# Superframes Manual

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# Contents

1	Introduction	4
1		_
	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	13
	1.6 Nonlocal Dependencies	15
	1.7 Figurativity, Idiomaticity, and Uncertainty	17
9	Cf D.f	10
2	Superframes Reference	18
	2.1 SITUATION	18
	2.2 ACCOMPANIMENT	19
	2.3 / DEPICTIVE	20
	2.4 💰 ASSET	21
	2.5 X ATTRIBUTE	22
	2.6 A COMPARISON	23
	The state of the s	
	2.7 <b>ONCESSION</b>	25
	2.8 X EVENT	26
	2.9 💃 ACTIVITY	27
	2.10 <b>** EXISTENCE</b>	28
	2.11 <b>REPRODUCTION</b>	29
	2.12 TRANSFORMATION-CREATION	30
	2.13 • EXPERIENCE	31
	2.14 EXPLANATION	32
	2.15 IDENTIFICATION	33
	2.16 LOCATION	34
	2.17 <b>TARNISHMENT</b> 2.1. 2.1. 2.1. 2.1. 2.1. 2.1. 2.1. 2.1	35
	2.18 <b>EXCRETION</b>	36
	2.19 / HITTING	37
		38
	2.21 UNANCHORED-MOTION	39
	2.22 TWRAPPING-WEARING	40
	2.23 <b>MEANS</b>	41
	2.24 MESSAGE	43
	2.25 ? MODE	47
	2.26 NONCOMP	48
		_
	2.27 PART-WHOLE	49
	2.28 <b>§</b> EXAMPLE	50
	2.29 M POSSESSION	51
	2.30 QUANTITY	52
	2.31 KANK	53
	2.32 🎭 SCENE	54
	2.33 <b>2</b> STATE	57
	2.34 <b>QUALITY</b>	58
	2.35 • CLASS	59
	2.36 •• DESTRUCTION	60
	2.37 A SENDING	61
	2.38 SEQUENCE	62

	2.39 2.40 2.41 2.42 2.43 2.44 2.45	SOCIAL-RELATION	63 64 65 66 67 68 70
3	Argi	ment Structure and Frame Choice	71
	3.1	Prefer Core over Non-core Arguments	71
	3.2	Arguments Determine Frames	72
	3.3	Shadow and Default Arguments	74
	3.4	Predicates that Refer to a Shadow Argument	75
	3.5	A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied	
		Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument	76
	3.6	When in Doubt, Treat Different Syntactic Frames of the Same	
	~ <b>-</b>	Predicate Consistently	77
	3.7	However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Ar-	70
	2.0	guments and Therefore Different Superframes	78
	3.8 3.9	Look Up Unfamiliar Words in a Dictionary	79
		Symmetric Argument Pairs	80 81
	3.10	When to use SCLINE	01
1	Aspe	ect, Mode, and Polarity	83
	4.1	Aspect Annotation is wrt. the Superframe, Not the Predicate $$ . $$ .	83
5	Cons	struction-specific Guidelines	84
	5.1	Participant Nouns	84
	5.2	Particle Verbs	85
	5.3	Pronouns with Arguments	86
	5.4	Nominal Copula Constructions	87
	5.5	Predicative Adpositions	88
	5.6	Coordination	89
	5.7	Participles vs. Adjectives	90
3	TOL	00	91

SUPERFRAME	initial-arg2	arg1	arg2	transitory-arg2	target-arg2	Sec.
SITUATION	initial-situator	theme	situator	transitory-situator	target-situator	2.1
L   ACCOMPANIMENT	initial-accompanier	accompanied	accompanier		target-accompanier	2.2
<sup>L</sup> ✓ DEPICTIVE		has-depictive	depictive			2.3
<sup>L</sup> ₫ ASSET		has-asset	asset			2.4
L		has-attribute	attribute			2.5
L T COMPARISON		compared	reference			2.6
L		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
L TRANSFORMATION-CREATION		material			created	2.12
L ® EXPERIENCE		experiencer	experienced			2.13
L   EXPLANATION		explained	explanation			2.14
L IDENTIFICATION	initial-identifier	identified	identifier		target-identifier	2.15
L P LOCATION	initial-location	has-location	location	transitory-location	target-location	2.16
L  ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT	initial-surface	ornament	surface		target-surface	2.17
L R EXCRETION	excreter	excreted		transitory-location	target-location	2.18
└ 🏏 HITTING		hitting	hit			2.19
L   ✓ INGESTION		ingested		transitory-location	ingester	2.20
L DUNANCHORED-MOTION		in-motion		transitory-location	6	2.21
L WRAPPING-WEARING	initial-wearer	wrapper	wearer	transitory location	target-wearer	2.22
L MEANS	miciai wearer	purpose	means		target wearer	2.23
L O MESSAGE	initial-content	topic	content		target-content	2.24
L 7 MODE	miciai content	has-mode	mode		turget content	2.25
L ® NONCOMP		has-noncomp	noncomp			2.26
L   → PART-WHOLE	initial-whole	part	whole		target-whole	2.27
EXAMPLE	IIIItiai-wiloic	example	exemplified		target-writing	2.28
L 1 POSSESSION	initial-possessor	possessed	possessor		target-possessor	2.29
L QUANTITY	initial-quantity	has-quantity	quantity		target-quantity	2.30
L KANK	initial-quantity	has-rank	rank		target-rank	2.31
L % SCENE	initial-scene	participant	scene	transitory-scene	target-scene	2.32
L 22 STATE	initial-state	has-state	state	transitory-scene	target-state	2.33
L 🍎 QUALITY	initial-quality	has-state has-quality	quality		target-state target-quality	2.34
L O CLASS	initial-class	has-class	class		target-class	2.35
L O DESTRUCTION	IIIILIdi=ClaSS	destroyed	Class		target-class	2.36
L A SENDING		,	sender			
L SEQUENCE		sent follows	followed			2.37 2.38
		result				
L & CAUSATION L CONDITION			causer			2.39
E constitution		has-condition	condition			2.40
L O EXCEPTION		has-exception	exception			2.41
L ₩ REACTION		reaction	trigger			2.42
RESULTATIVE		has-resultative	resultative			2.43
L SOCIAL-RELATION	initial-social-relation	has-social-relation	social-relation		target-social-relation	2.44
<sup>L</sup> <mark></mark> TIME	initial-time	has-time	time		target-time	2.45

