Superframes Manual

Kilian Evang

Last updated: October 21, 2024

Contents

| 1 | Intro | oduction 4 | 4 |
|---|-------------------|---|---|
| | 1.1 | Core Arguments | 6 |
| | 1.2 | Aspect, Mode, and Polarity | 7 |
| | 1.3 | Non-core Arguments |) |
| | 1.4 | Modifiers | 1 |
| | 1.5 | Nonverbal Predicates | 3 |
| | 1.6 | Nonlocal Dependencies | 5 |
| | 1.7 | Figurativity, Idiomaticity, and Uncertainty | 6 |
| 9 | C | | _ |
| 2 | - | erframes Reference 17 | |
| | $\frac{2.1}{2.2}$ | | |
| | | | |
| | 2.3 | / DEPICTIVE | - |
| | 2.4 | S ASSET | |
| | $\frac{2.5}{2.6}$ | ATTRIBUTE | |
| | 2.6 | COMPARISON | |
| | 2.7 | 6 CONCESSION | |
| | 2.8 | EVENT | |
| | 2.9 | ACTIVITY | |
| | 2.10 | * EXISTENCE | |
| | 2.11 | REPRODUCTION | |
| | 2.12 | TRANSFORMATION-CREATION | - |
| | 2.13 | | |
| | 2.14 | EXPLANATION | |
| | 2.15 | © PURPOSE | |
| | 2.16 | IDENTIFICATION | |
| | 2.17 | ↑ LOCATION | |
| | 2.18 | ₹ ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT | |
| | 2.19 | EXCRETION 36 | |
| | 2.20 | ✓ HITTING | |
| | 2.21 | ▼ INGESTION | |
| | 2.22 | UNANCHORED-MOTION | 9 |
| | 2.23 | WRAPPING-WEARING |) |
| | 2.24 | MEANS | 1 |
| | 2.25 | Q MESSAGE | 2 |
| | 2.26 | ? MODE | 6 |
| | 2.27 | № NONCOMP | 7 |
| | 2.28 | | 3 |
| | 2.29 | | 9 |
| | | ™ POSSESSION |) |
| | 2.31 | | 1 |
| | 2.32 | KANK | 2 |
| | | 🧙 SCENE | 3 |
| | 2.34 | Z STATE | 5 |
| | 2.35 | OUALITY | 6 |
| | 2.36 | • CLASS | 7 |
| | | DESTRUCTION | |
| | | △ SENDING 50 | |

| | 2.40 2.41 2.42 2.43 2.44 2.45 | SEQUENCE CAUSATION CONDITION EXCEPTION REACTION RESULTATIVE SOCIAL-RELATION TIME | 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 |
|---|--|---|--|
| 3 | Argi | ment Structure and Frame Choice | 69 |
| • | 3.1 | Prefer Core over Non-core Arguments | 69 |
| | 3.2 | Arguments Determine Frames | 70 |
| | 3.3 | Shadow and Default Arguments | 71 |
| | 3.4 | Predicates that Refer to a Shadow Argument | 72 |
| | 3.5 | A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied | |
| | | Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument | 73 |
| | 3.6 | When in Doubt, Treat Different Syntactic Frames of the Same | |
| | | Predicate Consistently | 74 |
| | 3.7 | However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Ar- | |
| | | guments and Therefore Different Superframes | 75 |
| | 3.8 | Look Up Unfamiliar Words in a Dictionary | 76 |
| | 3.9 | Symmetric Argument Pairs | 77 |
| | 3.10 | When to Use SCENE | 78 |
| 4 | Aspe | ect, Mode, and Polarity | 7 9 |
| | 4.1 | Aspect Annotation is wrt. the Superframe, Not the Predicate | 79 |
| 5 | Cons | struction-specific Guidelines | 80 |
| | 5.1 | Participant Nouns | 80 |
| | 5.2 | Particle Verbs | 81 |
| | 5.3 | Pronouns with Arguments | 82 |
| | 5.4 | Nominal Copula Constructions | 83 |
| | 5.5 | Predicative Adpositions | 84 |
| ß | тог | 00 | 25 |

