Superframes Manual

Kilian Evang

Last updated: June 13, 2024

Contents

1	Intr	oduction	4
	1.1	Core Arguments	6
	1.2	Aspect, Mode, and Polarity	7
	1.3	Non-core Arguments	10
	1.4	Modifiers	11
	1.5	Nonverbal Predicates	12
	1.6	Control Relations	14
	1.7	Figurativity, Idiomaticity, and Uncertainty	15
2	Supe	erframes Reference	16
_	2.1	EVENTUALITY	16
	2.2	PREDICATION	17
	2.3	ACTIVITY	18
	2.4	CLASS	19
	2.5	* EXISTENCE	20
	2.6	REPRODUCTION	$\frac{1}{21}$
	2.7	TRANSFORMATION-CREATION	22
	2.8	EXPERIENCE	23
	2.9	IDENTIFICATION	$\frac{-5}{25}$
	2.10		26
	2.11	QUALITY	27
	2.12		28
	2.13		29
	2.14	1 2 STATE	30
	2.15		31
	2.16		32
	2.17		33
	2.18		34
	2.19	S ASSET	35
	2.20		36
	2.21	COMPARISON	37
	2.22		39
	2.23	· ·	40
	2.24		41
	2.25		42
	2.26	♦ ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT	43
	2.27	RECORDETION	44
	2.28	*/ HITTING	45
	2.29	▼ INGESTION	46
	2.30	UNANCHORED-MOTION	47
	2.31	** WRAPPING-WEARING	48
	2.32	MEANS	49
		MESSAGE	50
		NONCOMP	54
		PART-WHOLE	55
	2.36	M POSSESSION	56
		% SCENE	57
		△ 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	Argument Structure and Frame Choice 6						
•	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	Construction-specific Guidelines 8							
	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.
EVENTUALITY						2.1
PREDICATION		argument	predicate			2.2
^L ≸ ACTIVITY		is-active	activity			2.3
L 🍑 CLASS	initial-class	has-class	class		target-class	2.4
^L			exists			2.5
L 📝 REPRODUCTION		original			сору	2.6
L TRANSFORMATION-CREATION		material			created	2.7
L EXPERIENCE	initial-experienced	experiencer	experienced	transitory-experienced	target-experienced	2.8
L 🛂 IDENTIFICATION		identified	identifier			2.9
L ? MODE		has-mode	mode			2.10
^L ĕ QUALITY		has-quality	quality			2.11
^L ■ QUANTITY		has-quantity	quantity			2.12
L 🟅 RANK		has-rank	rank			2.13
L 22 STATE	initial-state	has-state	state		target-state	2.14
L 💀 DESTRUCTION		destroyed				2.15
L ⊗ RELATION		satellite	nucleus			2.16
L ACCOMPANIMENT		accompanied	accompanier			2.17
DEPICTIVE		has-depictive	depictive			2.18
^L ₫ ASSET		has-asset	asset			2.19
^L		has-attribute	attribute			2.20
L T COMPARISON		compared	reference			2.21
L 👌 CONCESSION		assertion	conceded			2.22
L EXPLANATION		explained	explanation			2.23
L PURPOSE		has-purpoe	purpose			2.24
L ↑ LOCATION	initial-location	has-location	location	transitory-location	target-location	2.25
L	initial-surface	ornament	surface		target-surface	2.26
^L № EXCRETION	excreter	excreted		transitory-location	target-location	2.27
└ 🏏 HITTING		hitting	hit			2.28
^L		ingested		transitory-location	ingester	2.29
L 🍃 UNANCHORED-MOTION		in-motion		transitory-location		2.30
L T WRAPPING-WEARING		worn	wearer			2.31
L MEANS		has-means	means			2.32
^L		topic	content			2.33
^L		has-noncomp	noncomp			2.34
^L	initial-whole	part	whole		target-whole	2.35
^L ∰ POSSESSION	initial-possessor	possessed	possessor		target-possessor	2.36
^L ♣ SCENE	initial-scene	participant	scene	transitory-scene	target-scene	2.37
^L		sent	sender			2.38
L → SEQUENCE		follows	followed			2.39
^L ♣ CAUSATION		result	causer			2.40
^L 📜 CONDITION		has-condition	condition			2.41
L N EXCEPTION		has-exception	exception			2.42
^L ₩ REACTION		reaction	trigger			2.43
^L RESULTATIVE □ RESULTATIVE		has-resultative	resultative			2.44
L 🤝 SOCIAL-RELATION	initial-social-relation	has-social-relation	social-relation		target-social-relation	2.45
└ 💆 TIME		has-time	time			2.46

