Superframes Manual

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Table 1: Hierarchy of Superframes and their Roles

1 Introduction

Superframes is an annotation scheme for semantic roles. Like other such schemes, it is essentially about pinning down, in a machine-readable form, "who did what to whom". It is different from other such schemes, such as FrameNet (Baker et al., 1998), VerbNet (Kipper Schuler, 2005), PropBank (Palmer et al., 2005), VerbAtlas (Di Fabio et al., 2019), or WiSER (Feng et al., 2022) in a number of ways. It aims to avoid a number of practical problems in annotating with those schemes. Here's how Superframes annotation works, in a nutshell:

- 1. Every content word (verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb) is a *predicate*. Every predicate evokes one of a few dozen *superframes*, which determines its coarse semantic class and the possible role labels for its core arguments.
- 2. The syntactic *dependents* of a predicate can be *core arguments*, in which case they get one of the role labels defined by the superframe of the predicate, or *external arguments* or *modifiers*, in which case they are treated as evoking their own frame in which the predicate serves as a core argument.
- 3. There are only two main core role labels per superframe.

- 4. For predicates denoting change (or lack thereof) over time, some superframes have aspectual variants with role variants that allow to distinguish participants before, during, and after an event. This avoids having Source and Target as roles in their own right, which indicate the time sequence but suppress information about the nature of the relation that is changing.
- 5. Similarly, Superframes do not have the Agent role, which is often in conflict with roles indicating more specifically the agent's relation to other participants.
- 6. Doubt, ambiguity, and figurativity are systematically treated. If there is not one clear solution, the solution is to give two or more alternative labels.

Table 1 shows the superframes and their roles, sorted into a rough hierarchy. At the top is SITUATION. All the main superframes are direct children of SITUATION. Some of them have one or more subtypes intended to make the annotation of certain special cases more intuitive and unambiguous.

Core Arguments

The most prototypical predicate is a verb, and the simplest case is a verb with only one argument. It can for example denote a state or an activity:

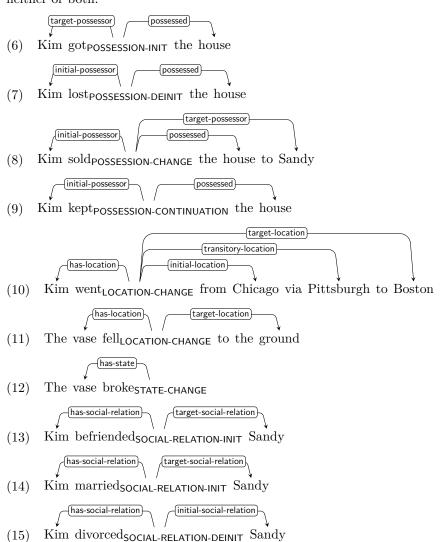
(2) Kim is partyingactivity

With two core arguments, a verb denotes a relation that holds between them:

The house belongspossession to Kim

1.2 Aspect, Mode, and Polarity

Rather than a static relationship between two entities, many verbs (and other predicates) denote a change (or absence of change) in such a relationship. We sort such predicates into a few coarse aspectual classes. For example, initiation (-INIT) means a state is begun or worked towards, deinitiation (-DEINIT) means a state is ended, completed, or its end is worked towards, change (-CHANGE) combines both, where one state is replaced by another. Continuation (-CONTINUATION) means a state persists or is even intensified, and (-PREVENTION) means it fails to come about. Accordingly, arg2 roles with prefix target- mark participants at or beyond the end of the event, initial- marks participants at the beginning of the event, and transitory- marks participants at some point during the event. Use -INIT or -PREVENTION when there is a target arg2; use -DEINIT or -CONTINUATION when there is an initial arg1; use -CHANGE when there is neither or both.





(16) Kim saved_{SITUATION-PREVENTION} Sandy from the dragon

The SCENE superframe is often evoked by "light" verbs that contribute an aspectual or modal meaning. Thus, its aspectual variants are especially common.

- (17)The concert beganscene-init
- (18)The concert continued_{SCENE-CONTINUATION}
- The concert $finished_{SCENE-DEINIT}$ (19)
- The shouting intensified Scene-Continuation (20)
- The shouting $\mathrm{faded}_{\mathsf{SCENE-DEINIT}}$ (21)
- (22)A coup was attempted_{SCENE-INIT}
- (23) $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{finished}_{\mathsf{SCENE-DEINIT}}\ \operatorname{their}\ \operatorname{work}$
- Swift action prevented Scene-Prevention an outbreak
- (24)
- Kim refrained_{SCENE-PREVENTION} from going (25)
- Kim prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from going (26)

In addition, we use the modal suffixes -NECESSITY and -POSSIBILITY. They can combine with aspectual suffixes.

- Change is necessary scene-necessity
- (28) Change is possible_{SCENE-POSSIBILITY}



(29) Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money

Finally, we can use the polarity suffix -NEG. It can combine with a spectual and modal suffixes.

 $(30) \quad \text{absence}_{\mathsf{EXISTENCE-NEG}} \text{ of evidence}$

scene

- (31) That is impossible_{SCENE-POSSIBILITY-NEG}
- (32) They never_{TIME-NEG} understand

1.3 Non-core Arguments

Core arguments always get role labels from the superframe the predicate evokes. But many verbs have more arguments. One common case is a subject that is presented as the causer of the scene. For example, compare (33) with (11). The core scene is the same (same superframe, same arguments). We now assume there is an additional CAUSATION scene with Kim as the causer and the core scene as the result. We denote this by giving Kim the causer role label, with an x- prefix to mark it as a non-core role.



Two other common non-core arguments are the senders and recipients (experiencers) of messages.



Other non-core arguments are usually rather predicate-specific.



(37) Kim sold_{POSSESSION-CHANGE} Sandy the house for a million dollars

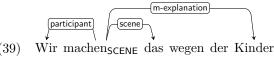
Modifiers

Like non-core arguments, modifiers are assumed to evoke an additional frame, and labeled with the role they fill in that frame, but with a prefix marking them as modifiers: m-.

The simplest type of modifier is an adpositional phrase where the adposition encodes a type of relation, such as LOCATION:



Kim is sweating excretion in the sauna

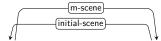


Adverbial clauses work much the same way, the have a conjunction instead of an adposition:

$$(40) \quad \text{gekommen}_{\mathsf{LOCATION-INIT}} \text{, um zu bleiben}$$

A slightly more subtle case is adpositional phrases that are multiword expressions such as vor allem. Here, the relation is not so much indicated by the adposition as by the combination of the adposition and its complement. We still follow the syntactic edge that points to the complement:

$$(41) \quad \text{Es sind vor allem die Frauen} \\ \text{Es result} \\ \text{Es sind vor allem die Frauen} \\ \text{Es sind vor al$$

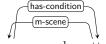


(42) Die Sendungmessage war zu Endescene-deinit

Adjectival and adverbial modification is characterized by the syntactic modifier acting as a predicate, with the syntactic modifiee as an argument. We label such modifier dependencies m-scene (cf. Section 2.31) and add a reverse dependency with the corresponding role label.