| SUPERFRAME | initial-arg2 | arg1 | arg2 | transitory-arg2 | target-arg2 | Sec. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---|------------------------|------|
| | initial-situator | theme | situator | transitory-situator | target-situator | 2.1 |
| L ACCOMPANIMENT | initial-accompanier | accompanied | accompanier | | target-accompanier | 2.2 |
| ^L ✓ DEPICTIVE | | has-depictive | depictive | | | 2.3 |
| ^L | | has-asset | asset | | | 2.4 |
| ^L ★ ATTRIBUTE | | has-attribute | attribute | | | 2.5 |
| L 📫 COMPARISON | | compared | reference | | | 2.6 |
| L 👌 CONCESSION | | assertion | conceded | | | 2.7 |
| L X EVENT | | undergoer | event | | | 2.8 |
| ^L ≸ ACTIVITY | | is-active | activity | | | 2.9 |
| L → EXISTENCE | initial-exists | material | exists | | target-exists | 2.10 |
| L ✓ REPRODUCTION | | original | | | сору | 2.11 |
| TRANSFORMATION-CREATION | | material | | | created | 2.12 |
| L ® EXPERIENCE | | experiencer | experienced | | | 2.13 |
| L EXPLANATION | | explained | explanation | | | 2.14 |
| L @ PURPOSE | | has-purpoe | purpose | | | 2.15 |
| L 🛂 IDENTIFICATION | initial-identifier | identified | identifier | | target-identifier | 2.16 |
| L P LOCATION | initial-location | has-location | location | transitory-location | target-location | 2.17 |
| L ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT | initial-surface | ornament | surface | • | target-surface | 2.18 |
| L R EXCRETION | excreter | excreted | | transitory-location | target-location | 2.19 |
| └ 🏏 HITTING | | hitting | hit | , | | 2.20 |
| L ✓ INGESTION | | ingested | | transitory-location | ingester | 2.21 |
| L S UNANCHORED-MOTION | | in-motion | | transitory-location | 0 | 2.22 |
| L WRAPPING-WEARING | initial-wearer | wrapper | wearer | , | target-wearer | 2.23 |
| L MEANS | | has-means | means | | | 2.24 |
| L C MESSAGE | initial-content | topic | content | | target-content | 2.25 |
| L ? MODE | | has-mode | mode | | 8 | 2.26 |
| L 🕸 NONCOMP | | has-noncomp | noncomp | | | 2.27 |
| L A PART-WHOLE | initial-whole | part | whole | | target-whole | 2.28 |
| L O EXAMPLE | | example | exemplified | | | 2.29 |
| L 1 POSSESSION | initial-possessor | possessed | possessor | | target-possessor | 2.30 |
| L QUANTITY | initial-quantity | has-quantity | quantity | | target-quantity | 2.31 |
| L TRANK | initial-rank | has-rank | rank | | target-rank | 2.32 |
| L % SCENE | initial-scene | participant | scene | transitory-scene | target-scene | 2.33 |
| L ZZ STATE | initial-state | has-state | state | , | target-state | 2.34 |
| L 🍎 QUALITY | initial-quality | has-quality | quality | | target-quality | 2.35 |
| CLASS | initial-class | has-class | class | | target-class | 2.36 |
| L DESTRUCTION | | destroved | | | | 2.37 |
| L ♠ SENDING | | sent | sender | | | 2.38 |
| L SEQUENCE | | follows | followed | | | 2.39 |
| CAUSATION | | result | causer | | | 2.40 |
| L CONDITION | | has-condition | condition | | | 2.41 |
| L O EXCEPTION | | has-exception | exception | | | 2.42 |
| L X REACTION | | reaction | trigger | | | 2.42 |
| L RESULTATIVE | | has-resultative | resultative | | | 2.44 |
| L SOCIAL-RELATION | initial-social-relation | has-social-relation | social-relation | | target-social-relation | 2.45 |
| L TIME | initial-time | has-time | time | | target-social-relation | 2.46 |
| ₩ TIME | mudi-time | nas-tillic | CITIE | | raiget-tille | 2.40 |

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.
- 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, 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.



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

The concert $\operatorname{began}_{\mathsf{SCENE-INIT}}$ (17)

 $\overbrace{\text{The concert continued}_{\text{SCENE-CONTINUATION}}}^{\text{(initial-scene)}}$ (18)

(initial-scene)

The concert finished_{SCENE-DEINIT} (19)

 $\overbrace{\text{The shouting intensified}_{\text{SCENE-CONTINUATION}}}^{\text{(initial-scene)}}$ (20)

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \hline & \hline & \hline & \hline & \hline & \hline & \\ \hline & \hline & \\ The shouting faded_{SCENE-DEINIT} \\ \hline \end{tabular}$ (21)

target-scene

(22)A coup was attempted_{SCENE-INIT}

Verticipant (initial-scene)

Kim finished_{SCENE-DEINIT} their work

(24)

Kim prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from going

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

Change is necessary scene-necessity (27)

(28) Change is possible_{SCENE-POSSIBILITY}

-(initial-possessor) - (target-possessor)

Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money

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



(30) absence EXISTENCE-NEG of evidence



- (31) That is impossiblescene-possibility-neg
- They $\operatorname{never}_{\mathsf{TIME-NEG}}$ understand (32)

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

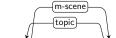
1.4 Modifiers

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-.

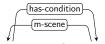


(38) Kim is sweating excretion profusely in the sauna

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 2.33) and add a reverse dependency with the corresponding role label.



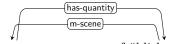
(39) Ich spiele_{ACTIVITY} lieber_{MESSAGE} Schach



(40) Der ist sowieso_{CONDITION} kaputt_{STATE}



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



(42) Kim war unvermindertquantity-continuation fröhlichmessage

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:



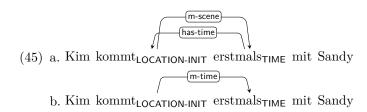
b. a red_{QUALITY} bucket_{CLASS}



(44) a. The water is very QUANTITY cold STATE

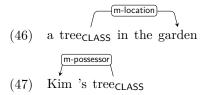


b. The water is $very_{QUANTITY}$ $cold_{STATE}$



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:

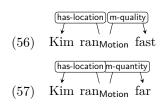
Pronouns and names evoke the IDENTIFICATION frame, meaning that they identify their referent as some entity (via naming or anaphora resolution).

- (50) Kimidentification
- (51) theyidentification

Predicate adjectives most typically denote states or qualities.