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 super-frames 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 EVENTUALITY, with the two subtypes PREDICATION and RELATION. All the main superframes are direct children of PREDICATION or RELATION. 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:

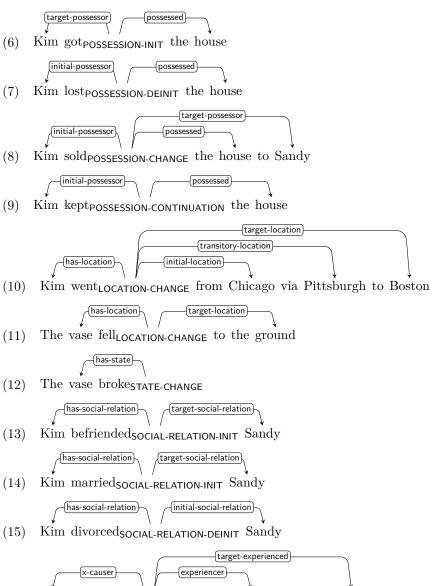
(2) Kim is partyingactivity

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.



(16) Kim saved_{experience-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.

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)

 $\begin{picture}(0,0) \put(0,0){\line(0,0){\cap}} \put(0,0){\line(0,0){\cap}$ (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-.



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).

- (43) Kimidentification
- (44) theyidentification

Predicate adjectives most typically denote states or qualities.

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

(47) despicable me_{IDENTIFICATION}

$$\sqrt{\text{m-state}}$$
(48) the tired dog_{CLASS}

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



Control Relations 1.6

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















(58)







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

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 **EVENTUALITY**

This is the most generic superframe. Use it only for sentential predicates with no discernible arguments, such as interjections.

- (67) Yeseventuality
- (68) Noeventuality-neg
- (69) Whatidentification » eventuality ?

2.2 PREDICATION

The predicate is true of the argument. Normally, there should be no reason to use this superframe; instead, use one of the more specific subtypes. Directly use this superframe only when none of the more specific subtypes seems to fit (currently, there are no known cases of this, so there are no examples). For PREDICATION and all of its subtypes, arg2 is typically a shadow argument, that is, it is incorporated into the predicate and not realized as a syntactic argument. This makes sense, because the predicate is already the predicate. However, there are cases where a semantic predicate is jointly realized by the syntactic predicate and its arg2. An example is shown in (70).



2.3 💃 ACTIVITY

is-active actively participates in activity.

Used for dynamic scenes where is-active has agency and that cannot well be framed as a state change.

(71) Kim worked_{ACTIVITY}

(72) Kim partied_{ACTIVITY}

 $(73) \quad \text{Kim had sex}_{\mathsf{ACTIVITY}}$

(74) after some work_{ACTIVITY} with a colored pencil

(75) I devoted myself to geography_{ACTIVITY}

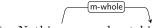
2.4 **Q** CLASS

class indicates the class of entity that has-class represents. Most prototypically evoked by common nouns with no arguments.

(76) swallowing an animal_{CLASS}

Indefinite pronouns also evoke CLASS.

(77) She saw one_{CLASS}



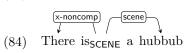
- (78) Nothing CLASS about him suggested a child
- (79) Why would anyone_{CLASS} be frightened by a hat?
- (80) Something CLASS is broken
- (81) Where I live everything class is small

2.5 ** EXISTENCE

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



 $(83) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{$\sqrt{x$-noncomp}$} & \text{$exists} \\ \text{$\sqrt{x$-noncomp}$} & \text{$|exists|$} \\ \text{$\sqrt{x$-noncomp}$} & \text{$|exists|$} \\ \text{$|exists|$} \\ \text{$|exists|$} & \text{$|exists|$} \\ \text{$|exists|$} \\ \text{$|$



2.6 PREPRODUCTION

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

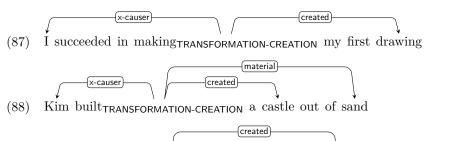
(85) Here is a copy_{REPRODUCTION} of the drawing

(copy) (riginal)

(86) This is a translation_{REPRODUCTION} of the pamphlet into English

2.7 **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.

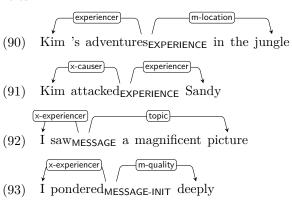


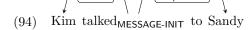
(89) Kim turned_{TRANSFORMATION-CREATION} straw into gold

2.8 **® EXPERIENCE**

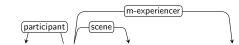
experiencer experiences experienced.