Table 1: Hierarchy of Superframes and their Roles

#### 1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

### **Core Arguments**

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

(2) Kim is partyingactivity

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

The house belongspossession to Kim

#### 1.2 Aspect, Mode, and Polarity

Rather than a static relationship between two entities, many verbs (and other predicates) denote a change (or absence of change) in such a relationship. We sort such predicates into a few coarse aspectual classes. For example, initiation (-INIT) means a state is begun or worked towards, deinitiation (-DEINIT) means a state is ended, completed, or its end is worked towards, change (-CHANGE) combines both, where one state is replaced by another, continuation (-CONTINUATION) means a state persists or is even intensified, and (-PREVENTION) means it fails to come about. Accordingly, 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<sub>SCENE-DEINIT</sub> (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<sub>SCENE-INIT</sub>

Verticipant (initial-scene)

Kim finished<sub>SCENE-DEINIT</sub> their work

(24)

Kim prevented<sub>SCENE-PREVENTION</sub> 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<sub>SCENE-POSSIBILITY</sub>

-(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<sub>POSSESSION-CHANGE</sub> 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-.

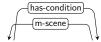


(38) Kim is sweating EXCRETION profusely in the sauna

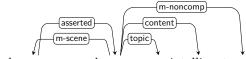
Adjectival and adverbial modification is characterized by the syntactic modifier acting as a predicate, with the syntactic modifiee as an argument. We label such modifier dependencies m-scene (cf. Section 2.32) and add a reverse dependency with the corresponding role label.



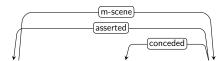
(39) Ich spiele<sub>ACTIVITY</sub> lieber<sub>MESSAGE</sub> Schach



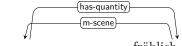
(40) Der ist sowieso<sub>CONDITION</sub> kaputt<sub>STATE</sub>



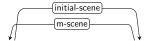
(41) Und dochconcession sahmessage er intelligent aus



(42) Sie sprangen<sub>LOCATION-INIT</sub> des Regens ungeachtet<sub>CONCESSION</sub> nach draußen



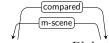
(43) Kim war unvermindertquantity-continuation fröhlichmessage



(44) immerscene-continuation höherlocation-init



(45) » Wir haben um Hilfe gebeten « ,  $so_{SENDING}$  Saqib<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub>



(46) ein anderescomparison Plakatclass

If arg2 has the same name as the frame, this structure can be abbreviated to

just use that as a modifier role instead of m-scene and a backlink. For example, the following pairs are equivalent:

(47) a. a  $red_{QUALITY}$  bucket<sub>CLASS</sub>



b. a  $\operatorname{red}_{\mathsf{QUALITY}}$  bucket $\operatorname{\mathsf{CLASS}}$ 



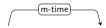
(48) a. The water is very QUANTITY cold STATE



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



(49) a. Kim kommt<sub>LOCATION-INIT</sub> erstmals<sub>TIME</sub> mit Sandy

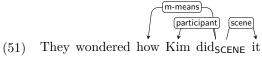


b. Kim kommt<sub>LOCATION-INIT</sub> erstmals<sub>TIME</sub> mit Sandy

Note the polysemy of some connective adverbs:



They appreciated how Kim danced ACTIVITY

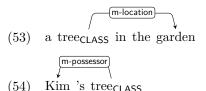




I remembered how<sub>MESSAGE</sub> my studies had concentrated<sub>MESSAGE</sub> on geography

#### 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:

$$\sqrt{\frac{\text{has-social-relation}}{\text{Kim 's friend}_{SOCIAL-RELATION}}}$$

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

- (57) Kimidentification
- (58) theyidentification

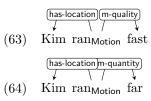
Predicate adjectives most typically denote states or qualities.

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

(61) despicable me<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub>

$$\sqrt{\text{m-state}} \\
(62) \text{ the tired dog}_{CLASS}$$

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.

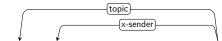
- (65)Kim promised Sandy to comelocation-change (subject control)
- Kim used a hammer to smashstate-change the vase (subject control) (66)
- (67)Kim persuaded Sandy to comelocation-change (object control)
- Kim left after trashingstate-change the room (non-obligatory control)
- (69)Kim has come to staylocation-continuation (infinitive of purpose)
- ${\rm Kim \ seemed \ to \ fly_{UNANCHORED-MOTION} \ \ (raising)}$ (70)
- Kim entered the room singing MESSAGE-INIT (depictive) (71)
- You're talking me silly STATE (resultative) (72)
- (73)Kim is hard to love<sub>MESSAGE</sub> (tough construction)
  - (x-experiencer)
- (74) the song that I likeMESSAGE (relative clause)
- the song I like MESSAGE (reduced relative clause) (75)
- the song liked<sub>MESSAGE</sub> by Kim (non-finite reduced relative clause) (76)
- students living LOCATION on campus (non-finite reduced relative clause)



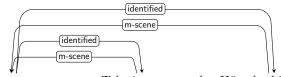
(78) eine Gestalt , deren Magerkeit<sub>QUALITY</sub> durch den Trainingsanzug noch betont<sub>MESSAGE</sub> wurde (relative clause with complex extracted element)



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



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



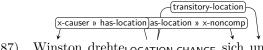
(81) ein sogenannter $_{\text{IDENTIFICATION-INIT}}$  Televisor $_{\text{CLASS}}$  oder Hörsehschirm $_{\text{CLASS}}$  (coordination)

#### 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:

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



Winston drehte<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> sich um

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.

