the preparatory step of segmentation; afterwards, Section 4 introduces the inventory of relations and illustrates them with examples. Section 5 explains the concrete procedure for performing a text analysis. Finally, Section 6 discusses the various annotation decisions and their interactions by means of a complete analysis of a text from the RST Discourse Treebank (Carlson et al., 2003).

3 Segmentation

The following guidelines for segmenting text are based on the original definition of spans in RST, and on the implementation in the Syntactic and Lexical Discourse Segmenter, SLSeg (Tofiloski et al., 2009). Some of the examples in these guidelines are from our tests for SLSeg.

This document describes *spans* and *EDUs*. Span is a general term, to describe any unit of discourse, simple (a simple sentence), or complex (a complex sentence, a combination of sentences). To make this distinction clearer, Marcu (2000) introduced the notion of EDUs, or *Elementary Discourse Units*. An EDU is the minimal unit of discourse, and RST trees are supposed to have only EDUs at their most granular level. EDUs combine with each other to form other, complex, units of discourse.

3.1 General principles

In general, discourse segments are clauses and sentences. Our basic principles for discourse segmentation follow the proposals in RST as to what a minimal unit of text is. Many of our differences with Carlson and Marcu (2001), who defined EDUs for the RST Discourse Treebank (Carlson et al., 2003), are due to the fact that we adhere closer to the original RST proposals (Mann and Thompson, 1988), which defined as spans adjunct clauses, rather than complement (subject and object) clauses. In particular, we propose that complements of attributive and cognitive verbs (*He said (that)...*, *I think (that)...*) are not EDUs. We

preserve consistency by not breaking at direct speech (“*X*”, *he said.*). Reported and direct speech are certainly important in discourse (Prasad et al., 2007); we do not believe, however, that they enter into discourse relations of the type that RST attempts to capture.

In general, adjunct, but not complement clauses are discourse units. We require all discourse segments to contain a verb. Whenever a discourse boundary is inserted, the two newly created segments must each contain a verb (exceptions apply for some PP adjuncts). We segment coordinated clauses and coordinated VPs, adjunct clauses with either finite or non-finite verbs, and non-restrictive relative clauses (marked by commas, parentheses or other typographical features). In all cases, the choice is motivated by whether a discourse relation could hold between the resulting segments.

3.2 Examples of Elementary Discourse Units

3.2.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses do not constitute EDUs. These include subject and object clauses, and some objects of nouns and other parts of speech. For example, in 1, there are two EDUs, with one of them being a main clause (the first one), and the other one a subordinate conditional clause. The subordinate clause contains an additional object clause, the direct object of the verb *said*, namely *this is one of his greatest performances*. The direct object clause, a complement of the verb, **is not** an EDU. It is a unit of syntax, not of discourse.

- (1) [I wouldn’t be far off] [if I said this is one of his greatest performances.]

Similar principles apply to complements of verbs that take a non-finite clause as direct object (*I decided to leave the car at home*), and verbs that take a clause that starts with *whether* or *if*. In the resources for SLSeg³, we provide a list of such verbs. They include:

- Attribute/cognitive verbs (take a *that*-clause): *agree, believe, hope, know, realize, say, understand*.
- Verbs that take a non-finite clause: *appear, attempt, decide, promise, try*.
- Verbs that take an *if* or *whether* clause: *doubt, forget, evaluate, know, wonder*.

Other examples of complement clauses include complements of nouns, as in (2), which contains a clause as complement of the noun *fact*. Neither the relative clause *that caught my attention* (see below) nor the noun clause *that these fantasy novels were marketed* are units of discourse.

- (2) The thing that caught my attention was the fact that these fantasy novels were marketed...

³<http://www.sfu.ca/mtaboada/research/SLSeg.html>

3.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can be considered to elaborate on the noun that they modify, i.e., they stand in an ELABORATION relation (Scott and de Souza, 1990). At their most local level, they are probably not units of discourse, merely restricting the meaning of a noun. Some of them, however, do work at the discourse level, and they tend to refer to a discourse entity (a proposition), rather than just to a noun. We believe that the best candidates for discourse status are non-restrictive relative clauses, i.e., those set off from the rest of the clause by commas, dashes or similar typography. Example (3) contains one such relative clause (*which is hard to see past*). We provide segmentation for the entire example, because it contains a few different EDUs.

- (3) [And while I wasn't always buying him as a genuine Samurai,] [he throws himself into the role with such determination that he deserves to be commended for his efforts,] [despite the fact that he is a Hollywood megastar] [(which is hard to see past,)] [regardless of how good the performance is.]

3.2.3 Attribution

Attribution is a complex phenomenon. Syntactically, the reported unit is not a discourse unit unto itself, but usually a noun clause complement of the reporting verb. In Example 4, the noun clause *that a representative's duty was . . .* is a complement of the verb *explained*, fulfilling a similar function to a noun or pronoun. Compare to *Madison explained it..*

- (4) Madison explained that a representative's duty was to speak not for the narrow interests of one group but instead for the common good.

Therefore, we do not segment complement clauses of reporting verbs. SLSeg contains a list of such verbs.

Direct speech is more difficult to classify, as it sometimes involves discontinuous elements, multiple embeddings, and complex structure. Consider the example in (5). There are multiple clauses in this example, with the two clauses that contain the reporting verbs being in a relationship to each other, in addition to the relation between speech and reporting verb. It is difficult, however, to say what the latter relation is, beyond saying that it is attributive.

- (5) Katsumoto says to Nathan on the dawn of battle, "You think a man can change his destiny?" to which Cruise replies, "I believe a man does what he can, until his destiny is revealed."

For the time being, we will ignore direct speech and quotes, and will include any material in quotes as part of the main clause.

3.2.4 Prepositional adjuncts

Some prepositional adjuncts are good candidates for discourse status, as they are very close to clausal adjuncts. Consider the two examples in (6) and (7). The

first one (invented) contains a prepositional phrase, with the complex preposition *regardless of*. Its complement is an NP, and thus it seems to operate at the syntactic level. In the second case (adapted from 3), the complement of the preposition is a clause, and it may seem closer to other clausal adjuncts, such as temporal, conditional or concessive clauses. In the original RST proposal, this was considered a decision of granularity. In the SLSeg implementation, we considered as an EDU any unit containing a verb. Thus, *regardless of how good the performance is* would be an EDU, but *regardless of income* would not.