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

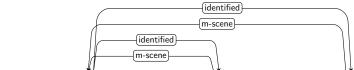
Similarly for adverbs denoting, e.g, manner (quality) or extent (quantity):



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.

- Kim promised Sandy to come_{LOCATION-CHANGE} (subject control) (58)
- Kim used a hammer to smash_{STATE-CHANGE} the vase (subject control) (59)
- (60)Kim persuaded Sandy to comelocation-change (object control)
- (61)Kim seemed to flyunanchored-motion (raising)
- (62)Kim entered the room singingMessage-Init (depictive)
- (63)You're talking me silly state (resultative)
- Kim has come to stay_{LOCATION}-continuation (subjectless adverbial clause) (64)
- Kim left after trashingstate-change the room (subjectless adverbial clause) (65)
- (66)Kim is hard to love_{MESSAGE} (tough construction)
 - topic x-experiencer
- the song that I likeMESSAGE (relative clause)
- the question we raised without answering MESSAGE-INIT (parasitic gap) (68)

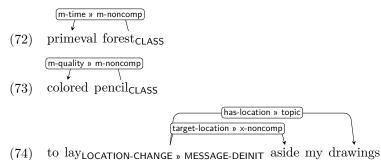


ein sogenannter IDENTIFICATION-INIT Televisor
CLASS oder Hörsehschirm CLASS (coordination)

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.

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



>>.

If you cannot choose between two frames for another reason, use || 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.

- (75) Yessituation
- (76) Nosituation-neg

(theme)

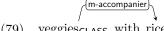
(77) transition_{SITUATION-CHANGE} of the account to a new government



(78) they needsituation-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.



(79)veggies_{CLASS} with rice



The veggies $come_{\mathsf{ACCOMPANIMENT}}$ (80)



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

(82)Rolling thunder accompanies ACCOMPANIMENT the rain

(83)boy kingsocial-relation

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

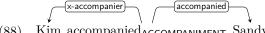
(85)Kim danced_{ACTIVITY} with Sandy



(86)Kim had_{SCENE} sex with Sandy



Kim chased_{UNANCHORED-MOTION} Sandy around the block (87)



(88)Kim accompanied_{ACCOMPANIMENT} Sandy



Kim accompanied_{ACCOMPANIMENT} Sandy on the piano (89)

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).



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

2.4 **SASSET**

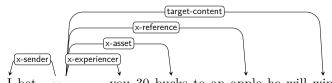
In a scene has-asset, asset is given or offered in an exchange or wager.



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



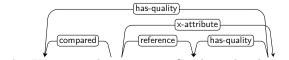
(92) Kim offered MESSAGE-INIT Sandy a million dollars for the house



(93) 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.



(94) Kim exceeds_{COMPARISON} Sandy in height_{QUALITY}



(95) That is great_{QUALITY} in terms of ROI_{QUALITY}



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

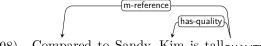


(97) Kim hithitting Sandy on the headclass with a stick

2.6 **COMPARISON**

compared is characterized with respect to reference.

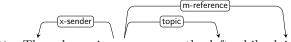
Examples of comparing scenes:



(98)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 (100)

Examples of comparing non-scene entities:

(101) Kim outranks_{COMPARISON} Sandy



(102)Kim exceeds_{COMPARISON} Sandy in height



(103)The Polish restaurant compared COMPARISON favorably to the Spanish one



Kim compared_{COMPARISON} Coke to Pepsi (104)



(105)kidney beanclass

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

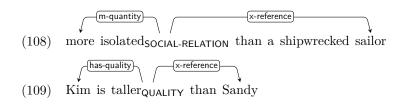


The program conforms ${\sf COMPARISON}$ to the spec



 $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{ran}_{\mathsf{COMPARISON-DEINIT}}$ afoul of Fielding 's constraints (107)

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

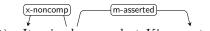


2.7 👌 CONCESSION

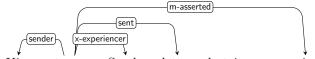
Special case of COMPARISON, where compared is what's asserted and reference is what's conceded.



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



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



(112) Kim sent_{SENDING} Sandy a letter, but it never arrived



(113) Kim came $_{\mbox{\scriptsize LOCATION-INIT}}$ although Sandy had told them not to

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.

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

(115) Kim attacked_{EVENT} Sandy

 $\sqrt{\text{m-event}}$ (116) career girl_{CLASS}

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

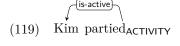
(117) Kim sneezed_{EXCRETION}

(has-location) (target-location)

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

2.9 💃 ACTIVITY

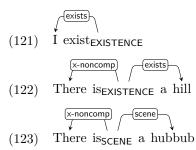
Special case of ${\sf EVENT}$ where the ${\sf undergoer}$ is active.



(120) Kim had sexactivity

2.10 **XISTENCE**

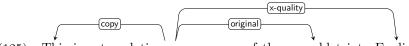
exists exists. Use this only for non-scene entities; for scenes, use the SCENE frame.



2.11 **FREPRODUCTION**

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

(124) Here is a copy_{REPRODUCTION} of the drawing



(125) This is a translation REPRODUCTION of the pamphlet into English

2.12 **X TRANSFORMATION-CREATION**

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



(created)

(127) Kim built_{TRANSFORMATION-CREATION} a castle out of sand



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

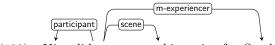
2.13 **® EXPERIENCE**

experiencer experiences experienced.