- (88) Yessituation
- (89) Nosituation-neg



(90) transition<sub>SITUATION-CHANGE</sub> of the account to a new government



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

#### 2.2 **ACCOMPANIMENT**

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



The veggies  $come_{\mathsf{ACCOMPANIMENT}}$ (93)



(94)Kim added<sub>ACCOMPANIMENT-INIT</sub> rice to the veggies

(95)Rolling thunder accompanies ACCOMPANIMENT the rain

(96)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<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> to Rome with Sandy



(98)Kim danced<sub>ACTIVITY</sub> with Sandy



(99)Kim had<sub>SCENE</sub> sex with Sandy



(100)Kim chased<sub>UNANCHORED-MOTION</sub> Sandy around the block



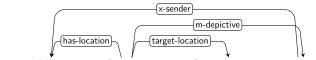
Kim accompanied<sub>ACCOMPANIMENT</sub> Sandy



Kim  $\operatorname{accompanied}_{\mathsf{ACCOMPANIMENT}}$  Sandy on the piano (102)

# 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).



(103) Kim entered<sub>LOCATION-INIT</sub> the room singing<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub>

## 2.4 **SASSET**

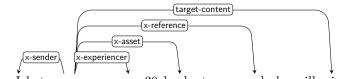
In a scene  $\mathsf{has}\mathsf{-}\mathsf{asset}$  ,  $\mathsf{asset}$  is given or offered in an exchange or wager.



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



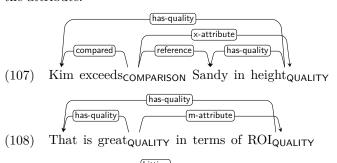
(105) Kim offered<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> Sandy a million dollars for the house



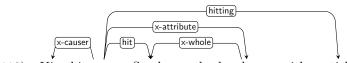
(106) I bet\_{\sf MESSAGE-INIT} you 30 bucks to an apple he will win

### 2.5 MATTRIBUTE

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.







#### 2.6 **COMPARISON**

compared is characterized with respect to reference.

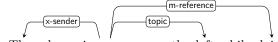
Examples of comparing scenes:



(111) Compared to Sandy, Kim is tall<sub>QUALITY</sub>



Sandy is short QUALITY whereas Kim is tall



They demonize  $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$  the left while doing nothing about the right (113)

Examples of comparing non-scene entities:



Kim exceeds<sub>COMPARISON</sub> Sandy in height (114)



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



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



kidney bean CLASS(117)

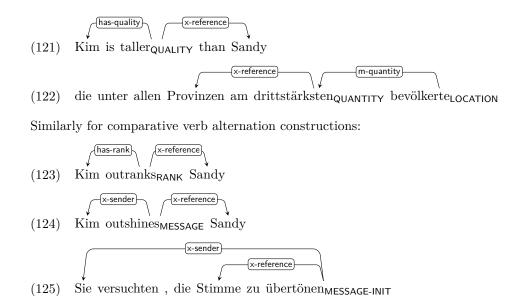
The reference need not be an entity similar to the compared, it can also be an abstract constraint:



(118)The program conforms<sub>COMPARISON</sub> to the spec

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





## 2.7 👌 CONCESSION

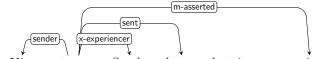
Special case of COMPARISON, where compared is what's asserted and reference is what's conceded.



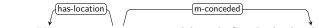
(126) Kim went<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> out despite the rain



(127) It rained TATE, but Kim went out



(128) Kim sentsending Sandy a letter, but it never arrived



(129) Kim  $came_{\mathsf{LOCATION-INIT}}$  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.

(130) Kim 's adventures<sub>EVENT</sub> in the jungle

(131) Kim attacked<sub>EVENT</sub> Sandy

(132) career girl<sub>CLASS</sub>

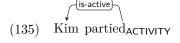
Note that many predicates that denote events in terms of Vendler can be framed differently (as changes):

(133) Kim sneezed<sub>EXCRETION</sub>

(134) The ambassador arrived<sub>LOCATION-INIT</sub> in Moscow

# 2.9 💃 ACTIVITY

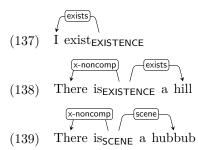
Special case of  ${\sf EVENT}$  where the  ${\sf undergoer}$  is active.



(136) Kim had sexactivity

# 2.10 **XISTENCE**

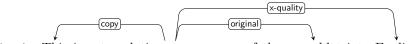
exists exists. Use this only for non-scene entities; for scenes, use the  $\mathsf{SCENE}$ frame.



# 2.11 **FREPRODUCTION**

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

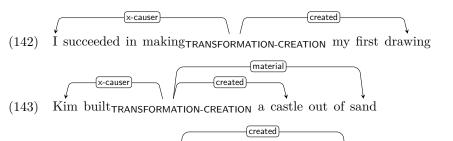
(140) Here is a copy<sub>REPRODUCTION</sub> of the drawing



(141) This is a translation<sub>REPRODUCTION</sub> 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.



(144) Kim turned<sub>TRANSFORMATION-CREATION</sub> straw into gold

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



#### 2.13 **©** EXPERIENCE

experiencer experiences experienced.

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

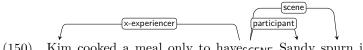




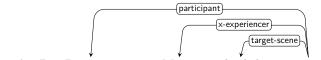




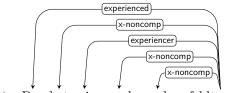
(149) Kim did<sub>SCENE</sub> something nice for Sandy



(150) Kim cooked a meal only to have Scene Sandy spurn it



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

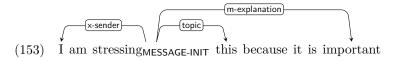


(152) Das hat mir gerade noch gefehltexperience

For more uses, see the examples for MESSAGE in Section 2.24.