Used for dynamic scenes where the experiencer is not necessarily active, and that cannot well be framed as a state change. 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.

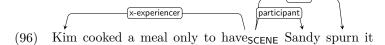




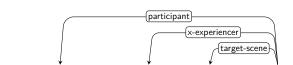
(97)



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

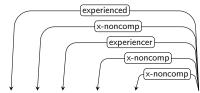


experienced



Kim managed $_{\ensuremath{\mathsf{EXPERIENCE}}}$ with dealing the cards

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



(99) Das hat mir gerade noch gefehltexperience



For more uses, see the examples for MESSAGE in Section 2.33.

☑ IDENTIFICATION 2.9

identifier identifies identified.

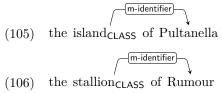
Evoked by definite pronouns, names, and other identifiers, as well as predicates denoting naming relationships.

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



(104) This is Kim_{IDENTIFICATION}

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



(106)

Likewise, in has an identifying sense:



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

2.10 ? MODE

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 m-mode

(108) Even Kim_{IDENTIFICATION} did n't know that

(109) They only rinsed_{ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT-DEINIT} the dishes

(110) Passt_{COMPARISON} das eh?

(x-experiencer) (content)

(111) Kim probably knows_{MESSAGE} that

(110) The control of the control of

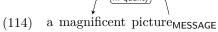
(112) That 's really great QUALITY

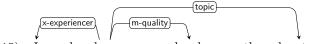
(has-location) (m-mode)

(113) Kim is not hereLOCATION

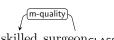
2.11 **OUALITY**

 ${\sf quality}$ indicates a (permanent) quality/property/manner of has-quality.





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



(116) a skilled surgeon_{CLASS}



(117) such knowledge_{MESSAGE} is valuable

2.12 **QUANTITY**

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

(118) three $burgers_{CLASS}$

(119) three litersquantity of coke

__topic (120) We discourage $_{\mbox{\scriptsize MESSAGE-INIT}}$ this emphatically

2.13 **KANK**

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



2.14 Z STATE

state indicates a (temporary) state of has-state.



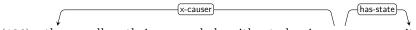
(123)when I was six years old_{STATE}



(124) Boa constrictors swallow their prey whole STATE



(125) they sleepstate



(126)they swallow their prey whole without chewingstate-change it

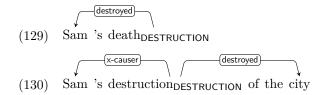


the six months that they need for $\operatorname{digestion}_{\mathsf{STATE-CHANGE}}$ (127)

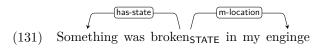


2.15 • DESTRUCTION

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.

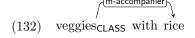


2.16 **S** RELATION

There is a relation between satellite and nucleus, where the latter is more central, and the former more peripheral, if any such hierarchy can be established. Normally, there should be no reason to use this superframe; instead, use one of the more specific subtypes. Directly use this superframe only when none of the more specific subtypes seems to fit (currently, there are no known cases of this, so there are no examples).

2.17 ACCOMPANIMENT

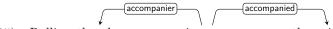
accompanier accompanies accompanied, meaning that it occurs together with it or participates equally in the same scene.



(133) The veggies come_{ACCOMPANIMENT} with ric



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



(135) Rolling thunder accompanies ACCOMPANIMENT the rain

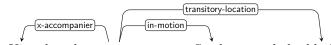
Often, the accompanier denotes not the accompanying scene but an entity participating in it, and must be metonymically understood as the scene.



(1-00) DECEMBER OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERT

(137) Kim danced_{ACTIVITY} with Sandy

(138) Kim had_{SCENE} sex with Sandy



(139) Kim chased_UNANCHORED-MOTION Sandy around the block



(140) Kim accompanied_{ACCOMPANIMENT} Sandy



(141) Kim accompanied ACCOMPANIMENT Sandy on the piano

2.18 / DEPICTIVE

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



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

2.19 **SASSET**

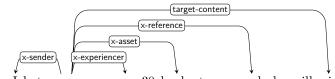
In a scene $\mathsf{has}\text{-}\mathsf{asset}$, asset is given or offered in an exchange or wager.