- (6) Both students and faculty pay the same amount for childcare, regardless of income.
- (7) It is hard to see past his megastar status, [regardless of how good the performance is.]

4 Relations

The definitions of the relations used in our annotation are based on those of the RST website⁴, but there are some modifications and additional hints that apply specifically to genres of opinionated text, such as editorials. Similar to the arrangement in the RST website, we introduce the relations in groups.

1. Primarily *pragmatic* relations describe (especially in editorials) the argumentation of the author: What are the claims, and how are they being supported by observations or by other claims?
2. Primarily *semantic* relations are used when the author describes a (possibly complex) states of affairs in the world; this may involve for example relations of causality among events.
3. *Textual* relations work to organize the text and make its understanding easier by providing orienting information, or repetition.
4. In all three groups above the relations hold between a nucleus and a satellite; they are thus called *mononuclear*. In contrast, the fourth group contains *multinuclear* relations, those that do not mark a difference in weight, but instead connect two or more nuclei.

The first three groups are then distinguished on the grounds of considering “content”, whereas the fourth arises from a structural criterion (multinuclearity) and contains semantic, pragmatic and textual relations.

As indicated earlier, occasionally there will be no single plausible analysis for a constellation of text units. The existence of the grouping of relations is in fact one reason for this situation, as an annotator may focus more on the semantic or on the pragmatic side of the content of the units and thus favour a relation from one group over that from another one. We will provide some additional explanation after having introduced the relations, in Section 4.6.

⁴<http://www.sfu.ca/rst> (last accessed March 7, 2017). In the RST literature, this set of definitions is known as the “Extended classical relations”.

4.1 Format of the definitions

Relations are being defined by explaining (a) the role of the two units that are being adjoined and (b) the effect that the author wants to achieve by applying the relation to the units. In addition to this core information, we provide examples (either translations from the Potsdam Commentary Corpus, or fictitious ones), mention typical connectives that can be used to signal the relation in English, and finally add some remarks on applying the relations to the text genre of editorials. The overall format for the definitions is as follows:

- **N:** Description of the type and/or the function of the nucleus
Characterizing primarily the goals of the author, not the expression in the text.
- **S:** Description of the type and/or the function of the satellite
Characterizing primarily the goals of the author, not the expression in the text.
- **N/S:** Description of the function of the nucleus/satellite combination.
When there are constraints or tendencies on the linear order of N and S, they will also be given here.
- **Effect:** Description of the effect intended by the author in using the relation, in the form of a “before–after” change.
- **Typical connectives**
- **Example:** N and S are marked. If there is a description of prior context, it is given in *italics*.
- **Remarks:** Optional.

The fields for N, S and N/S remain empty when a relation does not have any such constraints. For multinuclear relations, the fields S and N/S are omitted.

It is important to remember that the N/S distribution can often be understood only in a wider discourse context, so that the excerpts given here are merely illustrative (e.g., in the opposition between CAUSE and RESULT and between ANTITHESIS and CONTRAST).

When sample connectives are given, please note:

- We provide merely a few examples here. Usually, there are more connectives for a given relation; sometimes there are many.
- Connectives can be ambiguous. On the one hand, many words can have another reading in addition to the connective one; on the other hand, some connectives can signal more than one relation, such as *since*, which can be used to indicate a temporal or a causal relation.
- Sometimes, a connective that “usually” signals relation X can be interpreted to mark a different relation Y. Temporal sequence and causality,

for instance, often co-occur, and sometimes the causality is more important than the temporal core meaning of the connective, as in this example involving *then*:

- (8) Little Joseph received a cookie from his grandpa and then he was finally happy.

During an analysis, when checking whether some relation is applicable to a pair of text segments, annotation should proceed as follows:

- Is there a connective signalling the relation, or at least constraining the set of possible relations? In some cases, however, the relation signalled at the surface is not the pragmatically central one (as illustrated above). We will discuss this further in Section 4.6.
- Punctuation generally does not provide reliable evidence for specific relations, but there are some tendencies, such as a connection between semicolon and contrastive relations:

- (9) My brother loves dark chocolate; my sister for some reason prefers the lighter milk chocolate.

- When juxtaposing the two segments, does the author want to achieve the effect that is specified in the relation definition? This is a necessary condition for applying a relation.
- Are the constraints on type or function of nucleus and satellite and on their combination fulfilled? If they are specified, they also constitute necessary conditions.
- Is the connection produced by the relation between nucleus and satellite appropriate for the larger text function? This criterion is less strict (and more prone to interpretation) than the ones given above, but it can make the decision easier when more than one relation seems applicable.

Below we first provide definitions for mononuclear relations (i.e., those where one segment is more important for the author's purposes). They are divided into a set of primarily pragmatic and semantic relations, respectively, followed by some that work to organize the text. Afterwards we describe multinuclear relations, where there is no such imbalance between the segments.

4.2 Primarily pragmatic relations

These relations cover cases where the author makes understanding of a segment easier (BACKGROUND), evokes a positive opinion on a state of affairs (ANTITHESIS, CONCESSION), justifies a thesis that the author has proposed (EVIDENCE, REASON), evaluates a state of affairs from the author's perspective (EVALUATION), attempts to trigger an action on the part of the reader (Motivation) or makes it easier for the reader to perform the action (ENABLEMENT).

Throughout the definitions, ‘R’ stands for ‘Reader’ and ‘W’ for ‘Writer’; ‘N’ for ‘Nucleus’ and ‘S’ for ‘Satellite’. Note that the ‘Effects’ are in most cases taken from the definitions of the RST Website. ‘N/S’ is usually more elaborate in our version.