# 2.14 | EXPLANATION

explanation explains explained, but is not a cause.



#### ☑ IDENTIFICATION 2.15

identifier identifies identified.

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

- (154) I<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub> saw a picture
- (155) I can distinguish China<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub> from Arizona



This is Kim<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub> (157)

Obamas Sonderberaterin<sub>SOCIAL-RELATION</sub> Kori Schulman

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

(159) the island<sub>CLASS</sub> of Pultanella

Likewise, in has an identifying sense:



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

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

## 2.16 PLOCATION

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

(163) the hat<sub>CLASS</sub> in the box

(has-location) (location)

(164) Kim lives<sub>LOCATION</sub> in Boston

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

(165) Kim went<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> from the living room through the door into the kitchen

(x-causer) (has-location)

(166) Kim placed<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> the hat on the table

 $\sqrt{\text{m-location}} \\
(167) house <math>music_{MESSAGE}$ 

m-has-location

(168) music hall<sub>CLASS</sub>

(169) sugar cane<sub>CLASS</sub>

 $\begin{array}{c|c} & & \hline {\text{m-initial-location}} \\ \hline \sqrt{\phantom{mmm}} & \\ (170) & cane \ sugar_{\text{CLASS}} \end{array}$ 

(m-has-location)

Adverbs of location evoke LOCATION:

 $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{has-location}} \\ (171) \quad \text{Kim ist oben} \\ \text{LOCATION} \end{array}$ 

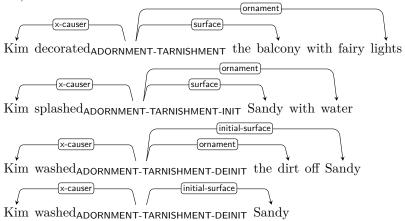
Adverbs of direction

has-location target-location

(172) Kim fliegt\_location-init hoch\_location-init

### 

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



# 2.18 REXCRETION

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

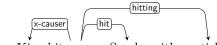


# 2.19 **/** HITTING

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



(174) Kim hithitting Sandy



Kim hit<sub>HITTING</sub> Sandy with a stick (175)

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

(176)



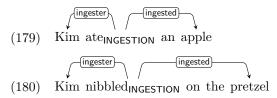
(177) Kim  $hit_{\mathsf{HITTING}}$  Sandy on the head class with a pool noodle



(178) Kim kicked $_{\sf HITTING}$  Sandy

#### 2.20 **SINGESTION**

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



#### 2.21 **UNANCHORED-MOTION**

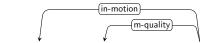
Special case of LOCATION-CHANGE where no initial or target location is indicated.



(182) I learned to pilot<sub>UNANCHORED-MOTION</sub> airplanes



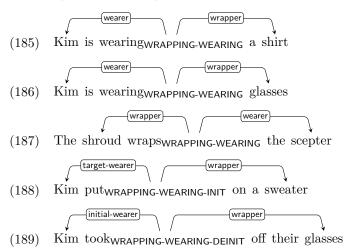
(183) Kim is dancing UNANCHORED-MOTION around the room with Sandy



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

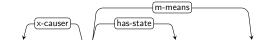
### 2.22 WRAPPING-WEARING

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



## 2.23 **MEANS**

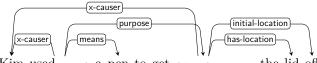
means is an intermediary causer of or is destined to serve a purpose.



(190) Kim cut<sub>STATE-CHANGE</sub> the cake with a knife



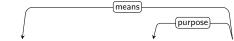
(191) Kim painted ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT the room by exploding a paint bomb



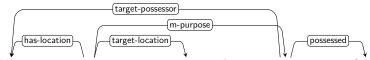
(192) Kim used  $_{\mathsf{MEANS}}$  a pen to  $\mathrm{get}_{\mathsf{LOCATION-DEINIT}}$  the lid off

(193) You used<sub>MEANS</sub> me!

(194) oil lamp<sub>CLASS</sub>



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



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



(197) drinkingingestion waterclass

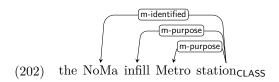


(198) lamp oil<sub>CLASS</sub>

(199) train station<sub>CLASS</sub>

(200) buffer state<sub>STATE</sub>

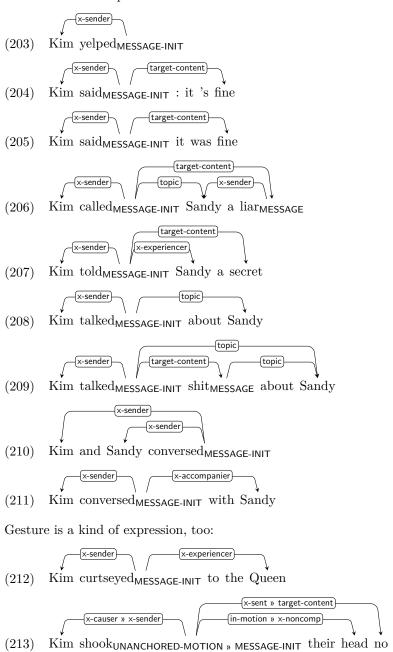
(201) animal doctor<sub>CLASS</sub>



#### 

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:



(214) Kim played<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> a little tune on their tuba



They performed<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> the play (215)

Kim sangmessage-init a song (216)

What is depicted gets the topic role:



(217) Kim drew<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> a heron

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

The concert was recorded MESSAGE-INIT on tape

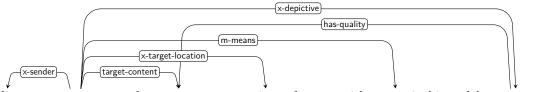
Recordings of information are framed as messages:

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

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



(224) Kim wrote<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> Sandy a letter



(225) Kim wrote<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> the message onto a piece of paper with a pen in big red letters<sub>QUALITY</sub>



