# Superframes Manual

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Table 1: Hierarchy of Superframes and their Roles

#### 1 Introduction

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

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

- 3. There are only two main core role labels per superframe.
- 4. For predicates denoting change (or lack thereof) over time, some superframes have aspectual variants with role variants that allow to distinguish participants before, during, and after an event. This avoids having Source and Target as roles in their own right, which indicate the time sequence but suppress information about the nature of the relation that is changing.
- 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)

 $\begin{picture}(100,0) \put(0,0){\line(1,0){100}} \put(0,0){\line(1,0){10$ (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

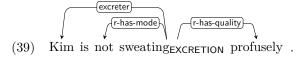
### 1.4 Modifiers

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-.



#### 1.5 Reverse Roles

There is another type of modifier that is syntactically a dependent, but semantically a predicate of which the modifiee is an argument. Here, we label the modifier with the role that the *modifiee* fills, prefixed with r-.

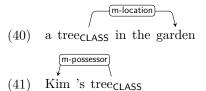


also use for other sentence adverbs, relative clauses, etc.

change annotation to use reverse roles where appropriate, especially with m-time, m-quantity. Adverbs especially should be annotated with reverse roles in most cases.

#### 1.6 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:

$$(42) \quad \text{Kim 's breaking}_{\text{STATE-CHANGE}} \text{ of the vase}$$

Relational nouns evoke relational frames and have arguments:

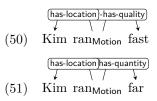
Pronouns and names evoke the IDENTIFICATION frame, meaning that they identify their referent as some entity (via naming or anaphora resolution).

- (44) Kimidentification
- (45) theyidentification

Predicate adjectives most typically denote states or qualities.

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

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



#### **Control Relations**

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



Kim used a hammer to smash<sub>STATE-CHANGE</sub> the vase (subject control) (53)

(54)

(55)Kim seemed to flyunanchored-motion (raising)

(56)Kim entered the room singingMessage-INIT (depictive)

You're talking me silly state (resultative) (57)

Kim has come to stay<sub>LOCATION</sub>-continuation (subjectless adverbial clause) (58)

Kim left after trashingstate-change the room (subjectless adverbial clause)

(59)

 $\begin{array}{c} \checkmark \\ \text{Kim is hard to love}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE}} \end{array} (tough \text{ construction})$ (60)

(topic)  $\sqrt{\frac{\text{x-experiencer}}{\sqrt{1}}}$ (61) the song I like<sub>MESSAGE</sub> (relative clause)

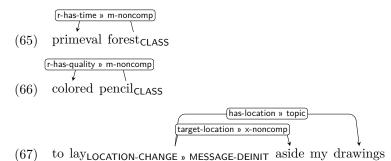
-(topic)-

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

#### 1.8 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  $|\cdot|$  instead of >>.

## 2 Superframes Reference

#### 2.1 SITUATION

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

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

- (68) Yessituation
- (69) Nosituation-neg

(theme) (theme)

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



(71) they needsituation-necessity six months for digestion

#### 2.2 ACCOMPANIMENT

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



(75)

(73) The veggies come<sub>ACCOMPANIMENT</sub> with rice



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

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



(76) Kim cycled<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> to Rome with Sandy



(77) Kim danced $_{\mathsf{ACTIVITY}}$  with Sandy

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



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





(81) Kim accompanied ACCOMPANIMENT Sandy on the piano

# 2.3 / DEPICTIVE

Special case of ACCOMPANIMENT where depictive (aka accompanier) assigns a participant of has-depictive (aka accompanied) a role (cf. Sec. 1.7).



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

### 2.4 **SASSET**

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



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



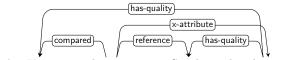
(84) Kim offered MESSAGE-INIT Sandy a million dollars for the house



(85) I bet\_{\mathsf{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.



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



(87) That is great<sub>QUALITY</sub> in terms of ROI<sub>QUALITY</sub>



(88) Kim ist auf den Kopf<sub>CLASS</sub> gefallen<sub>HITTING</sub>

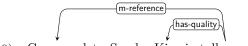


(89) Kim hit HITTING Sandy on the head CLASS with a stick

#### 2.6 M COMPARISON

compared is characterized with respect to reference.