BACKGROUND

- **N/S:** Understanding S makes it easier for R to understand the content of N; without the background information in S, it would be difficult to comprehend N. In a text, S mostly but not always precedes N. A Background S at the beginning of the text often serves to introduce the topic of the text.
 - **Effect:** R’s ability to comprehend N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** Rarely signalled by connectives.
 - **Example:** [Until 1984, Burkina Faso was called Obervolta.]_S [According to an EMNID poll, many Europeans today believe that they are two different countries.]_N
 - **Remark:** This relation only rarely holds between two EDUs; mostly it will connect larger segments. Many editorials start with a Background S, which serves as starting point for W’s subsequent assessment.
-

ANTITHESIS

- **N:** W regards the content of N as more important; it is the antithesis that W is identifying with.
 - **S:** In comparison to N, W regards the content of S as less important. S is considered to be the thesis which the W is not identifying with.
 - **N/S:** The contents of N and S are not compatible – often on the level of their evaluation. Due to the incompatibility, one cannot have equal regard for N and S. In a text, S usually precedes N.
 - **Effect:** R’s positive regard for N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** *but; neg - rather; neg - instead; ...*
 - **Example:** *Attempt of a city to sell off real estate* [At one point they seemed to have succeeded.]_S [But the buyer didn’t pay.]_N (maz-6193, PCC)
[It was not the man who received negative votes]_S [but his job, which turns him into a supporter for the bombing test range.]_N (maz-17300, PCC)
 - **Remark:** Similar relations are Concession and multinuclear Contrast; see also Section 4.6. A subgroup of Antithesis is cases where N serves to correct an assumption stated in S.
-

CONCESSION

- **N:** W regards the content of N as more important.
 - **S:** In comparison to N, W regards the content of S as less important, but s/he does not dispute that S holds.
 - **N/S:** W concedes S and implicitly confirms that S and N are usually not compatible; in the current instance, however, they are compatible, and N is being emphasized.
 - **Effect:** R's positive regard for N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** *although; but; still; despite; ..*
 - **Example:** [Sanitary facilities nowadays are a standard on big campgrounds.]_S
[But Radewege has a hard time with upgrading to such standards.]_N (maz-6488, PCC)
-

EVIDENCE

- **N:** A subjective statement/thesis/claim, which R might not accept or might not regard as sufficiently important or positive.
 - **S:** A statement that R is likely to accept; usually an “objective” description of a fact.
 - **N/S:** Understanding S makes it easier for R to accept N, or to share the particular viewpoint of W.
 - **Effect:** R's belief in N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** Causal connectives.
 - **Example:** *Debate about having two subjects 'Religion' and 'LER' at school*
[And now even our state government seems determined to remove this apparent equality between the two subjects.]_N [Stolpe, Reiche and others do say Yes to the possible compromise offered by the Karlsruhe court, but they also decree: There cannot be any voluntary subject area LER/Religion.]_S
(maz-6159, PCC)
 - **Remark:** Evidence often connects a larger S segment to a shorter N (the thesis).
-

REASON

- **N:** A subjective statement/thesis/claim, which R might not accept or might not regard as sufficiently important or positive.
 - **S:** A subjective statement/thesis/claim.
 - **N/S:** Understanding S makes it easier for R to accept N, or to share the particular viewpoint of W.
 - **Effect:** R's belief in N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** Causal connectives.
 - **Example:** [With each new day of air raids, the military operations of the U.S. lose more and more credibility.]_N [By means of comprehensive area-wide destruction you can't hit the Taliban, nor can you eliminate bin Laden.]_S (maz-5701, PCC)
 - **Remark:** Reason is more specific than Evidence. The difference lies on whether S is being presented by W as "objective" (Evidence) or also constitutes a subjective statement itself (Reason).
-

REASON-N

- **N:** A subjective statement/thesis/claim.
 - **S:** A subjective statement/thesis/claim, which R might not accept or might not regard as sufficiently important or positive.
 - **N/S:** Understanding N makes it easier for R to accept S, or to share the particular viewpoint of W.
 - **Effect:** R's belief in S is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** Causal connectives.
 - **Remark:** This relation is parallel to Reason. It applies when for the text function, the reason is more important than the cause. In the genre of editorials, this will be relatively rare.
-

JUSTIFY

- **N:** A subjective statement/thesis/claim, which R might not accept or might not regard as sufficiently important or positive.
- **S:** A statement of a fundamental (e.g., political, moral) attitude of the acting person.

- **N/S:** Understanding S makes it easier for R to accept N, or to share the particular viewpoint of W.
 - **Effect:** R's readiness to accept W's right to present N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** Causal connectives.
 - **Example:** [I'll never eat this dish.]_N [I'm a vegetarian.]_S
-

EVALUATION-S

- **N:** Description of a state of affairs, or a subjective statement (but not from W's perspective).
 - **S:** A subjective evaluation (positive/negative, desirable/undesirable) from W's perspective.
 - **N/S:** S evaluates N.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes that S assesses N and recognizes the value it assigns.
 - **Typical connectives:** Rarely signalled by connectives.
 - **Example:** [Its past seemed to shadow the big hotel like a curse.]_S [For many years the Potsdam local court had tried to find a buyer, without success.]_N (maz-6193, PCC)
 - **Remark:** Usually the 'evaluating' segment follows the 'evaluated' one. But sometimes the order is the opposite, as in the example.
-

EVALUATION-N

- **N:** A subjective evaluation (positive/negative, desirable/undesirable) from W's perspective.
 - **S:** Description of a state of affairs, or a subjective statement (but not from W's perspective).
 - **N/S:** N evaluates S.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes that N assesses S and recognizes the value it assigns.
 - **Typical connectives:** Rarely signalled by connectives.
 - **Remark:** This relation is parallel to Evaluation-S. Deciding between the two depends solely on judging the relative importance of the segments for the text.
-

MOTIVATION

- **N:** An action to be performed by R.
 - **N/S:** S presents a reason for performing the action described in N.
 - **Effect:** R's desire to perform action in N is increased.
 - **Typical connectives:** Causal connectives.
 - **Example:** [Running the Olympic Games are a win-win situation for any city.]_S [Berlin must now apply for the 2026 games!]_N
 - **Remark:** In the genre of editorial, this relation is rare. Sometimes W metaphorically encourages all Rs to do a certain action, as in the example given here.
-

ENABLEMENT

- **N:** An action to be performed by R.
 - **N/S:** Comprehending S makes it easier for R to perform the action described in N.
 - **Effect:** R's potential ability to perform the action in N increases.
 - **Typical connectives:**
 - **Example:** [Replace the spark plugs.]_N [A square key wrench can be found right under the cap.]_S
 - **Remark:** In the genre of editorial, this relation is rare.
-