(226) The band recorded MESSAGE-INIT an album

Predicates of perception use MESSAGE, including mental perception:



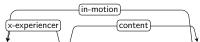
(227) Kim saw<sub>MESSAGE</sub> a flower

(228) Kim found<sub>MESSAGE</sub> the flower beautiful<sub>QUALITY</sub>

(229) Kim thinks<sub>MESSAGE</sub> Sandy is a liar

(230) Kim thinks $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}}$  Sandy a liar $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}}$ 

(231) Kim sawmessage Sandy swimunanchored-motion



(232) Kim wants<sub>MESSAGE</sub> to  $swim_{UNANCHORED-MOTION}$ 

(233) Kim wants<sub>MESSAGE</sub> Sandy to swim<sub>UNANCHORED-MOTION</sub>



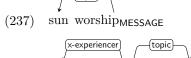
(234) Kim seems<sub>MESSAGE</sub> happy<sub>MESSAGE</sub>



(235) Kim seems<sub>MESSAGE</sub> happy<sub>MESSAGE</sub> to Sandy



(236) Sandy is a professor<sub>MESSAGE</sub> of linguistics



(238) They revered<sub>MESSAGE</sub> God

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

The Thought Police observed MESSAGE-INIT Winston (239)

(240) Kim studies<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> linguistics

x-experiencer \_\_\_topic

(241)Kim noticed<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> the bird

(242)Kim taught<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> Sandy Spanish

(243) Kim measured<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> the elasticity



The jury found\_Message-init Kim guilty\_scene of the crime\_activity (244)

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

(x-experiencer) (initial-content)

(245) Kim forgot<sub>MESSAGE-DEINIT</sub> everything they knew

(246) Kim forgot<sub>MESSAGE-DEINIT</sub> about the cake

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

target-content (247) Kim  $forgot_{MESSAGE-PREVENTION}$  to take the trash out

## 2.25 ? MODE

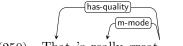
Used for adverbial modifiers that have no arguments other than the phrase they modify, and that, roughly speaking, indicate the modal strength of what is expressed and/or its relation to the discourse.



(248) Passt<sub>COMPARISON</sub> das eh?



(249) Kim probably knows<sub>MESSAGE</sub> that



(250) That 's really great<sub>QUALITY</sub>



(251) Kim is not here<sub>LOCATION</sub>

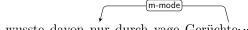
MODE is also used for focus adverbs:



(252) They only rinsed<sub>ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT-DEINIT</sub> the dishes



(253) Even Kim<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub> did n't know that



(254) Man wusste davon nur durch vage Gerüchte $_{\sf MESSAGE}$ 

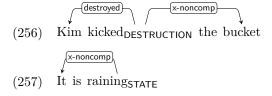


(255) Sie war selbst außer sich<sub>STATE</sub> vor Angst

For connective adverbs, see Section 1.4.

### 2.26 NONCOMP

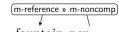
Used to mark syntactic arguments that are thought of as part of the predicate, as in verbal idioms, weather verbs, inherently reflexive verbs, existential *there*, names, or other fixed expressions. (Light verbs, on the other hand, are treated with SCENE, see Section 2.32.)





(259) There was<sub>SCENE</sub> a famine

(260) Motion Picture Association<sub>CLASS</sub> of America



(261) fountain penclass

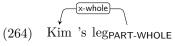
The superframe to assign to such dependents is NONCOMP, unless an argument of the whole predicate syntactically attaches to it. In that case, label it the same as the top predicate:

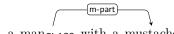


(263) Kim kicked<sub>EVENT</sub> Sandy 's ass<sub>EVENT</sub>

## 2.27 **PART-WHOLE**

part is part of whole.





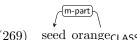
(265) a man<sub>CLASS</sub> with a mustache



whole



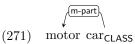
 $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{m-whole}} \\ (268) \quad \text{orange seed}_{\text{CLASS}} \end{array}$ 



(269) seed orange<sub>CLASS</sub>



(270) car motor<sub>CLASS</sub>



m-whole (272) cube  $sugar_{CLASS}$ 

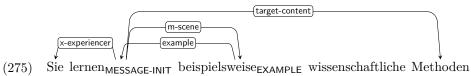
√m-part \

(273) sugar cubeclass

# **2.28 Q EXAMPLE**

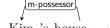
Special case of PART-WHOLE where example (aka part) is given as an example of exemplified (aka whole).

 $(274) \quad \text{birds}_{\text{CLASS}} \text{ such as storks}$ 



#### 2.29 M POSSESSION

possessor possesses or controls the possessed.



- (276) Kim 's house<sub>CLASS</sub>
  - possessed
- (277) Kim ownspossession a house
- (278) The house belongs as a to Kim
- (278) The house belongspossession to Kim
- (279) the ownerpossession of the house
  - possessed
- (280) Kim haspossession Sandy 's phone
- (2011) Windows Indicated the form of the control of
- (281) Kim boughtpossession-change a house from Sandy
  - (initial-possessor) (target-possessor)
- (282) Sandy soldpossession-change Kim the house
  - [initial-possessor] [possessed]
- (283) Kim keptpossession-continuation the house
- initial-possessor possessed possessed the house
- (284) Kim lostpossession-deinit the house
  - target-possessor possessed possessed
- (285) Caesar conquered<sub>POSSESSION-INIT</sub> Gaul
- target-possessor possessed possessed
- (286) Caesar 's conquest<sub>POSSESSION-INIT</sub> of Gaul
- (2027) IV:
- (287) Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money
  - m-possessor
- (288) family estate<sub>CLASS</sub>

# 2.30 **QUANTITY**

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

 $(289) \quad \text{three burgers}_{\text{CLASS}}$ 

(290) three litersquantity of coke

(291) We discourage<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> this emphatically

# 2.31 **KANK**

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



#### 2.32 🥦 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.



(294) The concert<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> beganscene-init