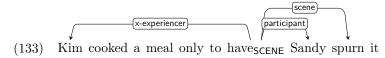
In connection with a MESSAGE frame in the experienced role, used for sensory and mental perception as well as addressees in communication. Also use for beneficiaries, and for "bystander" roles.

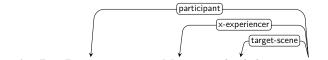




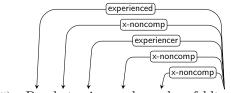


(132) Kim did_{SCENE} something nice for Sandy





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

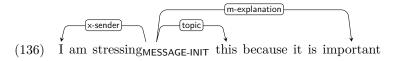


(135) Das hat mir gerade noch gefehltexperience

For more uses, see the examples for MESSAGE in Section 2.25.

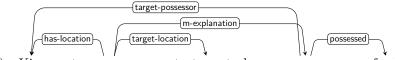
2.14 | EXPLANATION

explanation explains explained, but is not a cause.

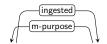


OPERATE PURPOSE 2.15

Special case of $\ensuremath{\mathsf{EXPLANATION}}$ where explanation is a purpose.



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



(138)drinking ingestion water class

(140)train station_{CLASS}

(141)

(142) animal doctor_{CLASS}

☑ IDENTIFICATION 2.16

identifier identifies identified.

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

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

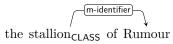


This is Kim_{IDENTIFICATION} (146)

Obamas Sonderberaterin_{SOCIAL-RELATION} Kori Schulman

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

 $\begin{picture}(0,0) \put(0,0){\line(0,0){100}} \put(0,0){\line(0,0){100}$

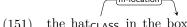


Likewise, in has an identifying sense:

(150) In answer , he repeated MESSAGE-INIT : Please, draw me a sheep !

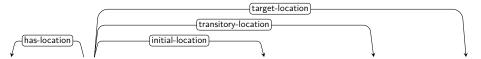
LOCATION 2.17

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



the hat_{CLASS} in the box (151)

(152) Kim lives_{LOCATION} in Boston



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



 $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{placed}_{\mathsf{LOCATION\text{-}CHANGE}}$ the hat on the table (154)

(155)house music_{MESSAGE}

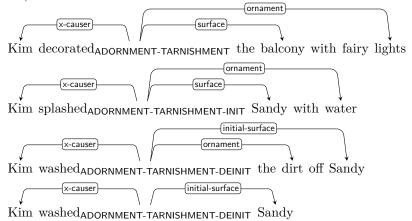
$$\underbrace{ \begin{bmatrix} \mathsf{m}\text{-}\mathsf{has}\text{-}\mathsf{location} \end{bmatrix}}_{ \bigvee}$$

(156)music hall_{CLASS}

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

 ${\rm cane~sugar}_{\mathsf{CLASS}}$ (158)

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



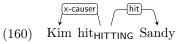
2.19 REXCRETION

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



2.20 **/** HITTING

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

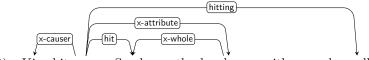




(161) Kim hit HITTING Sandy with a stick

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

(162)



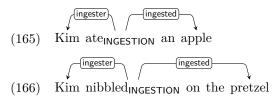
(163) Kim hit_{HITTING} Sandy on the head class with a pool noodle



(164) Kim kicked_{HITTING} Sandy

2.21 **SINGESTION**

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

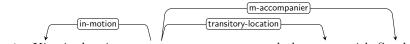


2.22 **UNANCHORED-MOTION**

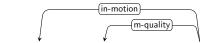
Special case of LOCATION-CHANGE where no initial or target location is indicated.



(168) I learned to pilot_{UNANCHORED-MOTION} airplanes



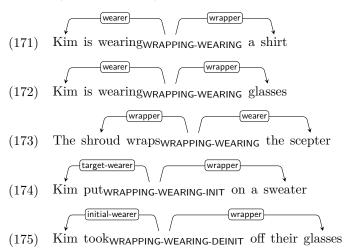
(169) Kim is dancing UNANCHORED-MOTION around the room with Sandy



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

2.23 WRAPPING-WEARING

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



2.24 **MEANS**

has-means is a scene caused by something via an intermediary means.



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



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



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



(179) You used_{MEANS} me!

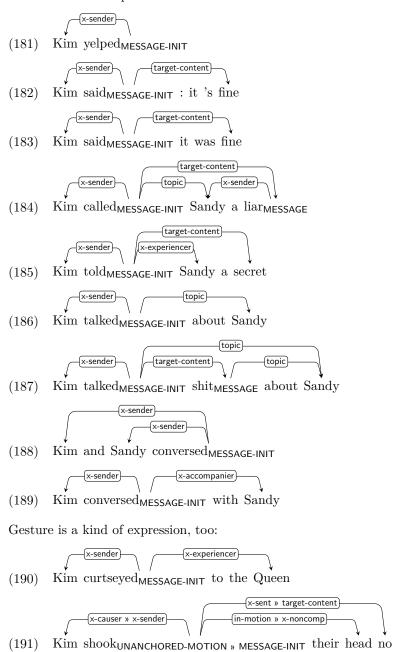


(180) oil lamp_{CLASS}

2.25 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 ${\sf MESSAGE\textsc{-INIT}}$:



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

the topic:



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



(193)

Kim sang_{MESSAGE-INIT} a song

What is depicted gets the topic role:



a picture
$$MESSAGE$$
 of the heron

(197) The concert was $recorded_{MESSAGE-INIT}$ on tape

Recordings of information are framed as messages:

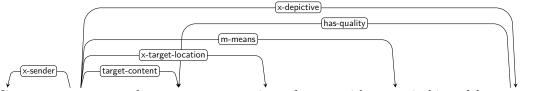
(199) a book $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}}$ about the primeval forest

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

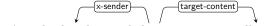
(201) Kim drew_{MESSAGE-INIT} a picture



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



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



(204) The band $recorded_{MESSAGE-INIT}$ an album

Predicates of perception use MESSAGE, including mental perception:



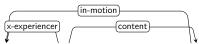
(205) Kim saw_{MESSAGE} a flower

(206) Kim found_{MESSAGE} the flower beautiful_{QUALITY}

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

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

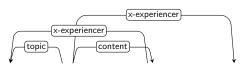
(209) Kim sawmessage Sandy swimunanchored-motion



(210) Kim wants_{MESSAGE} to $swim_{UNANCHORED-MOTION}$

(211) Kim wants_{MESSAGE} Sandy to swimunanchored-motion

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



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



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



(216) They revered MESSAGE God

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

x-experiencer topic

The Thought Police observed ---- Wington

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

(x-experiencer) (topic)

(218) Kim studies_{MESSAGE-INIT} linguistics

(x-experiencer) (topic)

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

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

(221) Kim measured_{MESSAGE-INIT} the elasticity



(222) The jury found $_{\mbox{\scriptsize MESSAGE-INIT}}$ Kim guilty scene of the crime $_{\mbox{\scriptsize ACTIVITY}}$

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

(x-experiencer) (topic)

(224) 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:

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

? MODE 2.26

Used for adverbial modifiers that have no arguments other than the phrase they modify, and that, roungly speaking, indicate the modal strength of what is expressed and/or its relation to the discourse.

m-mode)

Even $\mathrm{Kim}_{\mathsf{IDENTIFICATION}}$ did n't know that (226)

They only ${\operatorname{rinsed}}_{\operatorname{\mathsf{ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT-DEINIT}}$ the dishes (227)

Passt_{COMPARISON} das eh? (228)

(x-experiencer)

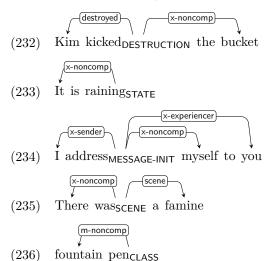
(229)Kim probably knows $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}}$ that

(230)That 's really great QUALITY

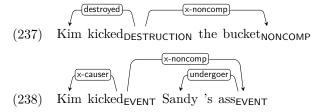
(231) Kim is not hereLOCATION

2.27 🕸 NONCOMP

Used to mark syntactic arguments that are thought of as part of the predicate, as in verbal idioms, weather verbs, inherently reflexive verbs, existential *there*, or other fixed expressions. (Light verbs, on the other hand, are treated with SCENE, see Section 2.33.)

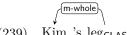


The superframe to assign to such dependents is either NONCOMP, unless an argument of the whole predicate syntactically attaches to it. In that case, label it the same as the top predicate:

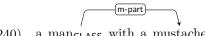


2.28 **PART-WHOLE**

part is part of whole.



(239) Kim 's leg_{CLASS}



(240) a man_{CLASS} with a mustache



 $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{m-whole}} \\ \\ (243) \quad \text{orange seed}_{\text{CLASS}} \end{array}$

(244) seed orange_{CLASS}

(245) car motor_{CLASS}

(246) motor car_{CLASS}

(247) cube $sugar_{CLASS}$

(248) sugar cubeclass

2.29 **§ EXAMPLE**

Special case of PART-WHOLE where example (aka part) is given as an example of exemplified (aka whole).

 $(249) \quad \text{birds}_{\text{CLASS}} \text{ such as storks}$



(250) Sie lernen_{MESSAGE-INIT} beispielsweise_{EXAMPLE} wissenschaftliche Methoden

2.30 M POSSESSION

possessor possesses or controls the possessed.



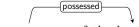
(251) Kim 's house_{CLASS}



(252) Kim ownspossession a house



(253) The house belongs_{POSSESSION} to Kim



(254) the owner_{POSSESSION} of the house



(255) Kim haspossession Sandy 's phone



(256) Kim boughtpossession-change a house from Sandy



(257) Sandy soldpossession-change Kim the house



(258) Kim keptpossession-continuation the house



(259) Kim lost_{POSSESSION-DEINIT} the house



(260) Caesar conquered POSSESSION-INIT Gaul



(261) Caesar 's conquestpossession-init of Gaul



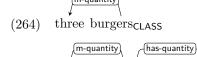
(262) Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money



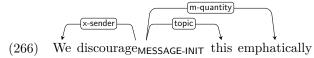
(263) family estate_{CLASS}

2.31 **QUANTITY**

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



(265) three litersquantity of coke



2.32 **KANK**

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



2.33 🦠 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.