Ich spiele_{ACTIVITY} lieber_{MESSAGE} Schach



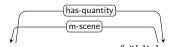
(44) Der ist sowiesocondition kaputtstate



(45) Und dochconcession sahmessage er intelligent aus



(46) Sie sprangen_{LOCATION-INIT} des Regens ungeachtet_{CONCESSION} nach draußen



(47) Kim war unvermindert_{QUANTITY-CONTINUATION} fröhlich_{MESSAGE}



(48) immerscene-continuation höherlocation-init

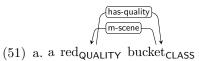


(49) » Wir haben um Hilfe gebeten « , $so_{SENDING}$ Saqib_{IDENTIFICATION}



(50) ein anderescomparison Plakatclass

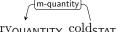
If arg2 has the same name as the frame, this structure can be abbreviated to just use that as a modifier role instead of m-scene and a backlink. For example, the following pairs are equivalent:



b. a red_{QUALITY} bucket_{CLASS}



(52) a. The water is $very_{QUANTITY}$ $cold_{STATE}$



b. The water is $\operatorname{very}_{\mathsf{QUANTITY}}$ $\operatorname{cold}_{\mathsf{STATE}}$



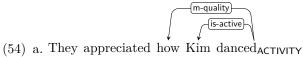
(53) a. Kim kommt_{LOCATION-INIT} erstmals_{TIME} mit Sandy



b. Kim kommt $_{\sf LOCATION\text{-}INIT}$ erstmals $_{\sf TIME}$ mit Sandy

m-means

Note the polysemy of some connective adverbs:



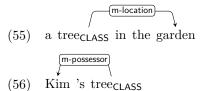


c. I remembered how_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}} my studies had concentrated_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}} on geography

topic

1.5 Nonverbal Predicates

So far, we have only looked at verbal predicates. But of course, there are other types of predicates. An ordinary noun like *tree* evokes the CLASS frame, marking the entity it refers to as being a member of a class (in this case: the class of trees). There are no arguments here because the predicate itself doubles as a referent. However, the predicate can of course be modified:



Event nouns evoke event frames and have arguments:

Relational nouns evoke relational frames and have arguments:

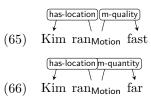
Pronouns and names evoke the IDENTIFICATION frame, meaning that they identify their referent as some entity (via naming or anaphora resolution).

- (59) Kimidentification
- (60) theyidentification

Predicate adjectives most typically denote states or qualities.

With attributive adjectives, the dependency relation is reversed, and the role label is changed accordingly.

Similarly for adverbs denoting, e.g, manner (quality) or extent (quantity):



Nonlocal Dependencies

Many constructions systematically introduce semantic predicate-dependent dependencies that do not correspond to (surface) syntactic dependencies. In such cases, we add those dependency links.

- (67)
- Kim promised Sandy to comelocation-change (subject control)
- Kim used a hammer to smashstate-change the vase (subject control) (68)
- (69)Kim persuaded Sandy to comelocation-change (object control)
- Kim left after trashingstate-change the room (non-obligatory control)
- Kim has come to staylocation-continuation (infinitive of purpose)
- ${\rm Kim~seemed~to~fly}_{\rm UNANCHORED\text{-}MOTION} \quad {\rm (raising)}$ (72)
- (73)Kim entered the room singing MESSAGE-INIT (seondary predicate)
- Kim is hard to love_{MESSAGE} (tough construction)
- the song that I likeMESSAGE (relative clause)
- (76)the song I like_{MESSAGE} (reduced relative clause)
- the song liked_{MESSAGE} by Kim (non-finite reduced relative clause) (77)
- students living LOCATION on campus (non-finite reduced relative clause)
- (topic) (x-sender) has-quality
- (79) eine Gestalt, deren Magerkeit QUALITY durch den Trainingsanzug noch betont MESSAGE wurde

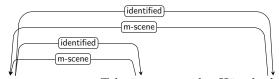
(relative clause with complex extracted element)



(80) Atmosphäre , mit der sie sich zu umgeben $_{\sf SITUATION-INIT}$ wusste (relative clause with extraction across clause boundaries)



(81) the question we raised without answering MESSAGE-INIT (parasitic gap)



(82) ein sogenannter_{IDENTIFICATION-INIT} Televisor_{CLASS} oder Hörsehschirm_{CLASS} (coordination)

1.6.1 Secondary Predicates

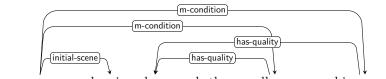
Secondary predicates are modifiers that syntactically attach to a (primary) predicate, but semantically predicate over one of the primary predicate's arguments, or even something more deeply embedded. The semantic relation between the primary and secondary predicate can be one of simple accompaniment (depictive), result (resultative), or something else.



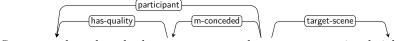
(83) Kim entered_{LOCATION-INIT} the room singing_{MESSAGE-INIT}



(84) You're talking MESSAGE-INIT me silly STATE



(85) Stop_{SCENE-DEINIT} drawing sheep, whether small_{QUALITY} or big_{QUALITY}



(86) Some people , though short $_{\sf QUALITY}$, reach_{\sf SCENE-INIT} amazing heights

1.7 Figurativity, Idiomaticity, and Uncertainty

Difficulties in choosing frames often arise because a predicate literally evokes one frame, but is used in a way that perhaps fits another frame equally well or better. In such cases, annotate both the more literal frame and roles, followed by the >> operator, followed by the more figurative frame and roles.

(87) A hush passed_unanchored-motion » scene over the group



(88) Sie streifteunanchored-motion » scene ihn mit einem Seitenblickmessage-init

(89) Kim refused_{MESSAGE-INIT} » Scene to eat

(90) ein Stückpart-whole » Quantity Schwarzbrot

This mechanism can be used to indicate that an expression has become fixed and not fully compositional:

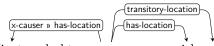
(91) primeval forest_{CLASS}

(92) colored pencil_{CLASS}

(93) to laylocation-change » message-deinit aside my drawings

(94) elektrischer Strom_{CLASS}

Similarly, a use of a verb that is ambiguous between transitive (more literal) and inherently reflexive (more figurative) can be annotated in this way:



(95) Winston drehte_{LOCATION-CHANGE} sich um

If you cannot choose between two frames for another reason, use $|\cdot|$ instead of >>.

2 Superframes Reference

2.1 SITUATION

This is the most generic superframe: something (theme) is related to something (situator). Prototypically, the former is the less central, more mobile element. It is situated in some conceptual space with respect to the situator, or put differently: it undergoes something in connection with the situator. When in doubt, the syntactically less oblique argument is the theme. In more specific superframes, the theme:situator relation takes the shape of e.g., compared:reference, has-location:location, possessed:possessor, part:whole, follows:followed, has-social-relation:social-relation. It can take more abstract shapes as well, e.g. has-quality:quality, where the situator is a predicate that is true of the theme.

This generic superframe is useful in cases where the type of relation is not specified further.

- (96) Yessituation
- (97) Nosituation-neg

(target-situator)

(theme)

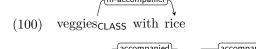
(98) transition_{SITUATION-CHANGE} of the account to a new government



(99) they need SITUATION-NECESSITY six months for digestion

2.2 **ACCOMPANIMENT**

accompanier accompanies accompanied, meaning that it occurs together with it or participates equally in the same scene.



(101)The veggies come_{ACCOMPANIMENT} with rice



(102)Kim added_{ACCOMPANIMENT-INIT} rice to the veggies



boy kingsocial-relation (104)



Alice mixed_{ACCOMPANIMENT-INIT} the egg with the cream



(106) Er wurde mit den ihn umgebenden Menschen einsaccompaniment

Often, the accompanier denotes not the accompanying scene but an entity participating in it, and must be metonymically understood as the scene.



Kim cycled_{LOCATION-CHANGE} to Rome with Sandy (107)

x-accompanier



Kim had_{SCENE} sex with Sandy (109)



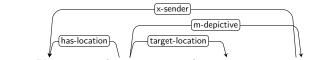
(110)Kim chased_{UNANCHORED-MOTION} Sandy around the block



(112) Kim accompanied ACCOMPANIMENT Sandy on the piano

2.3 / DEPICTIVE

Special case of ACCOMPANIMENT where depictive (aka accompanier) assigns a participant of has-depictive (aka accompanied) a role (cf. Sec. 1.6).