(295) The  $concert_{MESSAGE-INIT}$  continued<sub>SCENE-CONTINUATION</sub>

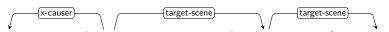
(296) The concert<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> finished<sub>SCENE-DEINIT</sub>

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

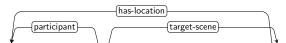
(298) The shouting MESSAGE-INIT faded SCENE-DEINIT

(299) A coupevent was attempted Scene-init

(300) Kim finished<sub>SCENE-DEINIT</sub> their work<sub>ACTIVITY</sub>



(301) Swift action prevented<sub>SCENE-PREVENTION</sub> an outbreak<sub>SCENE-INIT</sub> of measles<sub>EVENT</sub>



(302) Kim refrained<sub>SCENE-PREVENTION</sub> from goinglocation-change



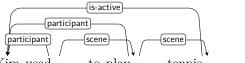
(303) Kim prevented<sub>SCENE-PREVENTION</sub> Sandy from going<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub>



(304) Kim saved<sub>SCENE-PREVENTION</sub> Sandy from the dragon<sub>CLASS</sub>



(305) Kim plays<sub>SCENE</sub> tennis<sub>ACTIVITY</sub>

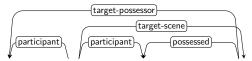


(306) Kim used<sub>SCENE</sub> to playscene tennis<sub>ACTIVITY</sub>

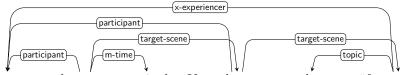
Note that every dependent of the predicate that is necessarily a participant in the embedded scene should be labeled participant, even when they participate in different roles:



(307) Kim gavescene Sandy a kickhitting



(308) Kim bekam<sub>SCENE-INIT</sub> Sandy zu fassen<sub>POSSESSION-INIT</sub>



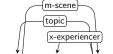
(309) Winston machtescene-init nie den Versuchscene-init, das zu prüfenmessage-init

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



(310) Kim madescene-init Sandy danceactivity

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



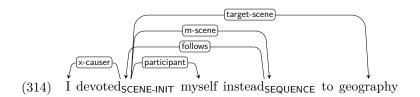
(311) the clown<sub>CLASS</sub> I saw<sub>MESSAGE</sub> smiled



(312) weit über das gesteckte Zielmessage hinausgehende Erfüllungsequence

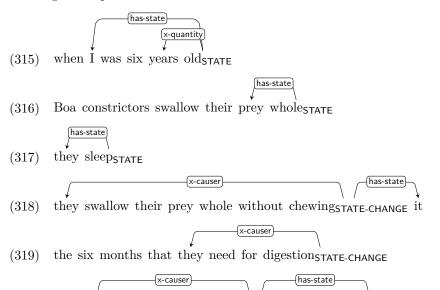


(313) Fortunately experience for Sandy, Kim is herelocation



#### 2.33 **L** STATE

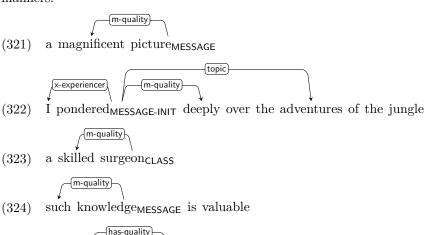
state indicates a state of has-state. Typically used with predicates that do not, in fact, have a state role, because the state is already incorporated into the meaning of the predicate.



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

# 2.34 **OUALITY**

Special case of  $\mathsf{STATE}$  – 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.



The leaves  $reddened_{QUALITY-INIT}$ 

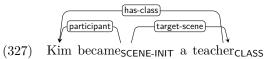
(325)

# 2.35 **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.

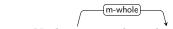
Most prototypically evoked by common nouns with no arguments.

(326) swallowing an animal<sub>CLASS</sub>



Indefinite pronouns also evoke CLASS.

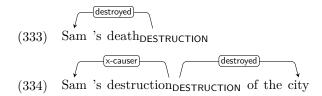
(328) She saw one<sub>CLASS</sub>



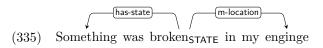
- (329) Nothing CLASS about him suggested a child
- (330) Why would anyone<sub>CLASS</sub> be frightened by a hat?
- (331) Something class is broken
- (332) Where I live everything class is small

### 2.36 • 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.



#### 2.37 SENDING

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

m-sender

According to Kim , it is rainingstate (336)

(337)song bird<sub>CLASS</sub>

(338)bird songmessage

Senders need not be animate or active:

The alarm clock beeped  ${\sf SENDING}$ (339)



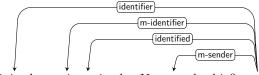
 $\operatorname{Er}$  for schtemessage-init in seinen Kindheitserinnerungen nach (340)



(341) Die Polizei horchte<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> ihn aus



Kim had  $read_{MESSAGE-INIT}$  that in a book (342)



Miniwahr , wie es in der Neusprache hie $\beta_{\mathsf{IDENTIFICATION}}$ (343)

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



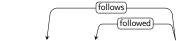
For more uses, see MESSAGE (Section 2.24).