4.3 Primarily semantic relations

CIRCUMSTANCE

- **S:** An event or state that actually occurs or has occurred (i.e., not a hypothetical one).
 - **N/S:** S characterizes a framework in which N is to be interpreted, such as its temporal or locative position.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes that S provides the framework for interpreting N.
 - **Typical connectives:** *as; when; while; ...* for a temporal frame.
 - **Example:** [When Veag came under pressure because of the deregulation of the electricity market,]_S [they compensated for this by squeezing their suppliers.]_N (maz-5297, PCC)
-

CONDITION

- **S:** A hypothetical, future, or in other ways unreal situation.
 - **N/S:** The realization of N depends on the realization of S.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes how the realization of N depends on the realization of S.
 - **Typical connectives:** *if .. then; in case; ...*
 - **Example:** [When more and more communities are in financial trouble,]_S [regularly replacing the school textbooks becomes just impossible.]_N (maz-00002, PCC)
[If the sanitary facilities are still not available in the coming season,]_S [Radewege is in danger of losing the competition for attracting boats to the campground.]_N (maz-6488, PCC)
-

OTHERWISE

- **N:** A hypothetical, future, or in other ways unreal situation.
 - **S:** A hypothetical, future, or in other ways unreal situation.
 - **N/S:** The realization of N impedes the realization of S.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes the dependency relation of prevention between the realization of N and the realization of S.
 - **Typical connectives:** *otherwise; ...*
 - **Example:** [The city would be smart not to respond to this moral imperative.]_N [Otherwise it would have to install speed bumps in front of every single school.]_S (maz-5709, PCC)
[The community council should revoke its decision,]_N [before citizens start buying torches.]_S (maz-15609, PCC)
-

UNLESS

- **N:** A hypothetical, future, or in other ways unrealized situation.
- **S:** A hypothetical, future, or in other ways unrealized situation.
- **N/S:** S determines the realization of N: N is only being realized if S is not being realized.
- **Effect:** R recognizes that N is realized provided that S is not realized.
- **Typical connectives:** *unless; ...*

- **Example:** [Tomorrow the satellite will fall into the Pacific Ocean.]_N [Unless it burns up upon entering the earth atmosphere, after all.]_S

ELABORATION

- **N/S:** S provides details or more information on the state of affairs described in N (but not on a single entity mentioned in N; see E-ELABORATION below). N precedes S in the text. Typical relations between N and S are set::element, whole::part, abstraction::instance, procedure::step.
- **Effect:** R recognizes S as providing additional detail for the state of affairs in N. R identifies the element of subject matter for which detail is provided.
- **Typical connectives:** *in particular; for example; ...*
- **Example:** [Diepensee will relocate.]_N [No question about that.]_S (maz-6993, PCC)

E-ELABORATION

- **N/S:** S provides details or more information on a single entity mentioned in N. N precedes S in the text.
- **Effect:** R recognizes S as providing additional detail for an entity in N. R identifies the element of subject matter for which detail is provided.
- **Typical connectives:** Rarely signalled by connectives.
- **Example:** [Today thousands of visitors want to sense the atmosphere of a historical classroom,]_N [as it exists only in very few places in Germany.]_S (maz-6728, PCC)
- **Remark:** In the example, the *as*-clause (S) does not provide information on the 'sense' activity, but on the 'classroom', i.e., an entity mentioned in N.

INTERPRETATION

- **N/S:** S shifts the content of N to a different conceptual frame. This does not imply an evaluation of N (or the evaluation is of only secondary importance). N precedes S in the text.
- **Effect:** R recognizes that S relates N to a framework of ideas not involved in the knowledge presented in N itself.

- **Typical connectives:** *thus; ...*
 - **Example:** [Now for the first time we bought a Cadillac.]_N [That probably makes us part of the bourgeoisie.]_S
 - **Remark:** Whenever S primarily provides an assessment (on the positive/negative scale) of N, Evaluation is to be used, rather than Interpretation.
-

MEANS

- **N:** An activity or action.
 - **N/S:** S provides information that makes the realization/execution of N more probable or simple (e.g., an instrument).
 - **Effect:** R recognizes that the method or instrument in S tends to make realization of N more likely.
 - **Typical connectives:** *thus; ...*
 - **Example:** [In August, Berliners always enjoy travelling to Lichtenrade.]_N [To that end, they usually take the S25 train.]_S
[The chairman of the party made sure to be on bad terms with two mayors]_S [and thus will lose credibility and standing.]_N (maz-18160, PCC)
-

CAUSE

- **N:** A state or event in the world.
 - **S:** A state or event in the world.
 - **N/S:** The state/event in N is being caused by the state/event in S.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes S as a cause of N.
 - **Typical connectives:** *because; since; therefore; ...*
 - **Example:** *Unexpected press report on relocating the village of Diepensee.*
[Mayer Jochen Wagner reacted with surprise, too.]_N [After all, just on Monday the community council had agreed to expand the village of Diepensee.]_S
(maz-6993, PCC)
-

RESULT

- **N:** A state or event in the world.
 - **S:** A state or event in the world.
 - **N/S:** The state/event in S is being caused by the state/event in N.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes N as a cause of S.
 - **Typical connectives:** *because; since; therefore; ...*
 - **Remark:** This relation is parallel to Cause. Deciding between the two depends solely on judging the relative importance of the segments for the text.
-

PURPOSE

- **N:** An activity or action.
 - **S:** A hypothetical, future, or in other ways unrealized situation.
 - **N/S:** S is being realized through the realization/execution of N.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes that the activity in N is initiated in order to realize S.
 - **Typical connectives:** *in order to; to; ...*
 - **Example:** [In order to protect their troops,]_S [the U.S. do not comment on news reports on the start of a ground operation in Afghanistan.]_N
(maz-5701, PCC)
 - **Remark:** There is a causal relationship in a wide sense. The difference to the relations Cause/Result is that with Purpose, S is clearly marked as hypothetical/unrealized, and represents the intention or goal of the acting person.
-

SOLUTIONHOOD

- **S:** The content of S can be regarded as a problem.
- **N/S:** The content of N can be regarded as a solution to the problem in N. N usually precedes S in the text.
- **Effect:** R recognizes N as a solution to the problem presented in S.
- **Typical connectives:** Rarely signalled by connectives.