(113) Kim entered_{LOCATION-INIT} the room singing_{MESSAGE-INIT}

2.4 **SASSET**

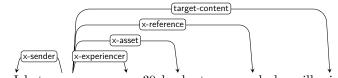
In a scene $\mathsf{has}\mathsf{-}\mathsf{asset}$, asset is given or offered in an exchange or wager.



(114) Kim boughtpossession-change the house for a million dollars



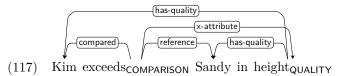
(115) Kim offered $_{\sf MESSAGE-INIT}$ Sandy a million dollars for the house

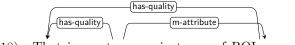


(116) I bet_{MESSAGE-INIT} you 30 bucks to an apple he will win

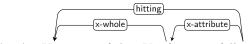
2.5 **M** ATTRIBUTE

In a scene has-attribute, attribute is the part or attribute of one or more participants that is most directly involved in the scene. Add a dependency link between the participant and its attribute to indicate wich participant(s) have the attribute.





(118) That is greatquality in terms of ROIquality



(119) Kim ist auf den Kopf_{CLASS} gefallen_{HITTING}



(120) Kim hit HITTING Sandy on the head CLASS with a stick

2.6 **COMPARISON**

compared is characterized with respect to reference.

Examples of comparing scenes:



Compared to Sandy, Kim is tall_{QUALITY}



Sandy is short QUALITY whereas Kim is tall



They demonize $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ the left while doing nothing about the right (123)

Examples of comparing non-scene entities:



 ${\rm Kim}\ {\rm exceeds}_{{\sf COMPARISON}}\ {\rm Sandy}\ {\rm in}\ {\rm height}$ (124)



The Polish restaurant compared $\mathsf{COMPARISON}$ favorably to the Spanish one



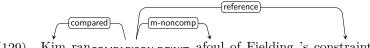
(126) $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{compared}_{\operatorname{\mathsf{COMPARISON}}}$ Coke to Pepsi

(127)kidney bean_{CLASS}

The reference need not be an entity similar to the compared, it can also be an abstract constraint:



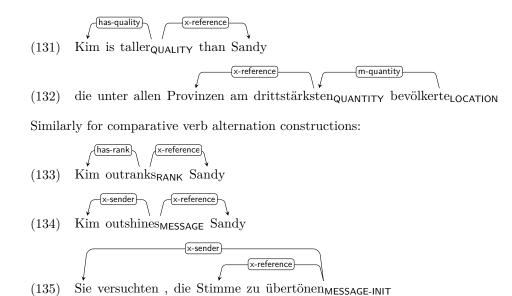
(128)The program conforms_{COMPARISON} to the spec



Kim ran_{COMPARISON-DEINIT} afoul of Fielding 's constraints (129)

We analyze gradation of adjectives as a valency-changing derivation that adds an x-reference argument.





2.7 👌 CONCESSION

Special case of COMPARISON, where compared is what's asserted and reference is what's conceded.



(136) Kim $went_{LOCATION-CHANGE}$ out despite the rain



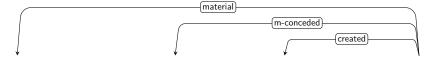
(137) It rained_{STATE}, but Kim went out



(138) Kim sent ${\sf SENDING}$ Sandy a letter , but it never arrived



(139) Kim came_{LOCATION-INIT} although Sandy had told them not to



(140) man wurde gegen seinen Willen in einen Verrückten verwandelt_{TRANSFORMATION-CREATION}

2.8 \times EVENT

Used for predicates that are inherently dynamic and cannot be framed as - CHANGE/-INIT/-DEINIT, so usually activities in terms of Vendler.

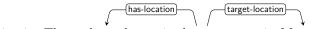
(141) Kim 's adventures_{EVENT} in the jungle

(142) Kim attacked_{EVENT} Sandy

 $\sqrt{\text{m-event}}$ (143) career girl_{CLASS}

Note that many predicates that denote events in terms of Vendler can be framed differently (as changes):

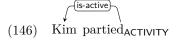
(144) Kim sneezed_{EXCRETION}



(145) The ambassador arrived_{LOCATION-INIT} in Moscow

2.9 💃 ACTIVITY

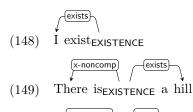
Special case of ${\sf EVENT}$ where the ${\sf undergoer}$ is active.



(147) Kim had sexactivity

2.10 **XISTENCE**

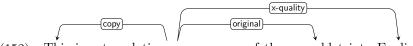
 ${\sf exists}$ exists. Use this only for non-scene entities; for scenes, use the ${\sf SCENE}$ frame.



2.11 **FREPRODUCTION**

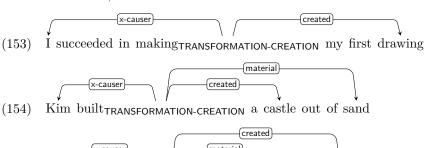
Special case of EXISTENCE-INIT where original continues to exist, and a (mod-ified) copy $(aka\ target-exists)$ comes into existence.

(151) Here is a copy_REPRODUCTION of the drawing



TRANSFORMATION-CREATION

Special case of EXISTENCE-INIT where created (aka target-exists) is newly created from material, or material is transformed to become created.



(155) Kim turned_{TRANSFORMATION-CREATION} straw into gold

Use this only for non-scene entities; for scenes, use the SCENE-CHANGE frame:

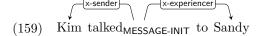


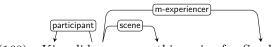
2.13 **©** EXPERIENCE

experiencer experiences experienced.

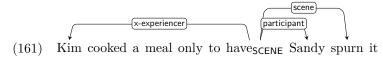
In connection with a MESSAGE frame in the experienced role, used for sensory and mental perception as well as addressees in communication. Also use for beneficiaries, and for "bystander" roles.

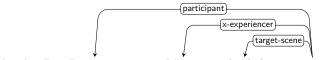




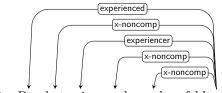


(160) Kim did_{SCENE} something nice for Sandy





(162) Die Piroggen waren Maria zu dunkel geratenscene-init



(163) Das hat mir gerade noch gefehltexperience

For more uses, see the examples for ${\sf MESSAGE}$ in Section 2.24.

2.14 | EXPLANATION

 $\mbox{\sc explanation}$ causes has-explanation to be known or supposed.

(164) She must be a gardener_{CLASS}, because he had seen her with a spade

☑ IDENTIFICATION 2.15

identifier identifies identified.

Evoked by definite pronouns, names, and other identifiers, as well as predicates denoting naming relationships.

- (165) I_{IDENTIFICATION} saw a picture
- (166) I can distinguish China_{IDENTIFICATION} from Arizona



This is Kim_{IDENTIFICATION} (168)

In English, the preposition of has an identifying sense, which can also be metaphorical:



Likewise, in has an identifying sense:



Pronouns with core arguments are instead framed the same as the (presumable) antecedent:

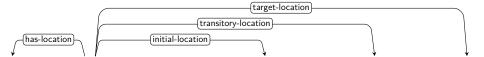
(173) It was that $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}}$ (picture) of the boa constrictor

2.16 LOCATION

Describes has-location as located or moving with respect to location.

the hat_{CLASS} in the box (174)

(175) Kim lives_{LOCATION} in Boston



(176) Kim went_{LOCATION-CHANGE} from the living room through the door into the kitchen

Kim placed_{LOCATION-CHANGE} the hat on the table (177)

(178)house music_{MESSAGE}

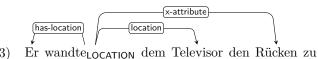
music hall_{CLASS} (179)

(180)sugar caneclass

cane $\operatorname{sugar}_{\mathsf{CLASS}}$ (181)

Also used for orientations:

(182) Die Nadel zeigte ${\sf LOCATION}$ nach Norden



Adverbs of location evoke LOCATION:

(184) Kim ist oben_{LOCATION}

Adverbs of direction evoke LOCATION-INIT:



(185) Kim fliegt_{location-init} hoch_{location-init}

Special case of LOCATION where ornament (aka has-location) sits on surface (aka location).