#### **■** SEQUENCE 2.38

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



(345) Form follows<sub>SEQUENCE</sub> function



Cook is Jobs 's  $successor_{\mathsf{SEQUENCE}}$ (346)



(347) Das fußtsequence auf einer falschen Vorstellung



Kim deduced<sub>SEQUENCE</sub> the truth from the clues (348)



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

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

# 2.39 🕹 CAUSATION

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

(351) Kim broke<sub>STATE-CHANGE</sub> the glass

x-causer has-state

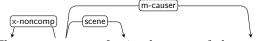
(352) The knife cutstate-change the bread



(353) Kim cutstate-change the bread with a knife



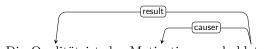
(354) The war caused<sub>CAUSATION</sub> a famine



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



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



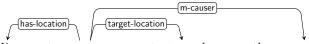
(357) Die Qualität ist der Motivation geschuldet CAUSATION



(358) tear gasclass

(359) sun burnstate-change

(360) honey beeclass



(361) Kim went<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> to town because they wanted to buy food

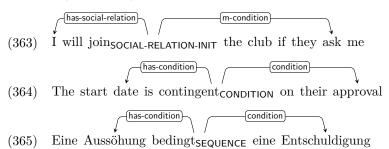
Note how the last example expresses a purpose, but expresses it as a cause, so m-causer lis the right label to use. Compare this to construal as a purpose:



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

# 2.40 **CONDITION**

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



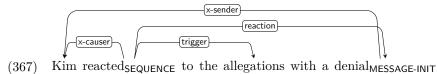
# 2.41 **() EXCEPTION**

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



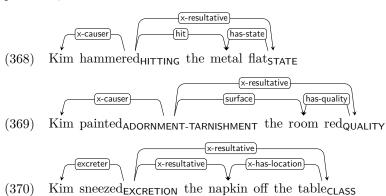
# 2.42 💥 REACTION

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



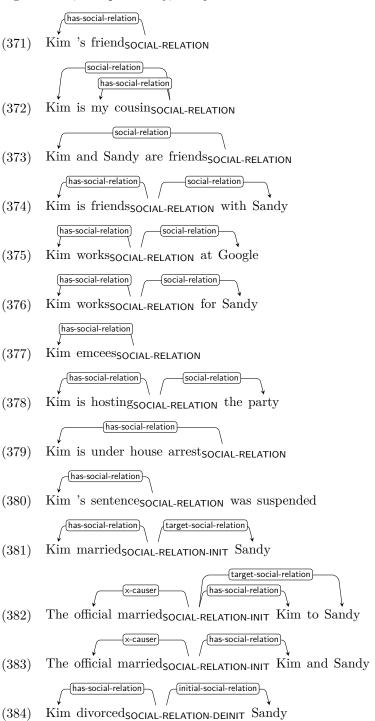
### 2.43 RESULTATIVE

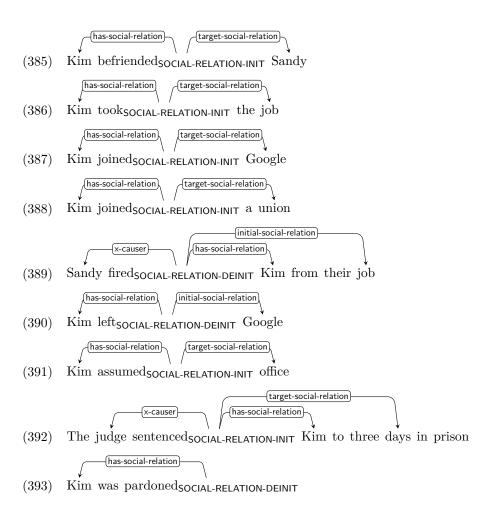
Special case of CAUSATION where resultative (aka result) assigns an argument of has-resultative (aka causer) a role. We treat the English resultative construction as a valency-changing operation that adds one or two arguments to the matrix predicate, so we use x-resultative rather than m-resultative.



#### 2.44 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.





## 2.45 👸 TIME

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

(394) Kim swims<sub>UNANCHORED-MOTION</sub> on Monday

(395) Kim sneezed<sub>EXCRETION</sub> twice

(in-motion) (m-time)

(396) Kim swamunanchored-motion for an hour

(397) Kim says<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> hello whenever I meet them

(398) Once<sub>TIME</sub> when I was six years old

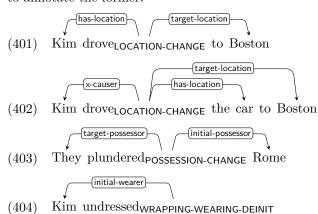
 $\sqrt{\frac{\text{(m-time)}}{\text{(399)}}} \quad \text{summer job}_{\text{ACTIVITY}}$ 

 $\begin{array}{ccc}
& & & & \\
\sqrt{\phantom{0}} & & & \\
(400) & & & & \\
& & & & \\
\end{array}$ (400) golf season<sub>TIME</sub>

# 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.

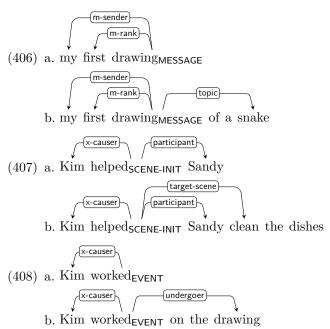


Also, when in doubt, choose the frame so that you can use core roles rather than resorting to non-core roles. For example, in the following sentence, we should use LOCATION-INIT rather than UNANCHORED-MOTION so that we can use target-location and do not have to resort to x-target-location.

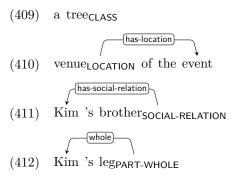


#### 3.2 Arguments Determine Frames

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.

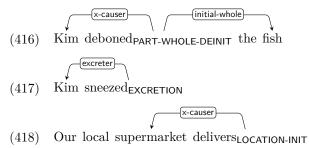
$$(413) \quad \overbrace{\text{Kim 's tree}_{\text{CLASS}}}^{\text{m-possessor}}$$

(414) Kim 's glasses<sub>CLASS</sub>

(415) Kim 's chair<sub>CLASS</sub>

## 3.3 Shadow and Default Arguments

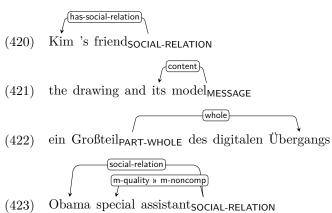
Arguments that determine a predicate's superframe include *shadow arguments* and *default arguments* (Pustejovsky, 1995; Di Fabio et al., 2019), i.e., arguments that do not appear in the syntactic argument structure because they are incorporated into the predicate or logically implied, like the bones in (416), mucus and air in (417), groceries in (418), or sun in (419).