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



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



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

2.20 X 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.

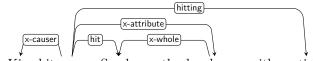




(147) That is great QUALITY in terms of ROI QUALITY



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

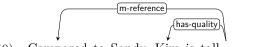


(149) Kim hit HITTING Sandy on the head CLASS with a stick

COMPARISON 2.21

compared is characterized with respect to reference.

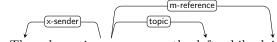
Examples of comparing scenes:



Compared to Sandy, Kim is tall_{QUALITY}



(151) Sandy is shortquality whereas Kim is tall



They demonize $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ the left while doing nothing about the right (152)

Examples of comparing non-scene entities:



(153) Kim outranks_{COMPARISON} Sandy



Kim exceeds_{COMPARISON} Sandy in height



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

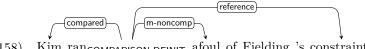


 $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{compared}_{\operatorname{\mathsf{COMPARISON}}}$ Coke to Pepsi (156)

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



The program conforms_{COMPARISON} to the spec



 $\operatorname{Kim}\ \operatorname{ran}_{\mathsf{COMPARISON-DEINIT}}\ \operatorname{afoul}\ \operatorname{of}\ \operatorname{Fielding}\ \operatorname{'s}\ \operatorname{constraints}$ (158)

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

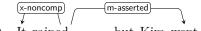


2.22 👌 CONCESSION

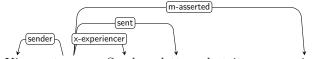
Special case of COMPARISON, where compared is what's asserted and reference is what's conceded.



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



(162) It rained TATE, but Kim went out



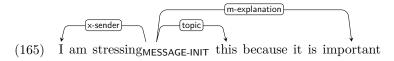
(163) Kim $sent_{SENDING}$ Sandy a letter , but it never arrived



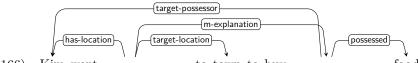
(164) Kim $\operatorname{came}_{\mathsf{LOCATION-INIT}}$ although Sandy had told them not to

2.23 | EXPLANATION

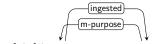
explanation explains explained, but is not a cause.



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



(166) Kim $went_{LOCATION-CHANGE}$ to town to buypossession-change food



(167) drinking ingestion waterclass

2.25 PLOCATION

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

(168) the hat_{CLASS} in the box

(169) Kim lives_{LOCATION} in Boston

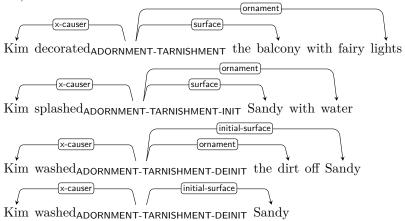
(target-location)
(transitory-location)
(initial-location)

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

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

2.26 ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT

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



2.27 REXCRETION

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



2.28 **/** HITTING

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



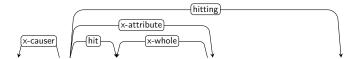
(173) Kim hithitting Sandy



Kim hit_{HITTING} Sandy with a stick (174)

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

(175)

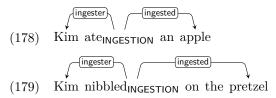


(176) Kim hit_{HITTING} Sandy on the head class with a pool noodle



2.29 **SINGESTION**

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



2.30 **UNANCHORED-MOTION**

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



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



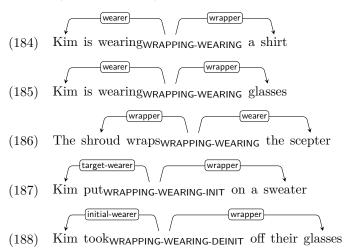
(182) Kim is dancing UNANCHORED-MOTION around the room with Sandy



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

2.31 WRAPPING-WEARING

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



2.32 **MEANS**

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



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



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



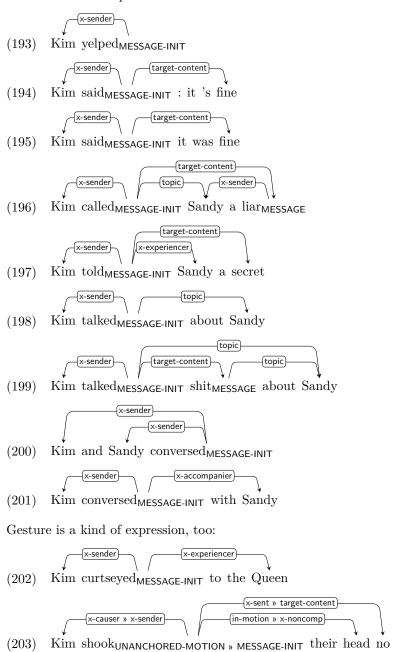
(191) Kim used $_{\mathsf{MEANS}}$ a pen to $_{\mathsf{get}}$ LOCATION-DEINIT the lid off



(192) You used_{MEANS} me!