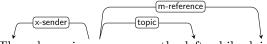
Examples of comparing scenes:



(90) Compared to Sandy, Kim is tallquality



(91) Sandy is shortQUALITY whereas Kim is tall



(92) They demonize MESSAGE-INIT the left while doing nothing about the right

Examples of comparing non-scene entities:

(93) Kim outranks<sub>COMPARISON</sub> Sandy

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



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



(96) Kim compared COMPARISON Coke to Pepsi

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



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



(98) Kim ran<sub>COMPARISON-DEINIT</sub> afoul of Fielding 's constraints

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

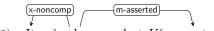


### 2.7 👌 CONCESSION

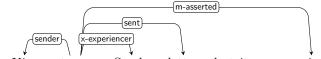
Special case of COMPARISON, where compared is what's asserted and reference is what's conceded.



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



(102) It rained<sub>STATE</sub>, but Kim went out



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



(104) Kim came<sub>LOCATION-INIT</sub> although Sandy had told them not to



(105) Ich bin trotzdem fröhlich<sub>MESSAGE</sub>

# 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.

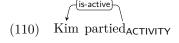


Note that many predicates that denote events in terms of Vendler can be framed differently (as changes):



# 2.9 💃 ACTIVITY

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



(111) Kim had sexactivity

# 2.10 **XISTENCE**

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

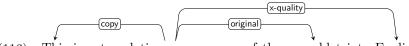
(112) I exists (113) I existexistence (113) There is I is existence a hill

 $(114) \quad \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \\ \end{array}\end{array} \end{array} \\ \end{array} \\ \text{There is}_{\text{SCENE}} \ \text{a hubbub} \end{array}$ 

# 2.11 **FREPRODUCTION**

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

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



(116) 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.





(118) Kim built<sub>TRANSFORMATION-CREATION</sub> a castle out of sand



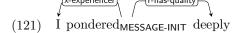
(119) Kim turned TRANSFORMATION-CREATION straw into gold

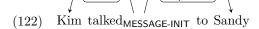
#### EXPERIENCE 2.13

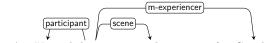
experiencer experiences experienced.

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.

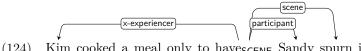




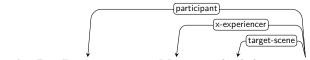




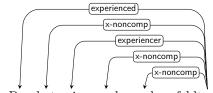
Kim did<sub>SCENE</sub> something nice for Sandy (123)



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



Die Piroggen waren Maria zu dunkel geratenscene-init

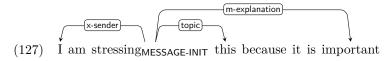


Das hat mir gerade noch gefehltexperience

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

# 2.14 | EXPLANATION

explanation explains explained, but is not a cause.



### **2.15 (@) PURPOSE**

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



(128) Kim went\_location-change to town to buypossession-change food



(129) drinking ingestion waterclass

### 2.16 MIDENTIFICATION

identifier identifies identified.

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

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

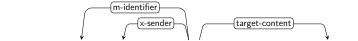


(133) This is Kim<sub>IDENTIFICATION</sub>

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



Likewise, in has an identifying sense:



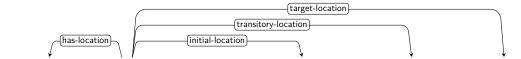
(136) In answer , he repeated MESSAGE-INIT : Please, draw me a sheep !

### 2.17 PLOCATION

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

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

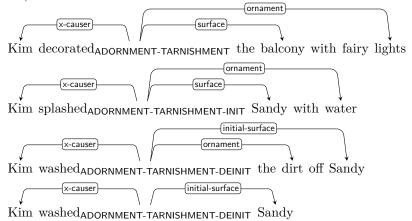
(138) Kim lives<sub>LOCATION</sub> in Boston



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

#### 

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



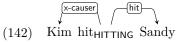
# 2.19 REXCRETION

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



# 2.20 **/** HITTING

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

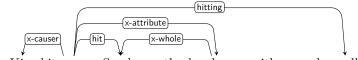




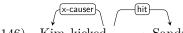
Kim hit<sub>HITTING</sub> Sandy with a stick (143)

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

(144)



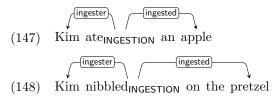
(145) Kim  $hit_{\mathsf{HITTING}}$  Sandy on the head class with a pool noodle



(146) Kim kicked<sub>HITTING</sub> Sandy

#### 2.21 **SINGESTION**

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



#### 2.22 **UNANCHORED-MOTION**

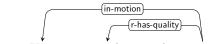
Special case of LOCATION-CHANGE where no initial or target location is indicated.