2.18 REXCRETION

Special case of LOCATION-DEINIT where excreter (aka initial-location) excretes excreted (aka has-location).



2.19 **/** HITTING

Special case of LOCATION-INIT where hitting (aka has-location) comes into contact with hit (aka target-location).



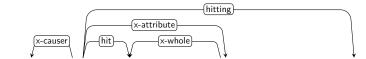
(187) Kim hithitting Sandy



Kim hit_{HITTING} Sandy with a stick (188)

$$\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{hitting}} \sqrt{\text{hit}} \\ \end{array}$$
 The stick hit
HITTING Sandy

(189)

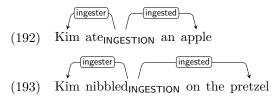


(190) Kim hit_{HITTING} Sandy on the head class with a pool noodle



2.20 **SINGESTION**

Special case of LOCATION-INIT where ingester (aka target-location) ingests ingested (aka has-location).



2.21 **UNANCHORED-MOTION**

Special case of LOCATION-CHANGE where no initial or target location is indicated.



(195) $\stackrel{\downarrow}{\text{I}}$ learned to pilot_{UNANCHORED-MOTION} airplanes



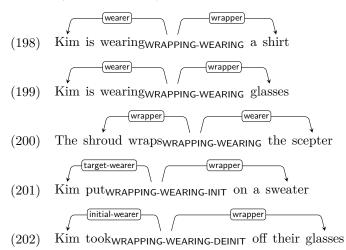
(196) Kim is dancing UNANCHORED-MOTION around the room with Sandy



(197) Kim is an avid unicyclist $_{\sf UNANCHORED-MOTION}$

2.22 WRAPPING-WEARING

Special case of LOCATION where wearer (aka location) wears or is wrapped in wrapper (aka has-location).

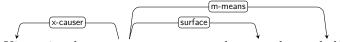


2.23 **MEANS**

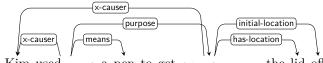
means is an intermediary causer of or is destined to serve a purpose.



(203) Kim cut_{STATE-CHANGE} the cake with a knife



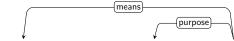
(204) Kim painted ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT the room by exploding a paint bomb



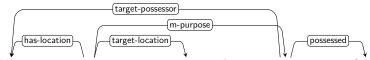
(205) Kim used_{MEANS} a pen to get_{LOCATION-DEINIT} the lid off

(206) You used MEANS me!

(207) oil lamp_{CLASS}



(208) die Nische war für ein Bücherregal bestimmt $_{\mathsf{MEANS}}$



(209) Kim wentlocation-change to town to buypossession-change food

(210) drinkingingestion waterclass

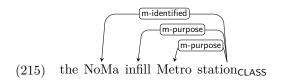


(211) lamp oil_{CLASS}

(212) train station_{CLASS}

(213) buffer statestate

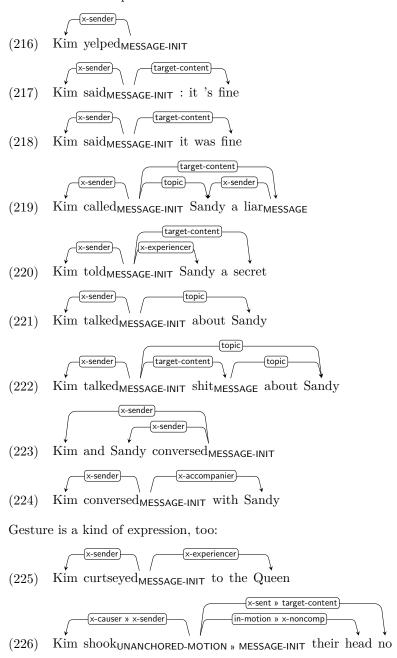
(214) animal doctor_{CLASS}



2.24 MESSAGE

A message about topic with content content exists in perceived, measured, or recorded recorded form. When a message is created through expression or observation, use MESSAGE-INIT. When content and topic are both realized, content must assign a role to topic.

Predicates of expression use MESSAGE-INIT:

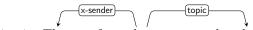


Performance of a work of art is framed as MESSAGE where the work of art is

the topic:



(227) Kim played_{MESSAGE-INIT} a little tune on their tuba



(228)They performed_{MESSAGE-INIT} the play

Kim sangmessage-init a song (229)

What is depicted gets the topic role:



Kim drew_{MESSAGE-INIT} a heron (230)

$$\begin{array}{c} & \\ \hline \text{a picture}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}} \text{ of the heron} \end{array}$$

The concert was recorded MESSAGE-INIT on tape

Recordings of information are framed as messages:

(234) a book_{MESSAGE} about the primeval forest

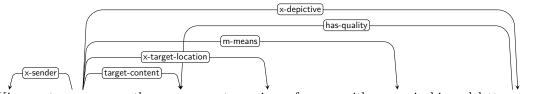
(235) sales targetmessage

The result of recording something gets the target-content role:

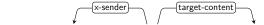
(236) Kim drew_{MESSAGE-INIT} a picture



(237) Kim wrote_{MESSAGE-INIT} Sandy a letter

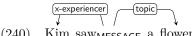


(238) Kim wrote_{MESSAGE-INIT} the message onto a piece of paper with a pen in big red letters_{QUALITY}



(239) The band recorded MESSAGE-INIT an album

Predicates of perception use MESSAGE, including mental perception:



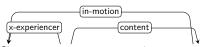
(240) Kim saw_{MESSAGE} a flower

(241) $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{found}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}}$ the flower beautiful $\operatorname{\mathsf{QUALITY}}$

(242) Kim thinks_{MESSAGE} Sandy is a liar

(243) Kim thinks_{MESSAGE} Sandy a liar_{MESSAGE}

(244)Kim sawmessage Sandy swimunanchored-motion

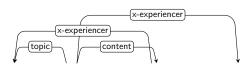


 $\operatorname{Kim} \ \operatorname{wants}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}} \ \operatorname{to} \ \operatorname{swim}_{\mathsf{UNANCHORED-MOTION}}$ (245)

(246) Kim wants_{MESSAGE} Sandy to swim_{UNANCHORED-MOTION}



(247) Kim seems_{MESSAGE} happy_{MESSAGE}



(248) Kim seems_{MESSAGE} happy_{MESSAGE} to Sandy



(249) Sandy is a professor_{MESSAGE} of linguistics



(251) They revered_{MESSAGE} God

Predicates that denote the initiation of perception (e.g., by acquiring knowledge, or observation, or reasoning), use MESSAGE-INIT:

(252) The Thought Police observed_{MESSAGE-INIT} Winston

(253) Kim studies_{MESSAGE-INIT} linguistics

x-experiencer topic

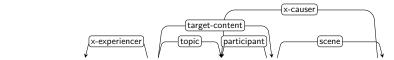
(254) Kim noticed_{MESSAGE-INIT} the bird

(256)

(255) Kim taught_{MESSAGE-INIT} Sandy Spanish

(x-experiencer) (topic)

Kim measured_{MESSAGE-INIT} the elasticity



(257) The jury found_{MESSAGE-INIT} Kim guilty_{SCENE} of the crime_{EVENT}

Predicates that denote the deinitiation of perception use MESSAGE-DEINIT:

(259) Kim forgot_{MESSAGE-DEINIT} about the cake

And finally, perception (here: remembering something) that was meant to happen but didn't is framed as MESSAGE-PREVENTION:

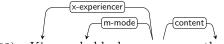
(260) Kim forgot_{MESSAGE-PREVENTION} to take the trash out

MODE 2.25

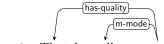
Used for adverbial modifiers that provide information not about the scene itself, but about the relationship between the linguistic expression and the truth as presented – for example, modal strength, precision, literal/figurative use, etc.