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: \quad



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

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

Kim sangmessage-init a song

What is depicted gets the topic role:

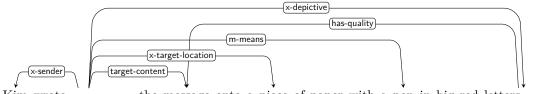
Kim drew_{MESSAGE-INIT} a heron

a picture MESSAGE of the heron

The concert was recorded MESSAGE-INIT on tape

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

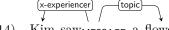
(211) Kim $wrote_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ Sandy a letter



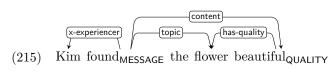
(212)Kim wrote_{MESSAGE-INIT} the message onto a piece of paper with a pen in big red letters_{QUALITY}

The band $\operatorname{recorded}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ an album (213)

Predicates of perception use MESSAGE, including mental perception:



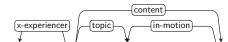
(214) Kim saw_{MESSAGE} a flower



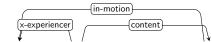
(216) Kim thinks_{MESSAGE} Sandy is a liar



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



(218) Kim sawmessage Sandy swimunanchored-motion



(219) Kim wantsmessage to swimunanchored-motion

(220) Kim wantsmessage Sandy to swimunanchored-motion



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

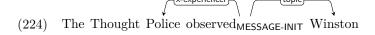


(222) Kim seems_{MESSAGE} happy_{MESSAGE} to Sandy



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

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



 $\begin{array}{ccccc}
& & \downarrow & & \downarrow \\
(225) & \text{Kim studies}_{\text{MESSAGE-INIT}} & \text{linguistics}
\end{array}$



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



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



(229) The jury found MESSAGE-INIT Kim guilty SCENE of the crime ACTIVITY

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



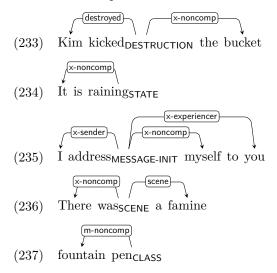
(231) Kim forgot_{MESSAGE-DEINIT} about the cake

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

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

2.34 NONCOMP

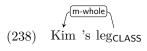
Used to mark syntactic arguments that are thought of as part of the predicate, as in verbal idioms, weather verbs, inherently reflexive verbs, existential *there*, or other fixed expressions.



Light verbs, on the other hand, are treated with SCENE, see Section 2.37.

2.35 **PART-WHOLE**

 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{part}}$ is part of whole.



(m-part) (239) a man_{CLASS} with a mustache



(241) wheat contains_{PART-WHOLE} gluten

2.36 M POSSESSION

possessor possesses or controls the possessed.



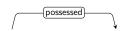
(242) Kim 's house_{CLASS}



(243) Kim ownspossession a house



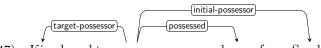
(244) The house belongspossession to Kim



(245) the owner_{POSSESSION} of the house



(246) Kim haspossession Sandy 's phone



(247) Kim boughtpossession-change a house from Sandy



(248) Sandy soldpossession-change Kim the house



(249) Kim keptpossession-continuation the house



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



(251) Caesar conquered Possession-init Gaul



(252) Caesar 's conquestpossession-init of Gaul



(253) Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money

2.37 🮭 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.



(254) The $concert_{MESSAGE-INIT}$ beganscene-init



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

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

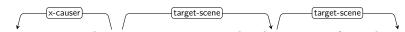
(257) The shouting MESSAGE-INIT intensified SCENE-CONTINUATION

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

(259) A coupexperience was attempted_{SCENE-INIT}



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



(261) Swift action prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} an outbreak_{SCENE-INIT} of measles_{EXPERIENCE}

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



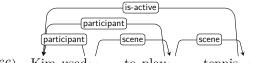
(263) Kim prevented_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from going_{LOCATION-CHANGE}



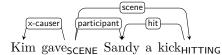
(264) Kim saved_{SCENE-PREVENTION} Sandy from the dragon_{CLASS}



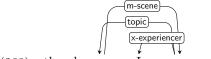
(265) Kim plays_{SCENE} tennis_{ACTIVITY}



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



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.