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



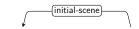
(270) The $concert_{MESSAGE-INIT}$ continued_{SCENE-CONTINUATION}



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



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

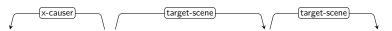


(273) The shouting Message-Init faded Scene-Deinit

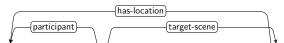
(274) A coupevent was attempted Scene-Init



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



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



(277) Kim refrained_{SCENE-PREVENTION} from $going_{LOCATION-CHANGE}$



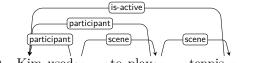
(278) Kim prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from going_{LOCATION-CHANGE}



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



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



(281) Kim used_{SCENE} to play_{SCENE} tennis_{ACTIVITY}



(282) Kim gave_{SCENE} Sandy a kick_{HITTING}

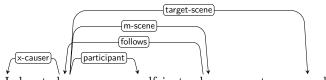
The modifier relation m-scene is used when a syntactic dependeny points from an argument to a predicate, as, e.g., with relative clauses or sentence adverbs.



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



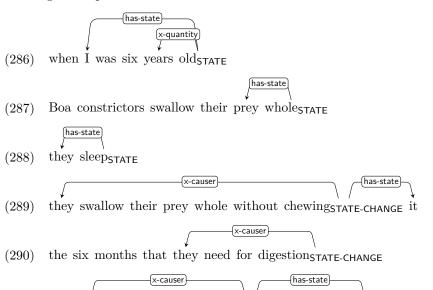
(284) Fortunately Experience for Sandy , Kim is here LOCATION



(285) I devoted_{SCENE-INIT} myself instead_{SEQUENCE} to geography

2.34 Z STATE

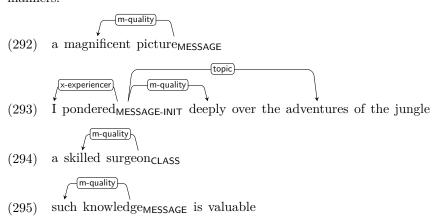
state indicates a state of has-state. Typically used with predicates that do not, in fact, have a state role, because the state is already incorporated into the meaning of the predicate.



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

2.35 **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.

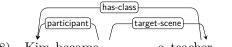


2.36 **Q** CLASS

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.

(297) swallowing an animal_{CLASS}



(298) Kim became $_{\text{SCENE-INIT}}$ a teacher $_{\text{CLASS}}$

Indefinite pronouns also evoke CLASS.

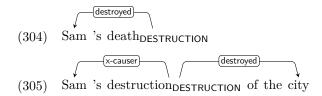
(299) She saw one_{CLASS}



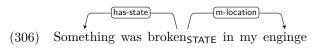
- (300) Nothing CLASS about him suggested a child
- (301) Why would anyone_{CLASS} be frightened by a hat?
- (302) Something class is broken
- (303) Where I live everything CLASS is small

2.37 • 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.



2.38 **SENDING**

 ${\sf sender}$ originates a message, ${\sf sent},$ that can be experienced.

 $\sqrt{\text{sender}}$ (309) bird songmessage

(308) song bird_{CLASS}

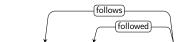
For more uses, see MESSAGE (Section 2.25).

SEQUENCE 2.39

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



(310) Form follows_{SEQUENCE} function



(311) Cook is Jobs 's successor_{SEQUENCE}



(312) Das fußtsequence auf einer falschen Vorstellung



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



Given that I 'm tired , I wo n't be there LOCATION (314)

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

(315) It costs 1 euroquantity per scoop

2.40 🕹 CAUSATION

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

(316) Kim brokestate-change the glass

(x-causer) (has-state)

(317) The knife cut_{STATE-CHANGE} the bread



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

(319) The war caused_{CAUSATION} a famine

x-noncomp scene scene

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

(has-quantity) (m-result)

(321)~ Der Wasserdruck stieg ${\sf QUANTITY\text{-}CHANGE}$, wodurch der Brunnen überfloss



(322) Die Qualität ist der Motivation geschuldet CAUSATION

m-result

(323) tear gasclass



(324) sun burnstate-change



(325) honey beeclass



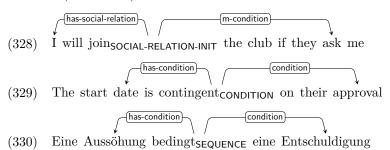
(326) Kim wentlocation-change to town because they wanted to buy food

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:



2.41 **CONDITION**

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



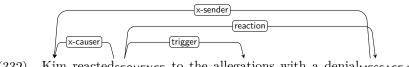
2.42 **SEXCEPTION**

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



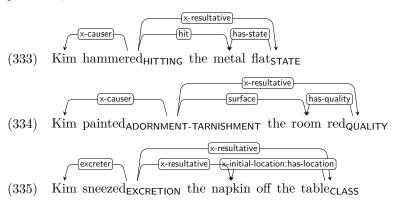
₩ REACTION 2.43

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



2.44 RESULTATIVE

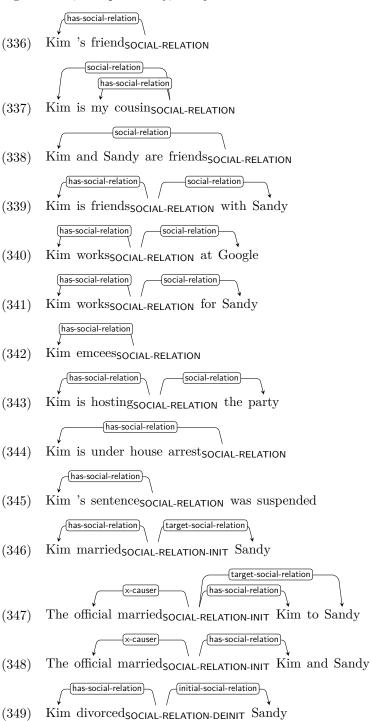
Special case of CAUSATION where resultative (aka result) assigns an argument of has-resultative (aka causer) a role. We treat the English resultative construction as a valency-changing operation that adds one or two arguments to the matrix predicate, so we use x-resultative rather than m-resultative.

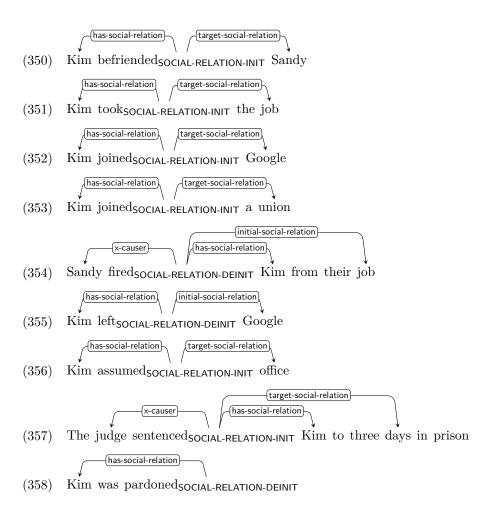


In the last example, we use x-initial-location:has-location to specify not only the role of the napkin in the resulting event (has-location) but also that of the table (initial-location). Using x-has-location would be imprecise because we would then assume that the table has location.

2.45 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.





2.46 💆 TIME

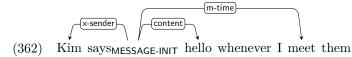
time indicates when, how often, or for how long has-time takes place. Also evoked by time expressions without arguments.

(359) Kim swims_{UNANCHORED-MOTION} on Monday

(360) Kim sneezed_{EXCRETION} twice

(in-motion) (m-time)

(361) Kim swamunanchored-motion for an hour



(363) Once_{TIME} when I was six years old

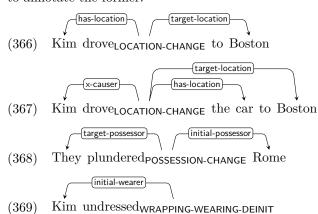
 $(364) \quad \text{summer job}_{\mathsf{ACTIVITY}}$

 $(365) \quad \text{golf season}_{\mathsf{TIME}}$

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.

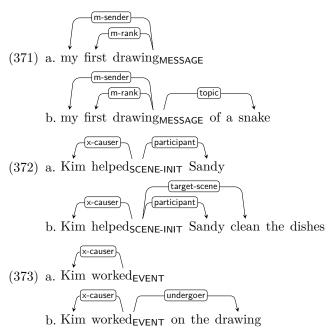


Also, when in doubt, choose the frame so that you can use core roles rather than resorting to non-core roles. For example, in the following sentence, we should use LOCATION-INIT rather than UNANCHORED-MOTION so that we can use target-location and do not have to resort to x-target-location.

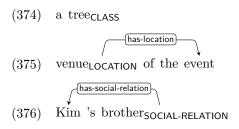


3.2 Arguments Determine Frames

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:

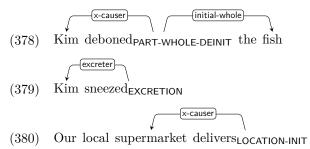


Note that in *Kim 's tree*, Kim's role is that of possessor, but it is not assigned by the noun *tree* but by the possessive construction, so *tree* is still CLASS and we annotate *Kim* as a modifier.

$$(377) \quad \begin{array}{c} \stackrel{\text{(m-Opossessor)}}{\checkmark} \\ \text{(377)} \quad \text{Kim 's tree}_{\text{CLASS}} \end{array}$$

3.3 Shadow and Default Arguments

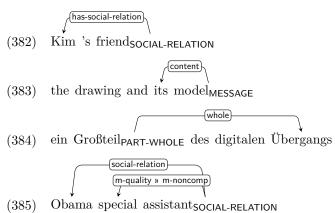
Arguments that determine a predicate's superframe include *shadow arguments* and *default arguments* (Pustejovsky, 1995; Di Fabio et al., 2019), i.e., arguments that do not appear in the syntactic argument structure because they are incorporated into the predicate or logically implied, like the bones in (378), mucus and air in (379), groceries in (380), or sun in (381).



(381) at sunriselocation-change » time

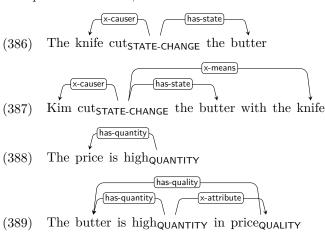
3.4 Predicates that Refer to a Shadow Argument

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.