(419) at sunriselocation-change » time

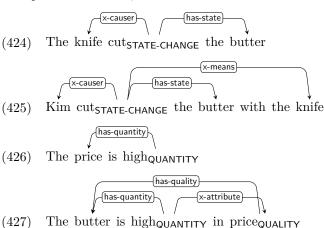
## 3.4 Predicates that Refer to a Shadow Argument

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.



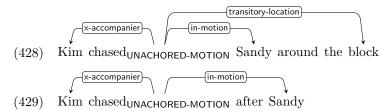
## 3.5 A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument

For example, consider (424), 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 (425). Thus, we treat this as a different framing with a different causer, rather than a more explicit version of the same framing. Likewise, (426) and (427) 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 (428), *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 (429), prefer it.



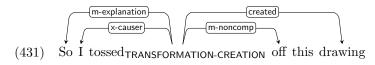
# **3.7** However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Arguments and Therefore Different Superframes

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.

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

## 3.8 Look Up Unfamiliar Words in a Dictionary

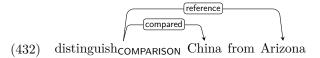
When you come across an unfamiliar predicate, you might not be able to determine what arguments it has, and consequently what the most appropriate superframe is, from this one context alone. Use a dictionary such as Wiktionary in this case. In the following example, I found that *toss off* can mean "to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



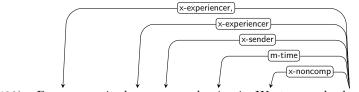
 $<sup>^1 \</sup>rm https://en.wiktionary.org/w/index.php?title=toss_off&oldid=77814489, retrieved <math display="inline">2024-05-28$ 

## 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, where subjects (nsubj, csubj) are least oblique, followed by direct objects (obj), then indirect objects (iobj), and oblique arguments (obl) are the most oblique.



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



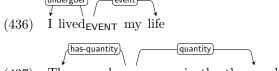
(433) Personen mit denen er noch nie ein Wort gewechselt $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$  hatte

#### 3.10 When to Use SCENE

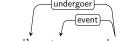
SCENE should definitely be used if a predicate can add aspectual or modal meaning to predicates of more than one type. For example, English make can be used with states and activities, so make itself should be neither STATE nor ACTIVITY but SCENE.



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



(437) They number QUANTITY in the thousands



(438) Ich glaube nicht, dass ihr etwas passiert<sub>EVENT</sub> ist

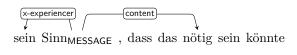


(439) Sie war im Gesicht rot angelaufenstate-init

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



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



## 4 Aspect, Mode, and Polarity

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



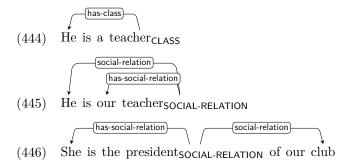
In (442), losing is framed as POSSESSION-DEINIT because a state of possession ends. POSSESSION-INIT would be incorrect because although a losing event begins, the state that the superframe POSSESSION describes ends. In general, aspectual suffixes modify superframes, they do not necessarily indicate the 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:

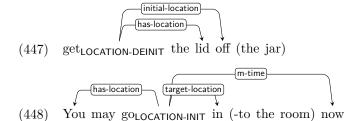
In other cases, such nouns rather denote a person's profession or expertise or their role in a social context:



#### 5.2 Particle Verbs

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

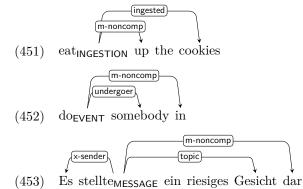
If the particle can be interpreted as an adposition with an elided complement (often the case with spatial meanings), label that relation as the elided complement would be labeled:



Also treat separated and nonseparated adpositional adverbs this way:

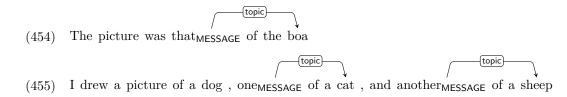


Otherwise, use m-noncomp:



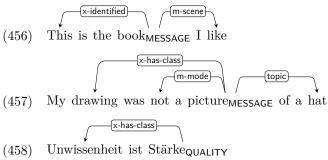
## 5.3 Pronouns with Arguments

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:



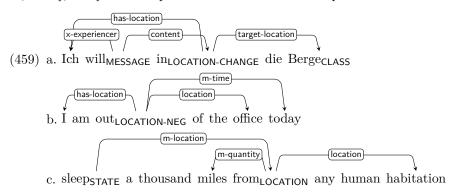
## Nominal Copula Constructions

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.

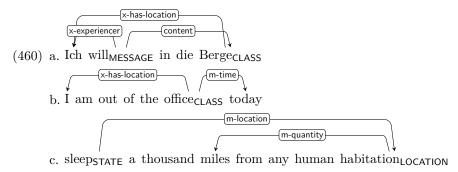


#### 5.5 Predicative Adpositions

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:



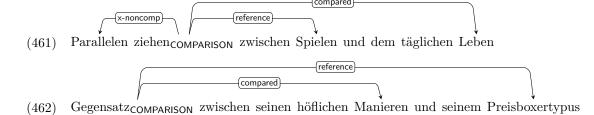
But since we don't treat adpositions as predicates, we are forced to choose the following, more opaque and less detailed annotation:



In (460-a) and (460-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 (460-c), there is an even more severe problem: the quantity modifier a thousand miles semantically modifies the LOCATION frame evoked by the adposition from, but we have to attach it to habitation, which evokes a different LOCATION frame which does not have a quantity modifier. Confusion ensues, but for now we have to live with these issues.

#### 5.6 Coordination

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



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



## 5.7 Participles vs. Adjectives

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



### 6 TODO

Treatment of valency-changing operations:

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

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

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

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