(267)

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



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



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

2.38 **SENDING**

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

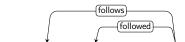
For more uses, see MESSAGE (Section 2.33).

■ SEQUENCE 2.39

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



(272) Form follows_{SEQUENCE} function



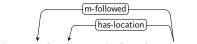
(273) Cook is Jobs 's successor_{SEQUENCE}



(274) Das fußtsequence auf einer falschen Vorstellung



(275) Kim deduced ${\tt SEQUENCE}$ the truth from the clues



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

CAUSATION

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

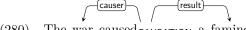
(277)Kim broke_{STATE-CHANGE} the glass

x-causer)-

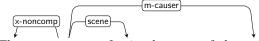
(278)The knife ${\it cut}_{{\sf STATE-CHANGE}}$ the bread



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



(280)The war $\operatorname{caused}_{\mathsf{CAUSATION}}$ a famine



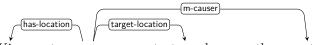
There was scene a famine because of the war (281)



Der Wasserdruck stieg $\mathsf{QUANTITY\text{-}CHANGE}$, wodurch der Brunnen überfloss (282)



Die Qualität ist der Motivation geschuldet_{CAUSATION} (283)



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

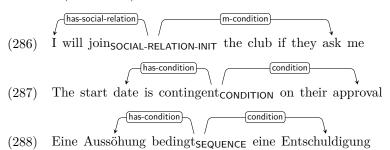
Note how the last example expresses a purpose, but expresses it as a cause, so m-causer lis the right label to use. Compare this to construal as a purpose:



Kim went_{LOCATION-CHANGE} to town to buy food (285)

2.41 **CONDITION**

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



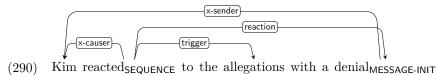
2.42 **O** EXCEPTION

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



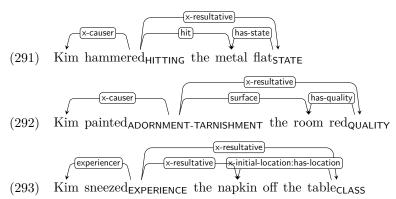
2.43 💥 REACTION

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



2.44 RESULTATIVE

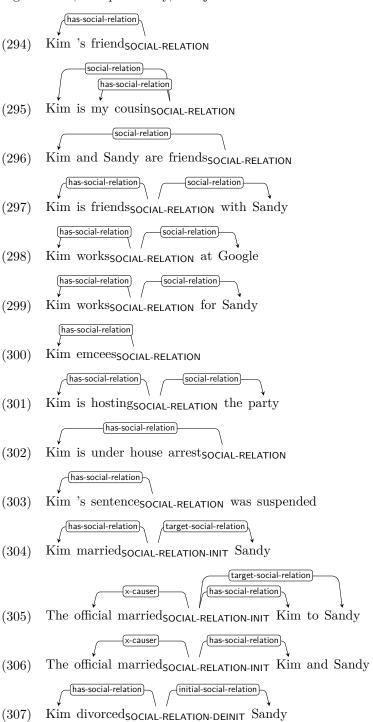
Special case of CAUSATION where resultative (aka result) assigns an argument of has-resultative (aka causer) a role. We treat the English resultative construction as a valency-changing operation that adds one or two arguments to the matrix predicate, so we use x-resultative rather than m-resultative.

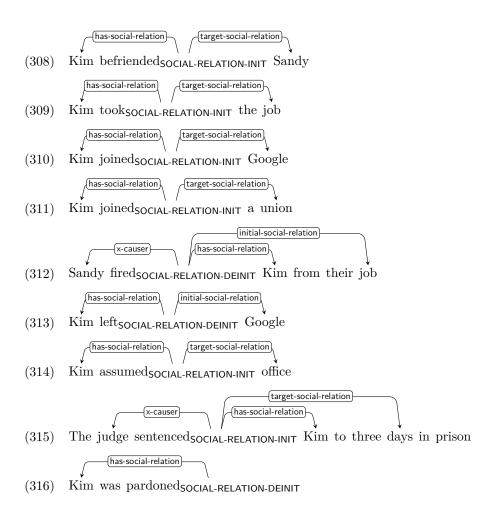


In the last example, we use x-initial-location:has-location to specify not only the role of the napkin in the resulting event (has-location) but also that of the table (initial-location). Using x-has-location would be imprecise because we would then assume that the table has location.

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.