- **Example:** [With the anti-smoker regulations being passed, many pubs will be caught in a trap.]_S [They should start looking into possibilities for having separate rooms.]_N
-

4.4 Textual relations

The following three relations primarily serve to organize the text and its understanding, so they belong neither to the semantic (describing the world) nor to the pragmatic (change the attitude of readers) group.

PREPARATION

- **N/S:** S precedes N in the text. S orients R toward the topic of N.
 - **Effect:** R is more ready, interested or oriented for reading N.
 - **Typical connectives:** Rarely signalled by connectives; sometimes by a colon.
 - **Example:** [One thing is evident:]_S [With each day of air raids, the military operations of the U.S. lose more and more credibility.]_N (maz-5701, PCC)
 - **Remark:** This relation is to be used when S does not serve any stronger purpose than setting the topic for N, or when it consists of an introductory formula. S should contain only minimal information on its own.
-

RESTATEMENT

- **N/S:** N precedes S in the text. S repeats the information given in N, using a different wording. N and S are of roughly equal size.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes S as a restatement of N.
 - **Typical connectives:** *in other words; ...*
 - **Example:** [The mayor gave all the information to the councillors,]_N [kind of filling them in completely.]_S
-

SUMMARY

- **N:** N consists of more than one EDU.
- **N/S:** S succeeds N in the text and repeats the information given in N, but in a shorter form.
- **Effect:** R recognizes S as a shorter restatement of N.
- **Typical connectives:** *in short; ...*

4.5 Multinuclear relations

Among the multinuclear relations, Sequence belongs to the semantic type, while the others can work as semantic, pragmatic or textual, depending on context.

CONTRAST

- **N:** Exactly two nuclei. Both are of equal importance for W's purposes. The contents are comparable yet not identical. They differ in aspects that are important to W.
- **Effect:** R recognizes the comparability and the difference(s) yielded by the comparison being made.
- **Typical connectives:** *on the other hand; yet; but; ...*
- **Example:** [My first car was small.]_N [The second was already a sizable limousine.]_N

SEQUENCE

- **N:** The nuclei describe states of affairs that occur in a particular temporal order.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes the succession relationships among the nuclei.
 - **Typical connectives:** *then; before; afterwards; ...*
 - **Example:** [At nine o'clock the teacher entered the classroom.]_N [Five minutes later she announced that a test will be written.]_N
 - **Remark:** The states of affairs can be presented in their actual temporal order ("afterwards") or in the opposite one ("before that").
-

LIST

- **N:** The nuclei provide information that can be recognized as related, enumerating. They all contribute to the text function in the same way.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes the comparability of linked items.
 - **Typical connectives:** Comma, enumeration, ...
 - **Example:** What I did yesterday: [Cook dinner,]_N [look after the kids,]_N [clean the bathromm.]_N
 - **Remark:** See Section 4.6 for hints on handling elliptical contexts (as in the example).
-

CONJUNCTION

- **N:** The nuclei provide information that can be recognized as related, enumerating. They all contribute to the text function in the same way, and they are linked by coordinating conjunctions.
 - **Effect:** R recognizes that the linked items are conjoined.
 - **Typical connectives:** *and; or; ...*
 - **Example:** [Should the aerial warfare have been meant merely as a menace,]_S [it would lose its legitimacy at the latest when winter kicks in and triggers the inevitable human disaster.]_N [And the U.S. would lose their backing in Western Europe.]_N (maz-2318, PCC)
 - **Remark:** The functions of List and Conjunction are identical. When the surface condition for Conjunction holds, this relation is to be used.
-

JOINT

- **N:** The nuclei provide different kinds of information, which are not of the same type; yet they are not in a clearly identifiable semantic or pragmatic relation, nor do they form an enumeration. Still, there is a coherent link, as they contribute in similar ways to the overall text function.
- **Effect:** R recognizes that each nucleus contributes its own message, which however serve the same overall text purpose.
- **Typical connectives:** Additive connectives such as *in addition; also*.
- **Example:** See Section 6.
- **Remark:** Joint is to be used when a multinuclear relation is needed (from the text-global perspective) but none of the specific relations are applicable.

4.6 Remarks on relation assignment

In many cases, deciding on a relation can be difficult because the context produces ambiguity: multiple relations seem to be equally applicable. Also, decisions on recursive embedding (i.e., building hierarchical structure) are not always simple. In the following, we briefly discuss these problems.

4.6.1 Hierarchical structure

(1) The handling of **elliptical constructions** is sometimes tricky.

- (10) Nobody knows why she does not come, who takes her place, when or whether she will come back. (maz-5876, PCC)

The modal embedding *nobody knows* has scope over the entire sentence, which is to be divided into different segments in case there are clear hints for a coherence relation to be present. In this sentence, the enumeration of propositions serves as such a hint. The criterion for segmentation is that a proposition is by and large complete. That holds for *why she does not come* and for *who takes her place*, but not for the highly elliptical *when* – the individual pronoun is not a complete segment. Therefore, the analysis results in a LIST relation with three segments: (Nobody knows why she does not come), (who takes her place), (when or whether she will come back).

(2) Sentence-final **punctuation** in most cases takes priority for building hierarchical structure—but not always. In the following example, the nucleus of the CONDITION starts with *it would* and ends with *Western Europe*; thus the two CONJUNCTION nuclei are embedded in the CONDITION nucleus:

- (11) [Should the aerial warfare have been meant merely as a menace,]_S [[it would lose its legitimacy at the latest when winter kicks in and triggers the inevitable human disaster.]]_N [And the U.S. would lose their backing in Western Europe.]]_N

(3) A context is **ambiguous** for hierarchical structure when, for example, a claim is being supported by more than one subsequent argument. These can either be linked individually to the claim, or they can be first conjoined by a LIST or CONJUNCTION relation, so that a single supporting segment results. In such cases, we use the latter option: Segments playing the same role in context should form one complex segment in a LIST or CONJUNCTION.