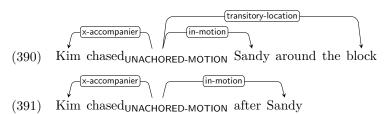
3.5 A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument

For example, consider (386), 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 (387). Thus, we treat this as a different framing with a different causer, rather than a more explicit version of the same framing. Likewise, (388) and (389) are two different framings, one with *price* as has-state, and one with *butter*.



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

For example, in (390), *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 (391), prefer it.



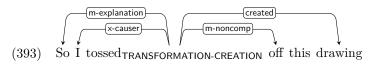
3.7 However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Arguments and Therefore Different Superframes

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.

(392) I have seen them intimately , close LOCATION at hand NONCOMP

3.8 Look Up Unfamiliar Words in a Dictionary

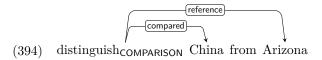
When you come across an unfamiliar predicate, you might not be able to determine what arguments it has, and consequently what the most appropriate superframe is, from this one context alone. Use a dictionary such as Wiktionary in this case. In the following example, I found that *toss off* can mean "to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



 $^{^{1} \}texttt{https://en.wiktionary.org/w/index.php?title=toss_off\&oldid=77814489}, \quad \text{retrieved } 2024-05-28$

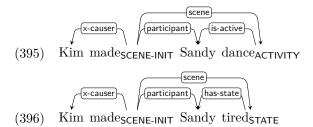
3.9 Symmetric Argument Pairs

Some predicates have a pair of arguments that are semantically symmetric. In such cases, assign the first role to the syntactically less oblique argument.

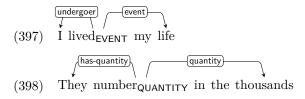


3.10 When to Use SCENE

SCENE should definitely be used if a predicate can add aspectual 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.



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



4 Aspect, Mode, and Polarity

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



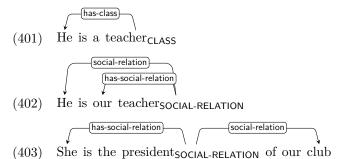
In (399), losing is framed as POSSESSION-DEINIT because a state of possession ends. POSSESSION-INIT would be incorrect because although a losing event begins, the state that the superframe POSSESSION describes ends. In general, aspectual suffixes modify superframes, they do not necessarily indicate the aspectual class of the predicate (here: lost).

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:

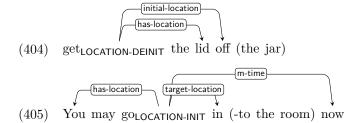
In other cases, such nouns rather denote a person's profession or expertise or their role in a social context:



5.2 Particle Verbs

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

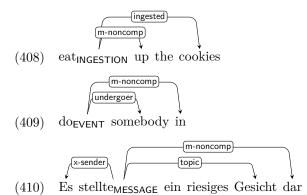
If the particle can be interpreted as an adposition with an elided complement (often the case with spatial meanings), label that relation as the elided complement would be labeled:



Also treat separated and nonseparated adpositional adverbs this way:

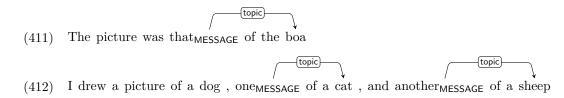


Otherwise, use m-noncomp:



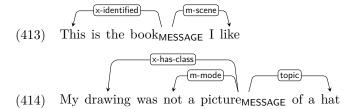
5.3 Pronouns with Arguments

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:



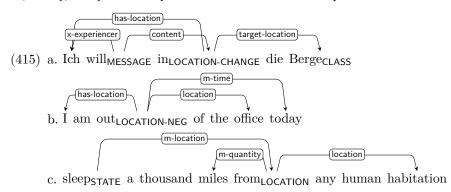
5.4 Nominal Copula Constructions

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.

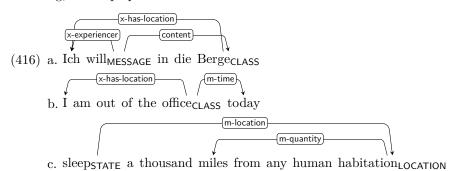


5.5 Predicative Adpositions

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 (416-a) and (416-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 (416-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.

6 TODO

codify the general principle somewhere: if superframe and ARG1 have the same name (quasi-unary relations), we can just use m-rel. Otherwise, use m-scene.

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?

References

- Baker, C. F., Fillmore, C. J., and Lowe, J. B. (1998). The Berkeley FrameNet project. In COLING 1998 Volume 1: The 17th International Conference on Computational Linguistics.
- Di Fabio, A., Conia, S., and Navigli, R. (2019). VerbAtlas: a novel large-scale verbal semantic resource and its application to semantic role labeling. In Inui, K., Jiang, J., Ng, V., and Wan, X., editors, *Proceedings of the 2019 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing and the 9th International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing (EMNLP-IJCNLP)*, pages 627–637, Hong Kong, China. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Feng, L., Williamson, G., He, H., and Choi, J. D. (2022). Widely Interpretable Semantic Representation: Frameless Meaning Representation for Broader Applicability.
- Kipper Schuler, K. (2005). VerbNet: A broad-coverage, comprehensive verb lexcicon. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Palmer, M., Gildea, D., and Kingsbury, P. (2005). The Proposition Bank: An annotated corpus of semantic roles. *Computational Linguistics*, 31(1):71–106.
- Pustejovsky, J. (1995). The Generative Lexicon. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.