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

(318) Kim sneezed_{EXPERIENCE} twice

(in-motion) (m-time)

(319) Kim swamunanchored-motion for an hour

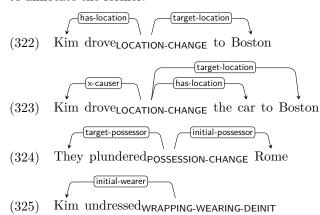


- (320) Kim says $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$ hello whenever I meet them
- (321) Once_{TIME} when I was six years old

3 Argument Structure and Frame Choice

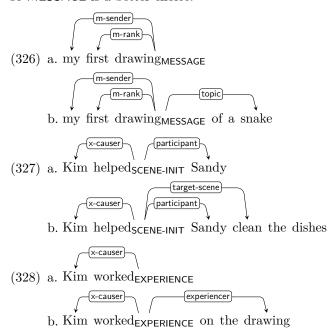
3.1 Prefer Core over Non-core Arguments

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



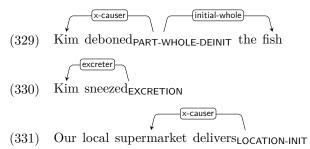
3.2 Arguments Determine Frames

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.



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 (329), mucus and air in (330), groceries in (331), or sun in (332).



(332) at sunriselocation-change » time

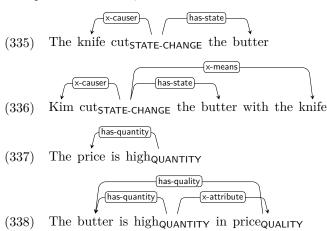
3.4 Predicates that Refer to a Shadow Argument

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.

 $(333) \quad \text{Kim 's friend}_{\text{SOCIAL-RELATION}}$ $(334) \quad \text{the drawing and its model}_{\text{MESSAGE}}$

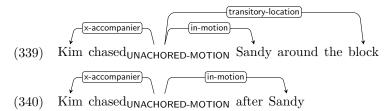
3.5 A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument

For example, consider (335), 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 (336). Thus, we treat this as a different framing with a different causer, rather than a more explicit version of the same framing. Likewise, (337) and (338) 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 (339), *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 (340), prefer it.

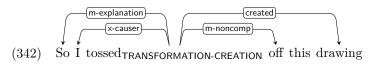


3.7 However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Arguments and Therefore Different Superframes

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.

3.8 Look Up Unfamiliar Words in a Dictionary

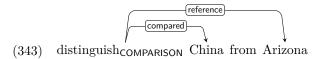
When you come across an unfamiliar predicate, you might not be able to determine what arguments it has, and consequently what the most appropriate superframe is, from this one context alone. Use a dictionary such as Wiktionary in this case. In the following example, I found that *toss off* can mean "to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



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

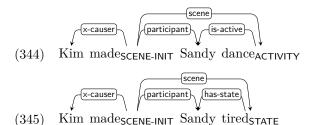
3.9 Symmetric Argument Pairs

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

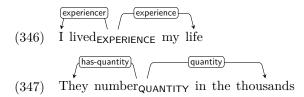


3.10 When to Use SCENE

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



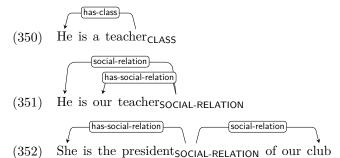
In (348), losing is framed as POSSESSION-DEINIT because a state of possession ends. POSSESSION-INIT would be incorrect because although a losing event begins, the state that the superframe POSSESSION describes ends. In general, aspectual suffixes modify superframes, they do not necessarily indicate the 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

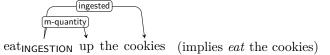
(355)

We follow the PARSEME classification of particle verbs into spatial, semi-non-compositional, and fully non-compositional ones (Savary et al., 2017; Ramisch et al., 2018, 2020; Savary et al., 2023).

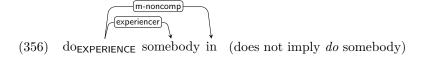
In UD, particle verbs are connected to their particle via the compound:prt relation. If the meaning is spatial, this dependency is labeled with initial-location or target-location.



In semi-non-compositional particle verbs, where the particle adds a partially predictable but nonspatial meaning to the verb, use an appropriate role.

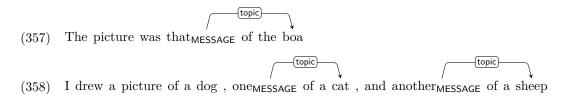


In fully non-compositional particle verbs, where the meaning is not predictable, use m-noncomp.