(261) Passt_{COMPARISON} das eh?



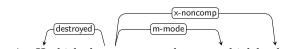
(262) Kim probably knows_{MESSAGE} that



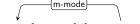
(263)That 's really $great_{QUALITY}$

(264)Kim is not here_{LOCATION}

They literally $screamed_{MESSAGE-INIT}$ (265)



(266)He kicked_{DESTRUCTION} the proverbial bucket



(267) They walked for precisely one kilometer QUANTITY

MODE is also used for focus adverbs:



They only rinsed_ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT-DEINIT the dishes



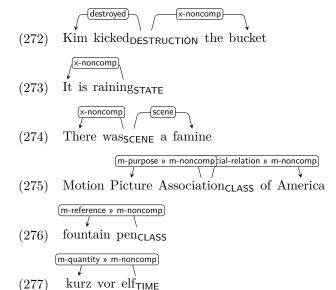
(270)Man wusste davon nur durch vage Gerüchte_{MESSAGE}



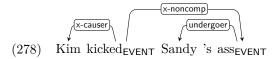
For connective adverbs, see Section 1.4.

2.26 NONCOMP

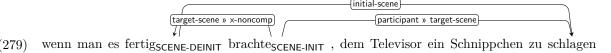
Used to mark syntactic arguments that are thought of as part of the predicate, as in verbal idioms, weather verbs, existential *there*, names, other fixed expressions, or specialized sublanguages for such things as dates and times. (Light verbs, on the other hand, are treated with SCENE, see Section 2.31.)



If an argument of the whole predicate syntactically attaches to an x-noncomp dependent, assign it the same frame as the top predicate:



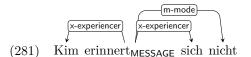
If you annotate a literal and a figurative meaning, only the literal meaning need be considered in the annotation of the x-noncomp dependent:

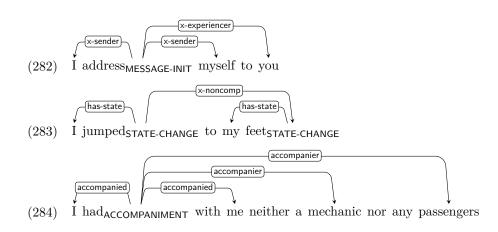


In other cases, frame the x-noncomp dependent as NONCOMP:



Bound pronouns that are part of multiword expressions (e.g., inherently reflexive verbs) should get the same role as their antecedent:





2.27 **PART-WHOLE**

part is part of whole.



(285) Kim 's legrart-whole

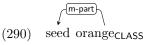


(286) a man_{CLASS} with a mustache



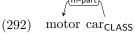
whole (288) wheat contains PART-WHOLE gluten







(291) car motor_{CLASS}



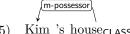
m-whole (293) cube $sugar_{CLASS}$

(m-part)

(294) sugar cubeclass

2.28 M POSSESSION

possessor possesses or controls the possessed.



- (295) Kim 's house_{CLASS}
- (296) $\operatorname{Kim} \operatorname{owns}_{\mathsf{POSSESSION}}$ a house
- (297)The house belongs_{POSSESSION} to Kim
- possessed (298)the owner $_{\sf POSSESSION}$ of the house
- (299) Kim haspossession Sandy 's phone



(300) Kim boughtpossession-change a house from Sandy



- (301) Sandy soldpossession-change Kim the house
- (302) Kim keptpossession-continuation the house
- [initial-possessor] [possessed] (303) Kim lost_{POSSESSION-DEINIT} the house
- target-possessor possessed possessed
- (304) Caesar conquered_{POSSESSION-INIT} Gaul
- (305) Caesar 's conquest_{POSSESSION-INIT} of Gaul
- (306) Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money
- (307) family estate_{CLASS}

QUANTITY 2.29

 $\mbox{\tt quantity}$ is the quantity, degree, or extent of has-quantity.

(308) three burgers_{CLASS}

(309) three litersquantity of coke

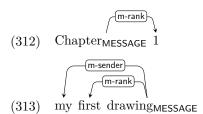
—(topic)—

(310) We discourage MESSAGE-INIT this emphatically

(311) Sie sang so schönquality, dass wir weinten

2.30 **KANK**

 ${\sf rank}$ indicates the order that ${\sf has\text{-}rank}$ has in some sequence.



2.31 🦠 SCENE

A "meta" frame for predicates where the main frame is invoked by scene, and the predicate adds some temporal, aspectual, modal, etc., meaning, or just acts as a light verb. If there is a participant, it is assigned a role by scene, which needs an extra dependency link. In the following examples, we show the annotations for both the matrix predicate and the embedded predicate in one graph.



(314) The concert_{MESSAGE-INIT} began_{SCENE-INIT}

(315) The $concert_{MESSAGE-INIT}$ continued_{SCENE-CONTINUATION}

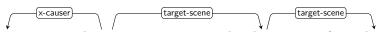
(316) The concert_{MESSAGE-INIT} finished_{SCENE-DEINIT}

(317) The shouting MESSAGE-INIT intensified SCENE-CONTINUATION

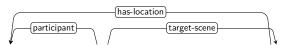
(318) The shouting MESSAGE-INIT faded SCENE-DEINIT

(319) A coupevent was attempted Scene-Init

(320) Kim finished_{SCENE-DEINIT} their work_{ACTIVITY}



(321) Swift action prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} an outbreak_{SCENE-INIT} of measles_{EVENT}



(322) Kim refrained_Scene-prevention from goinglocation-change



(323) Kim prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from going_{LOCATION-CHANGE}



(324) Kim saved_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from the dragon_{CLASS}

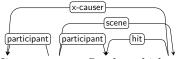


(325) Kim plays_{SCENE} tennis_{ACTIVITY}



(326) Kim used_{SCENE} to playscene tennis_{ACTIVITY}

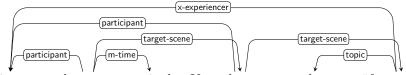
Note that every dependent of the predicate that is necessarily a participant in the embedded scene should be labeled participant, even when they participate in different roles:



(327) Kim gavescene Sandy a kickhitting



(328) Kim bekam_{SCENE-INIT} Sandy zu fassen_{POSSESSION-INIT}



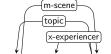
(329) Winston machtescene-init nie den Versuchscene-init, das zu prüfenmessage-init

On the other hand, SCENE predicates may have arguments that are not members of the embedded scene, such as x-causer:



(330) Kim madescene-init Sandy danceactivity

The modifier relation m-scene is used when a syntactic dependeny points from an argument to a predicate, as, e.g., with relative clauses, participal clauses, or sentence adverbs.



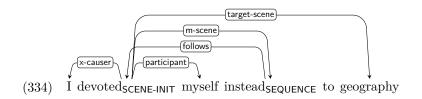
(331) the clown_{CLASS} I saw_{MESSAGE} smiled



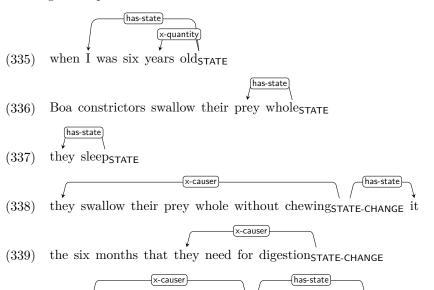
(332) weit über das gesteckte Zielmessage hinausgehende Erfüllungsequence



(333) Fortunately Experience for Sandy, Kim is here LOCATION



state indicates a state of has-state. Typically used with predicates that do not, in fact, have a state role, because the state is already incorporated into the meaning of the predicate.