4.6.2 Editorial genre: Make nuclearity decisions carefully

These guidelines are to some extent tailored to the annotation of editorials. These are opinionated texts with the goal of suggesting a particular opinion to the reader. This makes the role of an RST tree—to represent the communicative purposes of the writer—particularly important. In order to achieve a good reconstruction of the writer’s plan, we have to be careful when deciding on

the nuclearity status of segments on any level of the tree. For these decisions, one should pay attention to the *strong nuclearity principle* proposed by Marcu (2000). It states that the nucleus status of a segment is propagated throughout the tree, which is relevant both for the *bottom up* and the *top down* reading: A segment that is considered as central for the text should be nuclear not only when linking it to its immediate neighbours, but the resulting larger segment should likewise be nuclear in its own context, and so forth. Seen the other way round, this means that a relation that holds between two large segments should in particular apply to the nuclei of these segments.

Occasionally, however, authors of editorials produce a less connected sequence of points that seem equally important, so that any differentiation in terms of nuclearity would be arbitrary. In these cases, a multinuclear relation is to be preferred.

4.6.3 Editorial genre: Prefer pragmatic relations

Along the lines of the goal of reconstructing the writer's communicative plan, in our genre it makes sense to give a general preference to pragmatic relations, as these serve specifically to represent configurations of the writer's intentions. Thus, when at some point during an analysis there is an ambiguity between a pragmatic and a semantic relation, the former is to be preferred, as it yields a more important contribution to the reconstructed plan.

4.6.4 Prefer more informative over less informative relations

Our final principle can help in particular with making a decision among the semantic relations. Their definitions include different degrees of "informativeness" in terms of the implicit meaning that is assigned to them. For example, ELABORATION merely states that the topic of the discourse is being continued in a more specific way. In a context where that is the case, but in addition there is, e.g., a causal connection between the segments, then a CAUSE/RESULT relation is to be preferred. In a similar way we can characterize the differences between some similar semantic or pragmatic relations. Consider CIRCUMSTANCE, which is not very informative: It only states that that one segment is a framework in which the other is to be interpreted. The applicability of this relation can easily overlap with that of BACKGROUND; the latter, however, focuses on the effect of easier understanding of the nucleus. This is a stronger, more informative criterion, and therefore BACKGROUND is to be preferred over CIRCUMSTANCE in such situations.

4.6.5 Differences between similar relations

Adversativity: The first thing to consider when deciding among the similar relations CONTRAST, ANTITHESIS and CONCESSION is multinuclearity. If neither segment is deemed more important than the other, then CONTRAST is to be chosen.

- (12) [My sister loves cats.]_N [My brother, on the other hand, is keen on dogs.]_N

Between the two mononuclear relations, CONCESSION⁵ is the more specific one; it generally involves a violated or failed expectation. CONCESSION is often used to convince the reader of a particular point by increasing the reader's regard towards N:

- (13) [Although you are correct that the app is cheap]_S [I nevertheless wouldn't buy it, because it has many bugs.]_N

Sometimes, CONCESSION is used in order to prevent false implicature (i.e., an inference that logically emerges, but is not implied) presented in the S-N order. Here, the writer knows that the reader might draw an inference from a fact stated in S, and the inference is based on general world knowledge; but the writer wants to prevent such inference. For example:

- (14) [The classrooms are small,]_S [though they are not unsuitable.]_N

CONCESSION may also represent an unexpected, surprising move towards what is being said from what was said before. In this sense, CONCESSION can also be thought in terms of a negative-causal relation in which an expected causal relationship does not hold—a cause in S does not have the consequence one would anticipate from a law of cause and effect. For example:

- (15) [Although it was December,]_S [no snow fell and the temperature rose to 20 degrees.]_N

On the other hand, in an ANTITHESIS relation, the writer assigns different or unequal weights to the propositions which are usually presented in S-N order. The writer often dismisses S in order to establish or reinforce N. For example:

- (16) [Annuities are rarely a good idea at age 35 because of the withdrawal restrictions.]_S [But at age 55, "they may be a great deal," says Mr. Wilson, the Columbia, S.C., planner.]_N (wsj_0689, RST-DT)

One important difference between ANTITHESIS and CONCESSION is that the claim which is represented by S is dismissed in ANTITHESIS, but is acknowledged in CONCESSION.

Sometimes, ANTITHESIS is equated with correction because in both cases the second segment serves as a complete substitute for the initial segment in meaning or implication. However, unlike in correction, where the first proposition is fully valid until the correction marker is produced, in ANTITHESIS the substitution is foreshadowed, because the first proposition is marked as invalid from the very beginning (indicated by syntactic negation, with *not*, *n't*, or lexically). ANTITHESIS of this kind includes examples such as the following:

- (17) [This is not coke,]_S [this is red wine.]_N

⁵For a more extensive discussion of this relation, see Grote et al. (1997). Some of our discussion here is based on parts of that paper.

For the purpose of distinguishing CONCESSION from ANTITHESIS, paraphrasing the segment pair with an *although* construction (if the conjunction is not overtly present already) is usually a good indicator: If it yields essentially the same meaning, then CONCESSION is the right relation; otherwise, the relation ANTITHESIS is more appropriate, which operates more on the level of evaluation of the segments' content.

Finally, here are some more corpus examples to help differentiate between ANTITHESIS and CONCESSION:

- (18) CONCESSION: [Although all the price data were adjusted for normal seasonal fluctuations,]_S [car prices rose beyond the customary autumn increase.]_N (wsj_2358, RST-DT)
- (19) CONCESSION: [Monsanto Co., too, is expected to continue reporting higher profit,]_N [even though its sales of crop chemicals were hurt in the latest quarter by drought in northern Europe and the western U.S.]_S (wsj_2398, RST-DT)
- (20) CONCESSION: [A severe recession could, of course, raise delinquency rates,]_S [but so far the current levels of consumer debt don't seem to loom as a major threat.]_N (wsj_1389, RST-DT)
- (21) ANTITHESIS: [Annuities are rarely a good idea at age 35 because of the withdrawal restrictions,]_S [But at age 55, "they may be a great deal," says Mr. Wilson, the Columbia, S.C., planner.]_N (wsj_0689, RST-DT)
- (22) ANTITHESIS: [The Northern California earthquake and Hurricane Hugo are likely to temporarily damp sales growth in the West and South Carolina.]_S [But Mr. Lagnado predicted the regional trends would continue through Christmas.]_N (wsj_0640, RST-DT)
- (23) ANTITHESIS: [The merger must be formally approved by the partners of both firms]_S [but is expected to be completed by year end.]_N (wsj_0617, RST-DT)