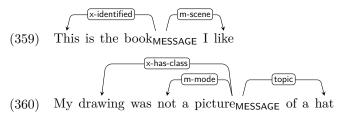
5.3 Pronouns with Arguments

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:



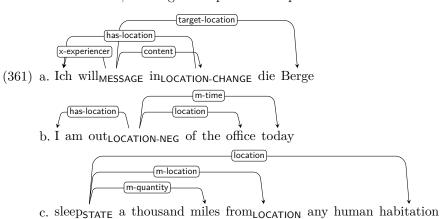
5.4 Nominal Copula Constructions

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

In UD and therefore in Superframes, adpositions are treated as case markers depending on their objects which may influence the superframe of the superordinate predicate and the role that the object plays, but not treated as predicates in their own right. This is sometimes problematic. Consider the following non-standard annotation, treating the adpositions as predicates:



6 TODO

The butter is high in price: high has SCENE-like arguments (participant butter and price scene), but also expresses a QUANTITY. SCENE-QUANTITY?

A whole section on sentence adverbs: lieber (MESSAGE), sowieso (CONDITION), ungeachtet (CONCESSION), erstmals (TIME), unvermindert (QUANTITY-CONTINUATION)

Speaker-oriented adverbs: MESSAGE? erstaunlicherweise, geheimnisvollerweise, glücklicherweise, möglicherweise, notwendigerweise, tragischerweise, unglaublicherweise (MESSAGE-PREVENTION?), unglücklicherweise, zweckmäßigerweise?

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.

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.
- Ramisch, C., Cordeiro, S. R., Savary, A., Vincze, V., Barbu Mititelu, V., Bhatia, A., Buljan, M., Candito, M., Gantar, P., Giouli, V., Güngör, T., Hawwari, A., Iñurrieta, U., Kovalevskaitė, J., Krek, S., Lichte, T., Liebeskind, C., Monti, J., Parra Escartín, C., QasemiZadeh, B., Ramisch, R., Schneider, N., Stoyanova, I., Vaidya, A., and Walsh, A. (2018). Edition 1.1 of the PARSEME shared task on automatic identification of verbal multiword expressions. In Savary, A., Ramisch, C., Hwang, J. D., Schneider, N., Andresen, M., Pradhan, S., and Petruck, M. R. L., editors, Proceedings of the Joint Workshop on Linguistic Annotation, Multiword Expressions and Constructions (LAW-MWE-CxG-2018), pages 222-240, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA. Association for Computational Linguistics.

- Ramisch, C., Savary, A., Guillaume, B., Waszczuk, J., Candito, M., Vaidya, A., Barbu Mititelu, V., Bhatia, A., Iñurrieta, U., Giouli, V., Güngör, T., Jiang, M., Lichte, T., Liebeskind, C., Monti, J., Ramisch, R., Stymne, S., Walsh, A., and Xu, H. (2020). Edition 1.2 of the PARSEME shared task on semi-supervised identification of verbal multiword expressions. In Markantonatou, S., McCrae, J., Mitrović, J., Tiberius, C., Ramisch, C., Vaidya, A., Osenova, P., and Savary, A., editors, *Proceedings of the Joint Workshop on Multiword Expressions and Electronic Lexicons*, pages 107–118, online. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Savary, A., Ben Khelil, C., Ramisch, C., Giouli, V., Barbu Mititelu, V., Hadj Mohamed, N., Krstev, C., Liebeskind, C., Xu, H., Stymne, S., Güngör, T., Pickard, T., Guillaume, B., Bejček, E., Bhatia, A., Candito, M., Gantar, P., Iñurrieta, U., Gatt, A., Kovalevskaite, J., Lichte, T., Ljubešić, N., Monti, J., Parra Escartín, C., Shamsfard, M., Stoyanova, I., Vincze, V., and Walsh, A. (2023). PARSEME corpus release 1.3. In Bhatia, A., Evang, K., Garcia, M., Giouli, V., Han, L., and Taslimipoor, S., editors, Proceedings of the 19th Workshop on Multiword Expressions (MWE 2023), pages 24–35, Dubrovnik, Croatia. Association for Computational Linguistics.
- Savary, A., Ramisch, C., Cordeiro, S., Sangati, F., Vincze, V., QasemiZadeh, B., Candito, M., Cap, F., Giouli, V., Stoyanova, I., and Doucet, A. (2017). The PARSEME shared task on automatic identification of verbal multiword expressions. In Markantonatou, S., Ramisch, C., Savary, A., and Vincze, V., editors, Proceedings of the 13th Workshop on Multiword Expressions (MWE 2017), pages 31–47, Valencia, Spain. Association for Computational Linguistics.