(150) I learned to pilot\_UNANCHORED-MOTION airplanes



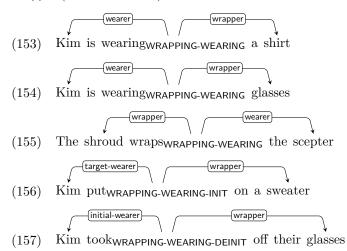
(151) Kim is dancing UNANCHORED-MOTION around the room with Sandy



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

### 2.23 TWRAPPING-WEARING

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



# 2.24 **MEANS**

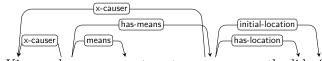
has-means is a scene caused by something via an intermediary means.



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



(159) Kim painted<sub>ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT</sub> the room by exploding a paint bomb



(160) Kim used<sub>MEANS</sub> a pen to get<sub>LOCATION-DEINIT</sub> the lid off

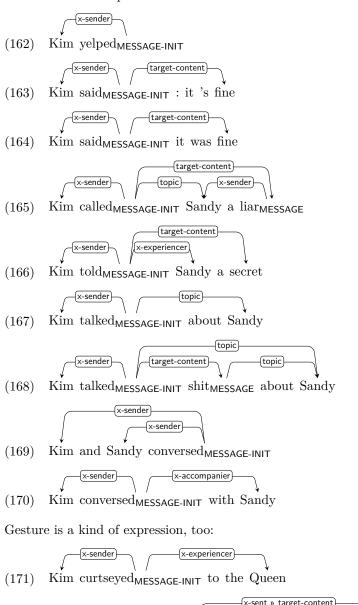


(161) You used<sub>MEANS</sub> me!

### 2.25 MESSAGE

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

Predicates of expression use  ${\sf MESSAGE\textsc{-INIT}}$  :



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

Kim shookunanchored-motion » message-init their head no

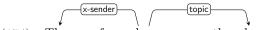
(172)

(in-motion » x-noncomp

the topic:  $\quad$ 



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



(174) They performed MESSAGE-INIT the play

(175) Kim sangmessage-init a song

What is depicted gets the topic role:

(176) Kim drew $_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$  a heron

(177) a picture MESSAGE of the heron

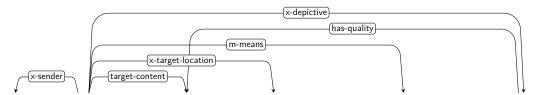
(178) The concert was  $\operatorname{recorded}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$  on tape

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

(179) Kim drewmessage-Init a picture



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



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

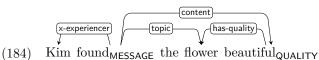


(182) The band  $\operatorname{recorded}_{\mathsf{MESSAGE-INIT}}$  an album

Predicates of perception use MESSAGE, including mental perception:



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



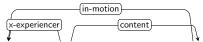
(185)Kim thinks<sub>MESSAGE</sub> Sandy is a liar

x-experiencer

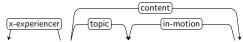
(186)Kim thinks<sub>MESSAGE</sub> Sandy a liar<sub>MESSAGE</sub>



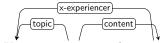
(187) Kim sawmessage Sandy swimunanchored-motion



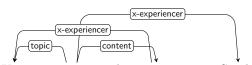
(188) Kim wantsmessage to swimunanchored-motion



Kim wantsmessage Sandy to swimunanchored-motion (189)



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



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



Sandy is a professor<sub>MESSAGE</sub> of linguistics (192)

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 (193)

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

x-experiencer

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



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



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

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



(200) 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:

(201) Kim forgot<sub>MESSAGE-PREVENTION</sub> to take the trash out

#### ? MODE 2.26

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

r-has-mode

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

They only  ${\operatorname{rinsed}}_{\operatorname{\mathsf{ADORNMENT-TARNISHMENT-DEINIT}}$  the dishes (203)

Passt<sub>COMPARISON</sub> das eh? (204)

(x-experiencer)

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

has-quality

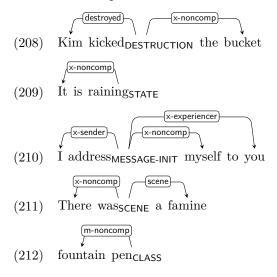
(206)That 's really great QUALITY

r-has-mode

(207) Kim is not hereLOCATION

# 2.27 🕸 NONCOMP

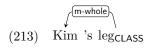
Used to mark syntactic arguments that are thought of as part of the predicate, as in verbal idioms, weather verbs, inherently reflexive verbs, existential *there*, or other fixed expressions.

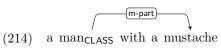


Light verbs, on the other hand, are treated with SCENE, see Section 2.33.

# 2.28 **PART-WHOLE**

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





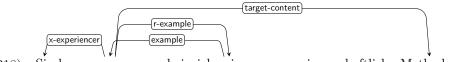
 $(215) \quad \text{part}_{\mathsf{PART-WHOLE}} \text{ of the year}$ 



# 2.29 **§ EXAMPLE**

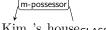
Special case of PART-WHOLE where example (aka part) is given as an example of exemplified (aka whole).

 $(217) \quad \text{birds}_{\text{CLASS}} \text{ such as storks}$ 



#### 2.30 M POSSESSION

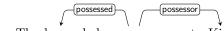
possessor possesses or controls the possessed.



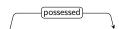
(219) Kim 's house<sub>CLASS</sub>



(220) Kim ownspossession a house



(221) The house belongs  $_{\mbox{\scriptsize POSSESSION}}$  to Kim



(222) the owner Possession of the house



(223) Kim haspossession Sandy 's phone



(224) Kim boughtpossession-change a house from Sandy



(225) Sandy sold possession-change Kim the house



(226) Kim keptpossession-continuation the house



(227) Kim lost<sub>POSSESSION-DEINIT</sub> the house



(228) Caesar conquered Possession-init Gaul



(229) Caesar 's conquest<sub>POSSESSION-INIT</sub> of Gaul



(230) Kim owespossession-change-necessity Sandy money

# 2.31 **QUANTITY**

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

(231) three burgers<sub>CLASS</sub>

 $\begin{array}{c|c} & & & \\ \hline \text{($r$-has-quantity)} & & & \\ \hline \text{($232$)} & three \ liters_{\text{QUANTITY}} \ of \ coke \end{array}$ 

(r-has-quantity) (topic)

(233) We discourage MESSAGE-INIT this emphatically

# 2.32 **KANK**

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



#### 2.33 🥦 SCENE

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



(236) The concert<sub>MESSAGE-INIT</sub> began<sub>SCENE-INIT</sub>

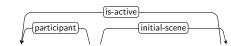
(237) The  $concert_{MESSAGE-INIT}$  continued<sub>SCENE-CONTINUATION</sub>

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

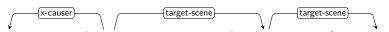
(239) The shouting MESSAGE-INIT intensified SCENE-CONTINUATION

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

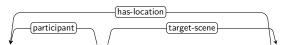
(241) A coupevent was attempted Scene-Init



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



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



(244) Kim refrained\_SCENE-PREVENTION from  $going_{LOCATION-CHANGE}$ 



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



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



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



(248) Kim used<sub>SCENE</sub> to play<sub>SCENE</sub> tennis<sub>ACTIVITY</sub>



(249) Kim gave<sub>SCENE</sub> Sandy a kick<sub>HITTING</sub>

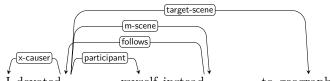
The modifier relation m-scene is used when a syntactic dependeny points from an argument to a predicate, as, e.g., with relative clauses or sentence adverbs.