And that hasn't much improved ${\sf STATE\textsc{-}CHANGE}$ my opinion of them

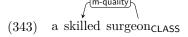
2.33 **OUALITY**

Special case of STATE – a quality is a bit more permanent than a state; the has-quality (aka has-state) is not expected to change back and forth between qualitys (aka states) regularly. Also used to describe qualities of events, i.e., manners.

(341) a magnificent picture_{MESSAGE}

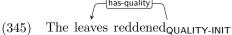


(342) I pondered_{MESSAGE-INIT} deeply over the adventures of the jungle



(m-quality)

(344) such knowledge_{MESSAGE} is valuable



(m-result)

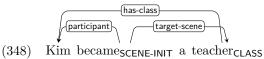
(346) Sie sang_{MESSAGE-INIT} so , dass wir weinten

2.34 **Q** CLASS

Special case of QUALITY - a class is even more permanent, in the sense that if the has-class (aka has-state) takes on a new class (aka state), it becomes a new kind of entity.

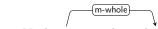
Most prototypically evoked by common nouns with no arguments.

(347) swallowing an animal_{CLASS}



Indefinite pronouns also evoke ${\sf CLASS}.$

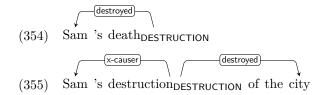
(349) She saw one_{CLASS}



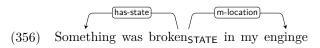
- (350) Nothing class about him suggested a child
- (351) Why would anyone_{CLASS} be frightened by a hat?
- (352) Something class is broken
- (353) Where I live everything class is small

2.35 • DESTRUCTION

Special case of STATE-CHANGE where $\mbox{destroyed}$ (aka has-state) goes out of existence.



When something is broken but not completely destroyed, use STATE.



2.36 🃣 SENDING

sender originates a message, sent, that can be experienced.

(257) According to Kim, it is raining.

(357) According to Kim , it is raining STATE

 $(358) \quad \text{song bird}_{\mathsf{CLASS}}$

 $\begin{array}{c}
\sqrt{\text{sender}} \\
(359) \quad \text{bird songmessage}
\end{array}$

Senders need not be animate or active:

(360) The alarm clock beeped_{SENDING}

(x-experiencer) (x-sender)

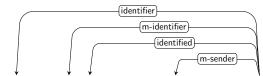
(361) Er forschte $_{\sf MESSAGE-INIT}$ in seinen Kindheitserinnerungen nach

x-experiencer x-sender x-sender

(362) Die Polizei horchte_{MESSAGE-INIT} ihn aus

(x-experiencer) (target-content)

(363) Kim had $read_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ that in a book



(364) Miniwahr , wie es in der Neusprache hieß|DENTIFICATION|

Use SENDING rather than MESSAGE for predicates that cannot take a topic argument:

(365) Er schleuderte_{LOCATION-DEINIT} » SENDING eine Flut von Gestammel aus sich heraus

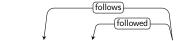
For more uses, see MESSAGE (Section 2.24).

■ SEQUENCE 2.37

follows follows followed, e.g., temporally, logically, by rank, as heir, etc.



(366) Form follows_{SEQUENCE} function



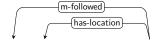
Cook is Jobs 's $successor_{\mathsf{SEQUENCE}}$



(368) Das fußt_{SEQUENCE} auf einer falschen Vorstellung



Kim deduced_{SEQUENCE} the truth from the clues (369)



(370)Given that I 'm tired , I wo n't be there LOCATION

Also used to indicate proportional amounts: for each scoop (followed), it costs 1 euro (follows).

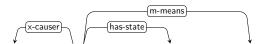
2.38 🕹 CAUSATION

Special case of SEQUENCE where causer (aka followed) causes result (aka follows).

(372) Kim broke_{STATE-CHANGE} the glass

x-causer has-state

(373) The knife cutstate-Change the bread



(374) Kim cut_{STATE-CHANGE} the bread with a knife

(375) The war caused_{CAUSATION} a famine

(x-noncomp) (scene) (m-causer)

(376) There was scene a famine because of the war



(377) Der Wasserdruck stiegquantity-change, wodurch der Brunnen überfloss



(378) Die Qualität ist der Motivation geschuldet CAUSATION

(m-result)

(379) tear gasclass



(380) sun burnstate-change



(381) honey beeclass



(382) Kim went_{LOCATION-CHANGE} to town because they wanted to buy food

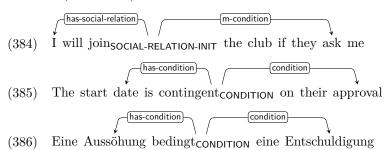
Note how the last example expresses a purpose, but expresses it as a cause, so m-causer lis the right label to use. Compare this to construal as a purpose:

66

(383) Kim wentlocation-change to town to buy food

2.39 **CONDITION**

Special case of SEQUENCE where condition (aka followed) is a condition to hascondition (aka follows).



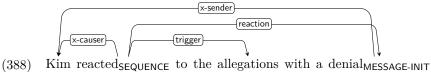
2.40 **() EXCEPTION**

Special case of SEQUENCE where exception (aka followed) is an exception (a negative condition, if you will) to has-exception (aka follows).

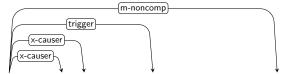


2.41 💥 REACTION

Special case of CAUSATION where trigger (aka causer) triggers a reaction (aka result) in the x-causer.

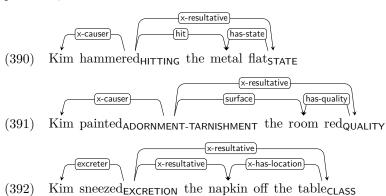


Can also be the reaction to an anticipated scene:



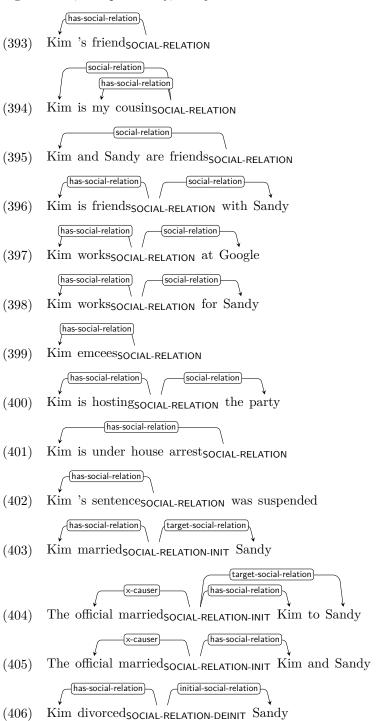
(389)~als stemme ${\sf REACTION}$ er sich dem Anprall einer Woge entgegen

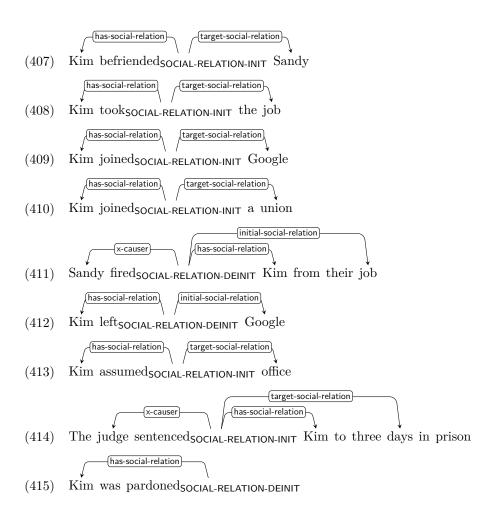
Special case of CAUSATION where resultative (aka result) assigns an argument of has-resultative (aka causer) a role. We treat the English resultative construction as a valency-changing operation that adds one or two arguments to the matrix predicate, so we use x-resultative rather than m-resultative.