Causality: The field of causality or justification comprises quite a few relations. First, the basic decision between primarily semantic (report on event causality in the world) and primarily pragmatic (justification as part of an argument, aiming to change the reader's mind) is to be applied. Among the semantic relations, CONDITION, OTHERWISE, UNLESS and PURPOSE are restricted for potential, hypothetical, or future—hence *non-factive*—connections between cause and effect. (“If the sun shines tomorrow, we'll do a boat trip”). Here, Purpose has a specifically goal-oriented facet: The nucleus is an activity that is performed for achieving the state of affairs in the satellite. The differences between CONDITION, OTHERWISE and UNLESS result from the particular role of negation, as described in their definitions. But if cause and effect are being described as *factive*, then CAUSE or RESULT are to be used, which differ solely in the distribution of nucleus and satellite.

In the set of pragmatic relations, MOTIVATION can only be used when the reader is encouraged to perform a certain activity (nucleus), on the grounds of

the satellite. EVIDENCE/REASON/JUSTIFY all want to change the attitude of the reader, and they differ in terms of the type of justification: With EVIDENCE, the claim is supported by information that is presented as ‘objective’, such as an observation from the world. (“party X has lost half of its membership → party X will lose the upcoming election”). With REASON, on the other hand, the support is also a subjective assessment or thesis given by the writer (“party X will not have a chance at the upcoming election → One should not vote for party X”). JUSTIFY is similar, but here the support is from stating a basic attitude of the writer, rather than a specific thesis. This attitude can be a political orientation, a moral value, etc.

Additive relations (LIST/CONJUNCTION/JOINT): These three relations have similar ranges of application. For LIST and CONJUNCTION, the parallelism of the functions of the segments is of central importance: They have to play the same role for the intention of the segment they are being attached to. A prototypical case is an enumeration of statements that all serve to illustrate the same general idea. CONJUNCTION is to be used when a lexical signal (a connective such as *and*, *in addition*, etc.) signals the relation. This can be within a single sentence, or between separate ones. If there is no connective, LIST is to be used. For JOINT, the parallelism constraint does not hold. This relation applies whenever the author makes two or more points that are juxtaposed in a relatively loose way, and which do not have the same function for the higher-level segment. Furthermore, all points have to be equally important—otherwise, a suitable mononuclear relation is to be chosen. In practice, JOINT is not very frequent, and usually it applies only for connecting larger segments.

For further illustration, the sample text that we discuss at the end of the guidelines has instances of all three relations.

5 Annotation procedure

Start with the annotation only after you read the text completely and understood its line of argumentation. Then, build the analysis following the steps described below.

Note: The headline of the text constitutes an EDU but is not to be integrated into the tree; it just remains as an isolated, “artificial” segment.

1. Is the text composed of recognizable topical units? Mark the boundaries between units that deal with different aspects of the topic (if any). These boundaries will later delimit larger text segments in the RST tree.
2. Select the EDUs that play an important role for the text. At the end of the analysis, these should end up as “strongly nuclear”. If one EDU can be singled out as representing the central claim of the text, mark it as such, and also the other important EDUs. You can check the result of this step with a “paraphrase test”: Put all the marked EDUs in a sequence (deleting any dangling connectives, and replacing anaphors with full NPs)

and judge whether the resulting short text is an adequate summary of the original. If necessary, revise your choice of important nuclei.

3. Going left to right through the text, consider each EDU and its direct neighbours. Is there a clearly recognizable relation between such a pair? This will often be the case with syntactically dependent pairs, and sometimes when two independent EDUs are linked with a connective.

For each pair of EDUs that are to be joined:

- Decide whether one of the EDUs is more important than the other, or whether both are of equal weight.
- Decide which coherence relation holds between the two EDUs. This is constrained by the nuclearity decision you already made.
- In case you choose a multinuclear relation, more than two EDUs might belong together; check this.

4. When all pairs of neighbouring EDUs have been checked, continue by considering the larger units. A connective can join longer units than a single EDU, and of course, relations between EDUs and/or larger units can also be unsignalled. First, mark the relations that are easy to identify. If you established topic boundaries in Step 1, consider these as relations between suitable segments. When choosing nuclei, the role of the nucleus segment for the whole text can now pay a role: Your decisions on assigning relations between larger segments should make sure that in the end, the EDUs selected in Step 2 are strongly-nuclear. For deciding on a relation, it often helps to check whether a prototypical connective (see the definitions of the relations) can be inserted. In general, at this stage, be prepared to revise earlier decisions—an analysis takes time and often will involve weighing decisions in the light of others that are taken later on when the tree structure becomes clearer.

5. In marking the relations between larger segments, it is advisable to proceed in a *bottom-up* fashion: Conjoin EDUs and/or neighbouring larger segments, and successively construct the tree moving upward.

6 Analysis of a sample text

In order to illustrate the annotation process, we present a sample text (provided in Fig. 3) and explain the development of its RST structure following our guidelines. The numbers in the text represent EDUs.

Thematic boundaries: As Figure 4 shows, the text comprises two broad topic units, represented by the spans 1-9 and 10-14. Span 1-9 introduces the topic of DPC Acquisition Partners' petition filing against Dataproducts Corp. It also projects about the probable outcome of the petition, and reports on the responses made by the two business groups on the petition. On the other hand,

(1) DPC Acquisition Partners, a hostile suitor for Dataproducts Corp., filed a petition in federal district court in Los Angeles (2) seeking to have its standstill agreement with the computer printer maker declared void, (3) and it proceeded with a \$10-a-share tender offer for the company. (4) The offer would give the transaction an indicated value of \$189 million, (5) based on the 18.9 million shares the group doesn't already own. (6) DPC holds about 7.8% of Dataproducts' shares. (7) Lawyers representing DPC declined to elaborate, (8) saying they didn't have a final copy of the filing. (9) Jack Davis, Dataproducts' chairman, said he hadn't yet seen the filing and couldn't comment. (10) DPC made a \$15-a-share bid for the company in May, (11) but Dataproducts management considered the \$283.7 million proposal unacceptable. (12) Dataproducts had sought a buyer for several months, (13) but it is now in the midst of a restructuring plan and (14) management says the company is no longer for sale.