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



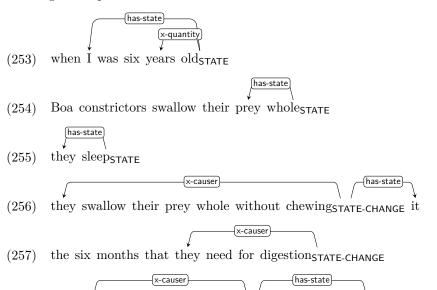
(251) Fortunately Experience for Sandy , Kim is here LOCATION



(252) I devoted<sub>SCENE-INIT</sub> myself instead<sub>SEQUENCE</sub> to geography

### 2.34 Z STATE

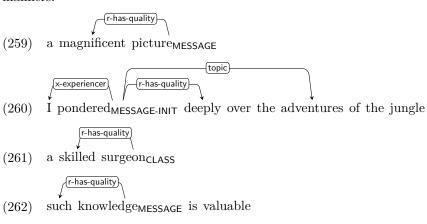
state indicates a state of has-state. Typically used with predicates that do not, in fact, have a state role, because the state is already incorporated into the meaning of the predicate.



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

## 2.35 **OUALITY**

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



(263)

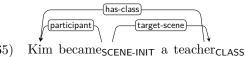
The leaves  $reddened_{QUALITY-INIT}$ 

## 2.36 **Q** CLASS

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

Most prototypically evoked by common nouns with no arguments.

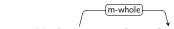
(264) swallowing an animal<sub>CLASS</sub>



(200) Trim becamescene-INIT a reacherCLAS

Indefinite pronouns also evoke CLASS.

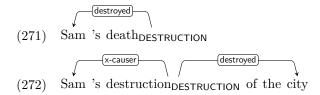
(266) She saw one<sub>CLASS</sub>



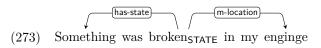
- (267) Nothing CLASS about him suggested a child
- (268) Why would anyone<sub>CLASS</sub> be frightened by a hat?
- (269) Something class is broken
- (270) Where I live everything CLASS is small

### 2.37 • DESTRUCTION

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



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



### 2.38 🃣 SENDING

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

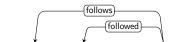
For more uses, see MESSAGE (Section 2.25).

#### SEQUENCE 2.39

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



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



Cook is Jobs 's successor<sub>SEQUENCE</sub> (276)



(277) Das fußt<sub>SEQUENCE</sub> auf einer falschen Vorstellung



Kim deduced<sub>SEQUENCE</sub> the truth from the clues (278)



(279)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).

$$(280) \quad \text{It costs 1 euro}_{\text{QUANTITY per scoop}}$$

### CAUSATION

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

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

x-causer)-

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

(283)Kim cut<sub>STATE-CHANGE</sub> the bread with a knife

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

x-noncomp

There was scene a famine because of the war (285)

> m-result (has-quantity)

Der Wasserdruck stieg $\mathsf{QUANTITY\text{-}CHANGE}$ , wodurch der Brunnen überfloss (286)



Die Qualität ist der Motivation geschuldet<sub>CAUSATION</sub>



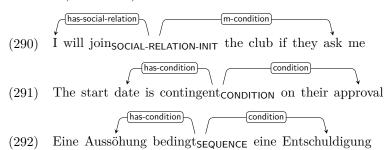
(288)Kim went<sub>LOCATION-CHANGE</sub> to town because they wanted to buy food

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:

-(target-location)-

# 2.41 **CONDITION**

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



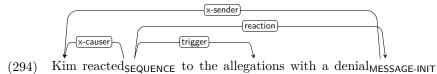
# 2.42 **O** EXCEPTION

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



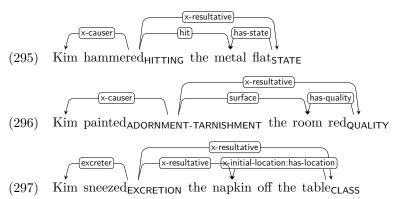
# 2.43 💥 REACTION

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



### 2.44 RESULTATIVE

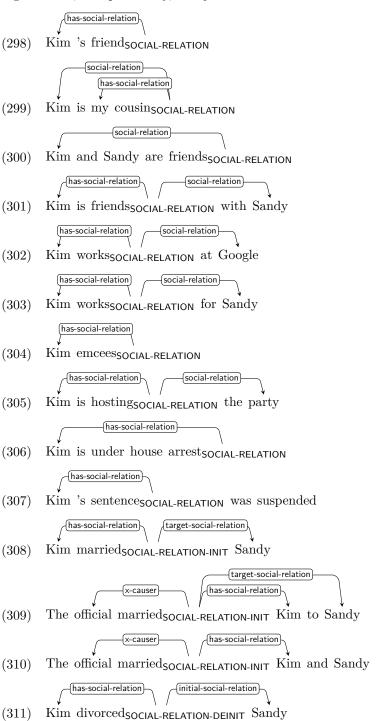
Special case of CAUSATION where resultative (aka result) assigns an argument of has-resultative (aka causer) a role. We treat the English resultative construction as a valency-changing operation that adds one or two arguments to the matrix predicate, so we use x-resultative rather than m-resultative.

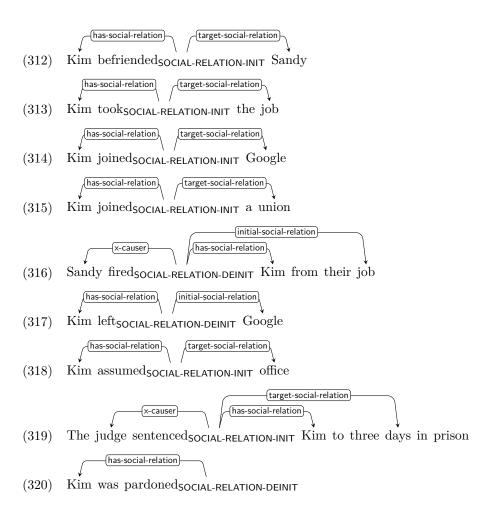


In the last example, we use x-initial-location:has-location to specify not only the role of the napkin in the resulting event (has-location) but also that of the table (initial-location). Using x-has-location would be imprecise because we would then assume that the table has location.

#### 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

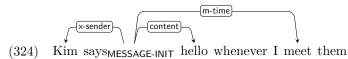
time indicates when, how often, or for how long has-time takes place. Also evoked by time expressions without arguments.

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

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

(in-motion) (m-time)

(323) Kim swamunanchored-motion for an hour

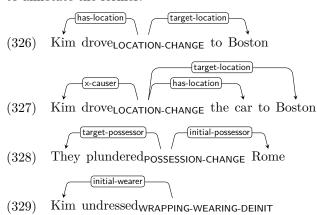


(325) Once<sub>TIME</sub> when I was six years old

# 3 Argument Structure and Frame Choice

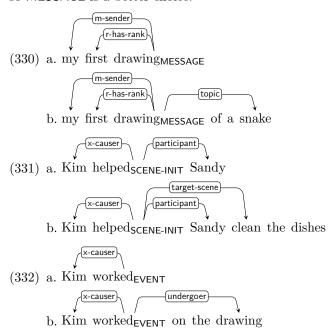
#### 3.1 Prefer Core over Non-core Arguments

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

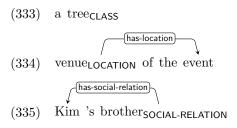


#### 3.2 Arguments Determine Frames

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.



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:

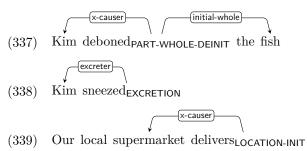


Note that in *Kim 's tree*, Kim's role is that of possessor, but it is not assigned by the noun *tree* but by the possessive construction, so *tree* is still CLASS and we annotate *Kim* as a modifier.

$$(336) \quad \begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{m-possessor}} \\ \text{Kim 's tree}_{\text{CLASS}} \end{array}$$

#### 3.3 Shadow and Default Arguments

Arguments that determine a predicate's superframe include *shadow arguments* and *default arguments* (Pustejovsky, 1995; Di Fabio et al., 2019), i.e., arguments that do not appear in the syntactic argument structure because they are incorporated into the predicate or logically implied, like the bones in (337), mucus and air in (338), groceries in (339), or sun in (340).