2.43 SOCIAL-RELATION

has-social-relation is an individual that is in some socially constructed relationship with social-relation. social-relation might, e.g., be a relative, a friend, an organization, a responsibility, or a judicial sentence.





SUBCLASS 2.44

subclass denotes a subclass of superclass.





(417) Das ist seine Art_{SCENE} , sich zu bewegen



(418) birds_{CLASS} such as storks

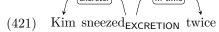


(419) Sie lernen $_{\sf MESSAGE-INIT}$ beispielsweise $_{\sf SUBCLASS}$ wissenschaftliche Methoden

ME TIME 2.45

time indicates when, how often, or for how long has-time takes place. Also evoked by time expressions without arguments.





(422) Kim swamunanchored-motion for an hour



 $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{says}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ hello whenever I meet them (423)



(424)

Once TIME when I was six years old (425)

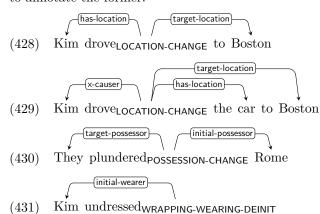
(426)summer jobactivity

golf season_{time} (427)

3 Argument Structure and Frame Choice

3.1 Prefer Core over Non-core Arguments

When an argument fills both a core and a non-core role, it is more important to annotate the former.

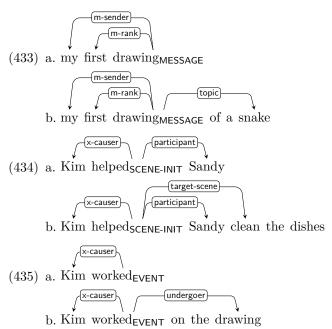


Also, when in doubt, choose the frame so that you can use core roles rather than resorting to non-core roles. For example, in the following sentence, we should use LOCATION-INIT rather than UNANCHORED-MOTION so that we can use target-location and do not have to resort to x-target-location.

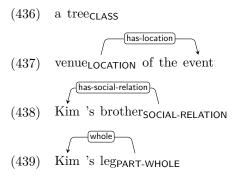


3.2 Arguments Determine Frames

The most important criterion in choosing a frame for a predicate is that there should be suitable roles for the predicate's arguments, even if they are unrealized (implicit) in the annotated instance. For example, while *drawing* denotes a CLASS of things, it can occur with a prepositional argument denoting a topic, so MESSAGE is a better choice.



For nouns, you have to decide whether they are nonrelational nouns (CLASS) or relation/event nouns. A useful test is to try and add an argument, i.e., a dependent that is assigned a specific role by the noun. For example:



Note that in *Kim 's tree*, Kim's role is that of possessor, but it is not assigned by the noun *tree* but by the possessive construction, so *tree* is still CLASS and we annotate *Kim* as a modifier.

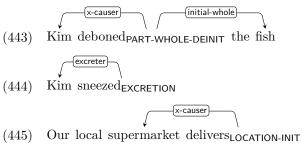
$$\begin{array}{cccc} & & & & \\ & & & \\ \hline (440) & Kim \text{ 's tree}_{\text{CLASS}} \end{array}$$

(441) Kim 's glasses_{CLASS}

(442) Kim 's chair_{CLASS}

Shadow and Default Arguments

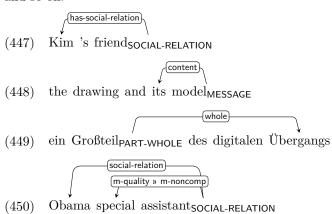
Arguments that determine a predicate's superframe include shadow arguments and default arguments (Pustejovsky, 1995; Di Fabio et al., 2019), i.e., arguments that do not appear in the syntactic argument structure because they are incorporated into the predicate or logically implied, like the bones in (443), mucus and air in (444), groceries in (445), or sun in (446).



- (445)
- (446)at sunriselocation-change » time

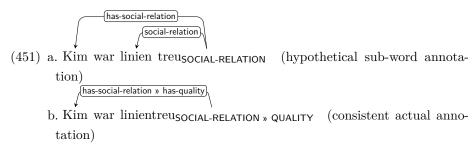
3.4 Predicates that Refer to a Shadow Argument

A special case of shadow argument are those that the predicate itself refers to. For example, the predicate *friend* evokes a SOCIAL-RELATION frame, but also refers to the filler of that frame's social-relation role. And the predicate *model* evokes a MESSAGE frame, but also refers to the filler of that frame's topic role, and so on.



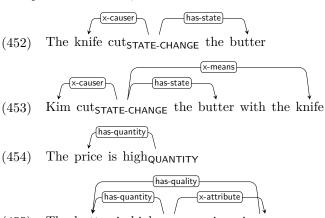
3.5 Shadow Arguments in Compounds

Predicates that have the form of compound words sometimes contain one of their arguments. This may inform the choice of frame as well. Although we do not, at present, annotate relations below the word level, try to stay consistent with such an annotation.



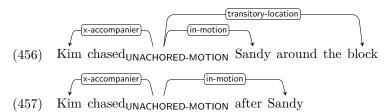
3.6 A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument

For example, consider (452), Here, *The knife* occupies the subject position and should be treated as the causer of the cutting. We could add the person handling the knife as the causer, and treat the knife as an instrument. However, to add the former to the sentence, we would not merely have to add another realized argument, but also change the syntactic argument structure so that the the subject position goes to that causer, as in (453). Thus, we treat this as a different framing with a different causer, rather than a more explicit version of the same framing. Likewise, (454) and (455) are two different framings, one with *price* as has-state, and one with *butter*.



3.7 When in Doubt, Treat Different Syntactic Frames of the Same Predicate Consistently

For example, in (456), *chase* could be framed as caused motion with Kim as x-causer or as accompanied motion with Kim as x-accompanier. Because the latter works for other syntactic frames of *chase* as well, as in (457), prefer it.



3.8 However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Arguments and Therefore Different Superframes

One special case of this is when a predicate occurs as part of an opaque fixed expression, like *hand* in *close at hand*. In this case, *hand* is not annotated with CLASS, but with NONCOMP.

3.9 Look Up Unfamiliar Words in a Dictionary

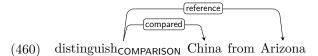
When you come across an unfamiliar predicate, you might not be able to determine what arguments it has, and consequently what the most appropriate superframe is, from this one context alone. Use a dictionary such as Wiktionary in this case. In the following example, I found that *toss off* can mean "to assemble hastily"¹, thus went for the TRANSFORMATION-CREATION frame.



 $^{^1 \}rm https://en.wiktionary.org/w/index.php?title=toss_off&oldid=77814489, retrieved <math display="inline">2024-05-28$

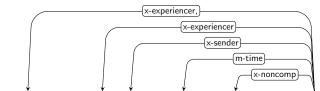
3.10 Symmetric Argument Pairs

Some predicates have a pair of arguments that are semantically symmetric. In such cases, assign the first role to the syntactically less oblique argument, where subjects (nsubj, csubj) are least oblique, followed by direct objects (obj), then indirect objects (iobj), and oblique arguments (obl) are the most oblique.



(461) Alice mixed_{ACCOMPANIMENT-INIT} the egg with the cream

For predicates of mutual communication, choose x-sender for the less oblique and x-experiencer for the more oblique argument.



(462) Personen mit denen er noch nie ein Wort gewechselt_{MESSAGE-INIT} hatte

Relatedly, sometimes a single argument denotes both the initial and the target arg2. In this case, default to initial-.