Figure 3: Sample text wsj-0697 from the RST Discourse Treebank

span 10-14 reports on the present status on Dataproducts Corp., while making a reference to its past sale-out ventures.

Nuclearity at the text level: Within the text, span 1-9, span 1 and span 3 play an important role. They document two successive events: the petition filing by DPC Acquisition Partners, and their subsequent move with a tender offer for their rival company. These two spans establish one of the main themes of the text. Within span 10-14, on the other hand, span 13 and span 14 serve an important function. They present Dataproducts Corp.'s status regarding its ongoing internal restructuring and the management's recent take on its (anticipated) sale. These two spans constitute the other central theme of the text.

Local EDU links: At the most local level, we find the following spans are related: span 1 and span 2; span 4 and span 5; span 7 and span 8; and finally, span 10 and span 11. Span 2 (satellite) is a present participial clause, and it enters into a PURPOSE relation with span 1 (nucleus). The PURPOSE relation is signalled by the word *seeking* in span 2. Span 4 (nucleus) and span 5 (satellite) are connected by a BACKGROUND relation. The relation is inferred from the use of the past participial clause (acting as span 5) and also by the word *based* in span 5. Span 8 (satellite) is linked with span 7 (nucleus) by a REASON relation which is based on a lexical chain of words/phrases across the spans (declined to elaborate — didn't have the final copy). Finally, a multinuclear CONTRAST relation exist between span 10 and span 11, and the relation is indicated by the connective *but*.

Higher units and hierarchization: Looking beyond the local level of the RST analysis, we build the hierarchical structure involving the larger units in the text. First, span 1-2 (nucleus) and span 3 (nucleus) present two successive events, and thus, are connected by a multinuclear SEQUENCE relation which is conveyed in a straightforward (albeit underspecified) way by the connective *and*. Then, span 4-5 (satellite) projects on the probable outcome of the moves made by DPC represented in span 1-3 (nucleus). Thus, these spans are related by an INTERPRETATION relation. Span 6 states about the percentage of Dataproduct's shares owned by DPC. This serves as a kind of background information, and helps the readers understand the events and their probable outcomes more clearly. Thus, span 6 (satellite) is linked with span 1-5 by means of a BACKGROUND relation. Span 7-8 and span 9 list the official responses from DPC and Dataproduct, respectively, on the events presented in span 1-3. Accordingly, they act as nuclei and enter into a LIST relation. Furthermore, since the span 7-9 (satellite) provides additional information about the events in span 1-6 (reporting on the customary comments typically made by the spokespersons of companies on issues which concern them), it relates to span 1-6 (nucleus) by an ELABORATION relation.

Looking forward through the analysis, span 10-11 reports on DPC's proposal for buying Dataproduct's shares in the past and also Dataproduct's negative stand in response to the offer. Span 12 mentions about Dataproduct's previous sale-out ventures for months. Span 10-11 and span 12 thus do not form an itemized list, yet they are somehow related by a semantic relation which is hard to specify. That is why these spans, functioning as nuclei, enter into a JOINT relation with each other. Next, span 10-12 and span 13 describe facts which are set against different times (signalled through the connective *but* and *now*). The interpretation of span 13 (Dataproduct's current status in terms of its ongoing internal restructuring) is facilitated by the background information about the events in span 10-12 (regarding the company's sale-out in the past). Accordingly, span 10-12 (satellite) relates to span 13 by a BACKGROUND relation. Then, span 14 reports on what Dataproduct's management says about its present plan for sale-out. Thus, span 10-13 and span 14 are related by the same topic, and they are linked by a multinuclear CONJUNCTION relation marked by the conjunction *and*.

Finally, the last decision concerns the connection between span 1-9 and span 10-14. Span 1-9 reports on DPC's recent buy-out moves towards Dataproducts, and span 10-14 reports on Dataproduct's past sale ventures and its present stand against the sale. These topics are related semantically, although they do not form an enumerated list nor are conjoined by typical conjunctions. That is why, they function as nuclei and connect to each other by a JOINT relation.

Figure 4 shows the RST tree resulting from these decisions.

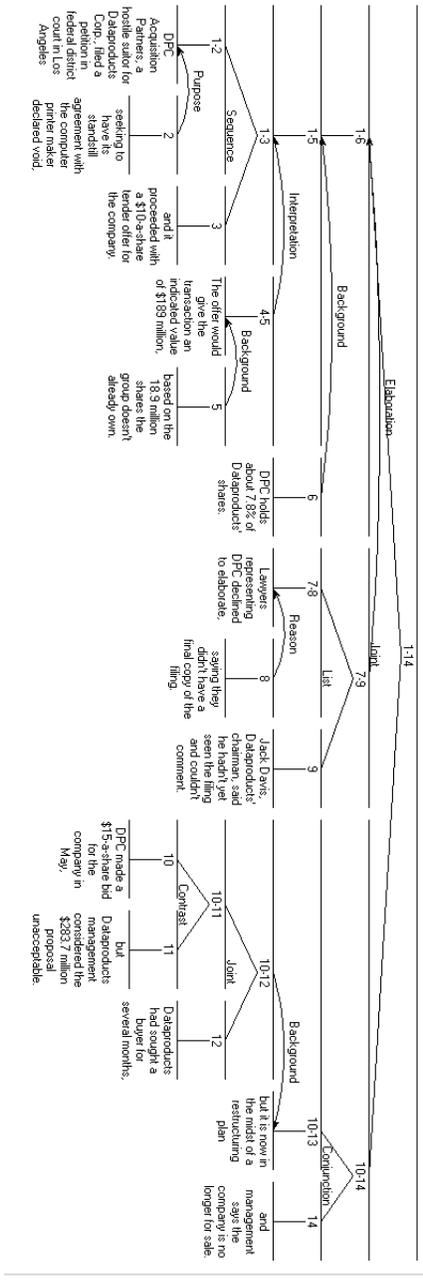


Figure 4: RST analysis for sample text wsj-0697

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