(340) at sunriselocation-change » time

71

#### 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.

(341) Kim 's friend<sub>SOCIAL-RELATION</sub>

(342) the drawing and its model<sub>MESSAGE</sub>

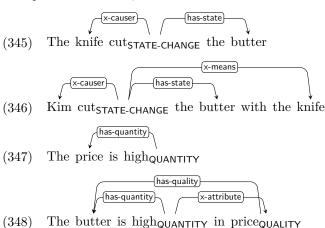
 $(343) \quad \text{ein Großteil}_{\mathsf{PART-WHOLE}} \text{ des digitalen Übergangs}$ 

social-relation (r-has-quality » m-noncomp

(344) Obama special assistantsocial-relation

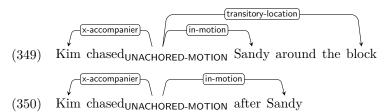
## 3.5 A Participant whose Syntactic Argument Position is Occupied Should Not Be Treated like an Implicit Argument

For example, consider (345), 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 (346). Thus, we treat this as a different framing with a different causer, rather than a more explicit version of the same framing. Likewise, (347) and (348) 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 (349), *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 (350), prefer it.

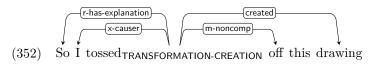


# **3.7** However, Different Senses of a Predicate Can Have Different Arguments and Therefore Different Superframes

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

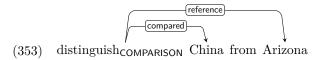
When you come across an unfamiliar predicate, you might not be able to determine what arguments it has, and consequently what the most appropriate superframe is, from this one context alone. Use a dictionary such as Wiktionary in this case. In the following example, I found that *toss off* can mean "to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



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

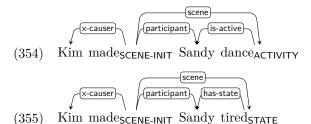
## 3.9 Symmetric Argument Pairs

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

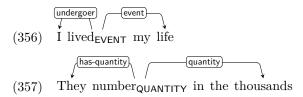


### 3.10 When to Use SCENE

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



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



## 4 Aspect, Mode, and Polarity

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



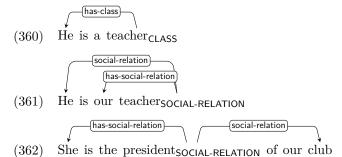
In (358), losing is framed as POSSESSION-DEINIT because a state of possession ends. POSSESSION-INIT would be incorrect because although a losing event begins, the state that the superframe POSSESSION describes ends. In general, aspectual suffixes modify superframes, they do not necessarily indicate the 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

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).

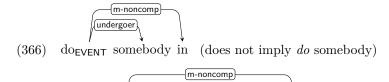
In UD, particle verbs are connected to their particle via the compound:prt relation. If the meaning is spatial, this dependency is labeled with initial-location or target-location.



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.

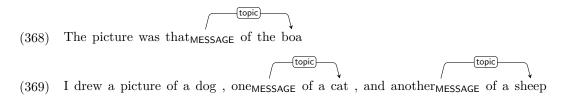


topic

(367) Es stellte $_{\sf MESSAGE}$  ein riesiges Gesicht dar (does not imply stellen something)

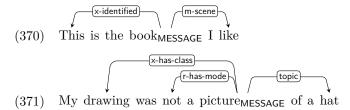
## 5.3 Pronouns with Arguments

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



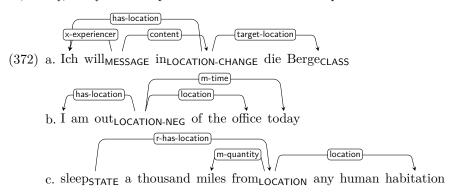
## 5.4 Nominal Copula Constructions

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

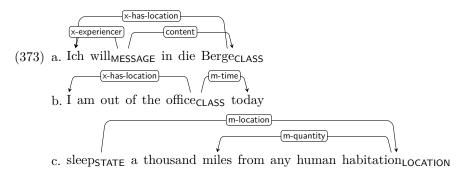


#### 5.5 Predicative Adpositions

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



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



In (373-a) and (373-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 (373-c), there is an even more severe problem: the quantity modifier a thousand miles semantically modifies the LOCATION frame evoked by the adposition from, but we have to attach it to habitation, which evokes a different LOCATION frame which does not have a quantity modifier. Confusion ensues, but for now we have to live with these issues.

### 6 TODO

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?

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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