(463) Die Programme wechseltenscene-change von Tag zu Tag

3.11 When to Use SCENE

SCENE should definitely be used if a predicate can add aspectual or modal meaning to predicates of more than one type. For example, English make can be used with states and activities, so make itself should be neither STATE nor ACTIVITY but SCENE.

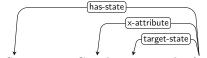


(465) Kim made_{SCENE-INIT} Sandy tired_{STATE}

On the other hand, if a predicate is restricted to subordinate predicates of a certain type, it can have the same type.

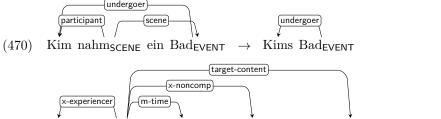


(468) Ich glaube nicht, dass ihr etwas passiert $_{\sf EVENT}$ ist



(469) Sie war im Gesicht rot angelaufenstate-init

To distinguish light verb constructions (LVCs) from verbal idioms (VIDs), determine whether the complement of the verb by itself can denote the described event, e.g., by making the subject a possessive modifier. If this is the case, it is an LVC and should be annotated with SCENE. Otherwise, treat the construction as a verbal idiom and annotate it with NONCOMP (see Section 2.26. For example, treat ein Bad nehmen as an LVC, but in den Sinn kommen as a VID:



(471) Ihm $\mathrm{kam}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ nie in den Sinn , dass das nötig sein könnte $\ \nrightarrow$



4 Aspect, Mode, and Polarity

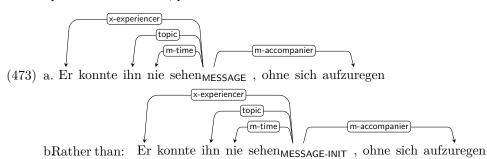
4.1 Aspect Annotation is wrt. the Superframe, Not the Predicate



In (472), losing is framed as POSSESSION-DEINIT because a state of possession ends. POSSESSION-INIT would be incorrect because although a losing event begins, the state that the superframe POSSESSION describes ends. In general, aspectual suffixes modify superframes, they do not necessarily indicate the aspectual class of the predicate (here: lost).

4.2 Ambiguity between Static and Dynamic? Prefer Static!

Some predicates are ambiguous between a static and a dynamic reading. If they make equal sense in context, prefer the static one.



4.3 Stacking of Aspect and Mode

Modal suffixes take scope over aspectual ones, which is reflected in their order: SCENE-INIT-NECESSITY is a valid superframe, SCENE-NECESSITY-INIT is not. The former denotes the need for a scene to be initiated, the latter denotes the initiation of a need. Only the latter could be used to describe a predicate such as *force*. Because it is not available (to keep things simple), we just use SCENE-INIT in such a case.

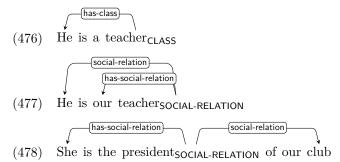
(474) dass man gezwungenscenelinit wurde mitzumachen

5 Construction-specific Guidelines

5.1 Participant Nouns

Some nouns denote a person who participates in a specific type of scene in a specific role. In such cases, use the most appropriate frame for that scene. For example, in a narrative where the narrator has just been criticized by a stranger, you could annotate as follows:

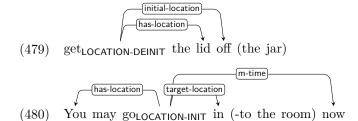
In other cases, such nouns rather denote a person's profession or expertise or their role in a social context:



5.2 Particle Verbs

In UD, particle verbs are connected to their particle via the compound:prt relation.

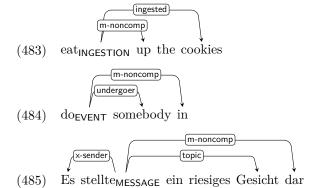
If the particle can be interpreted as an adposition with an elided complement (often the case with spatial meanings), label that relation as the elided complement would be labeled:



Also treat separated and nonseparated adpositional adverbs this way:

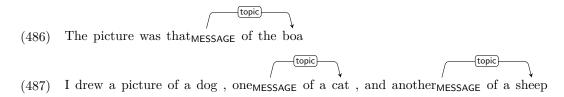


Otherwise, use m-noncomp:



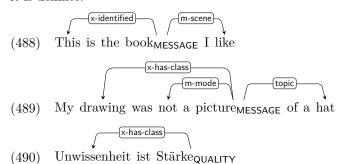
5.3 Pronouns with Arguments

Definite pronouns are normally annotated with IDENTIFICATION, indefinite ones with CLASS, and they do not have any arguments. However, sometimes they do have arguments, in which case give them their antecendent's superframe:



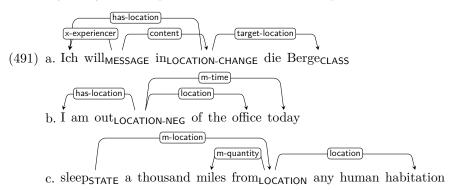
5.4 Nominal Copula Constructions

In nominal copula constructions, the copula subject is interpreted as a non-core argument – typically x-has-class if the predicate is indefinite, and x-identified if it is definite.

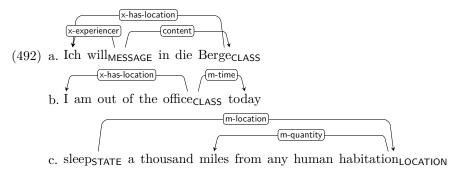


5.5 Predicative Adpositions

At the moment, Superframes follows UD's principle of treating adpositions like case markers, dependent on their objects. This greatly simplifies the annotation of adpositional arguments. On the other hand, it sometimes creates problems. An adposition, added to a noun, can cause a new superframe to be evoked, which it would be simpler to annotate if we could just label the adposition with it. Consider the following examples, where we nonstandardly treat the adpositions in, out of, and from as adpositions. The annotation is quite natural:



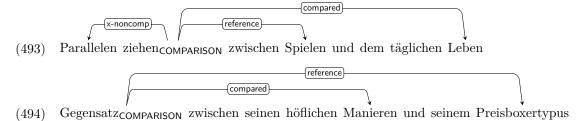
But since we don't treat adpositions as predicates, we are forced to choose the following, more opaque and less detailed annotation:



In (492-a) and (492-b), we are forced to give *Berge* and *office* an x-has-location role, which is not part of the frame evoked by these words alone; we have to assume it is added by adding the adposition. We also do not have a way to indicate that the additional superframe introduced by the non-core subject is LOCATION-INIT and LOCATION-NEG, respectively. In (492-c), there is an even more severe problem: the quantity modifier a thousand miles semantically modifies the LOCATION frame evoked by the adposition *from*, but we have to attach it to *habitation*, which evokes a *different* LOCATION frame which does not have a quantity modifier. Confusion ensues, but for now we have to live with these issues.

5.6 Coordination

Coordinated dependents are annotated separately. In most cases, conjuncts will have the same role, but they may also differ.

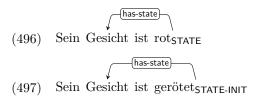


Coordination is even split in cases where semantically it does not really make sense because the coordinated phrase fills a role as a whole, not each individual conjunct. In these cases, assign the same role to all conjuncts:



5.7 Participles vs. Adjectives

When in doubt whether something is an adjective or a verb participle, treat it as the latter. This is relevant for aspect annotation, e.g., compare the annotation for the adjective rot with that for the participle $ger\"{o}tet$:



6 TODO

Treatment of valency-changing operations:

- 1. (obligatory) resultative
- 2. V one's way P N
- 3. comparative
- 4. ...

Clearer criteria for distinguishing between LVCs and idioms (or somehow eliminate it).

Make POSSESSION a special case of SOCIAL-RELATION. Rename SOCIAL-RELATION to something like OBLIGATION?

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