A FrameNet Analysis of Serbian Verbs *Kidati* and *Cepati*: Frames vs Traditional Word Sense Disambiguation

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Abstract

This paper presents an analysis of two Serbian verbs, *kidati* ('tear', 'rip', depending on context) and *cepati* ('tear', 'rip', 'chop'), from a Frame Semantics perspective and compares the results of this analysis with the senses of these verbs identified in two Serbian monolingual descriptive dictionaries. This research has multiple aims: to offer a Frame Semantics analysis of these verbs; to populate the *Serbian FrameNet* database with new frames evoked by these verbs; to broaden the scope of the existing frame inventory; and to highlight new insights from this analysis and compare them with insights from traditional lexicographic description. The analysis, conducted on around 180 sentences containing these two verbs from three Serbian language corpora, follows a corpus-driven, lemma-by-lemma approach to examine all senses of the target verbs. In addition, we adopted the lexicographic annotation of corpus sentences selected for predetermined target lexical units.

Our analysis yielded 21 frames for the verb *kidati* and 18 frames for the verb *cepati*. Because these verbs are partial synonyms, we identified 9 frames shared by both verbs. The analysis was driven by the semantic and syntactic distribution of lexical units (sublexemes), not by the predetermined decision on the number of semantic frames. Thus, we reached the limits of the existing frame inventory and had to introduce new frames. Finally, we compared our results with the descriptions and sense inventories of these lexemes in Serbian descriptive dictionaries. This comparison showed, as expected, that frames and dictionary senses do not correspond one-to-one. Instead, they are related in a complex way.

Keywords: *Serbian FrameNet*, Frame Semantics, verb *kidati*, verb *cepati*, lexicography

1. Introduction

Frame Semantics is a theory that has gained increasing attention not only in semantics and modern lexicography but also in natural language processing. Semantic role labelling has practical applications in computational linguistics, since it enables role recognition across different syntactic constructions (active and passive, for example), contributing to natural language understanding. The subject of this paper is the analysis of two Serbian verbs, *kidati* ('tear', 'rip', depending on context) and *cepati* ('tear', 'rip', 'chop'), from a Frame Semantics perspective. Actions denoted by these verbs are deeply grounded in everyday experience, which makes them ideal for examining whether Frame Semantics can effectively differentiate their overlapping senses and highlight similarities and differences in their syntactic behaviour. We compare the results of this analysis with the senses of these verbs identified in two Serbian monolingual descriptive dictionaries (The SASA Dictionary and the MS Dictionary). This research has multiple aims: to offer a Frame Semantics analysis of these verbs; to populate the Serbian FrameNet database with new frames evoked by these verbs; and to highlight new insights from this analysis and compare them with insights from traditional lexicographic description.

The paper is organised as follows: the rest of Section 1. offers a short theoretical background; Section 2. offers a brief overview of related work, with special attention devoted to studies on tearing and ripping; Section 3. is devoted to the database, corpus and methodology; Section 4. brings results, namely the frames identified through analysis, on which annotation was based; Section 5. brings the discussion of results and identified frames; in Section 6. we consider splitting and lumping approach to meaning analysis as well as polysemic structure of analysed verbs in Serbian descriptive dictionaries. We bring concluding remarks in Section 7.

1.1. Theoretical background

Frame Semantics is a cognitive-semantic approach to analysing linguistic meaning that Charles J. Fillmore and his collaborators developed over several decades. One of the central tenets of Frame

Semantics is that word meanings should be described in relation to semantic frames – schematic representations of conceptual structures and patterns of belief underlying word meanings (Fillmore et al., 2003).[1] A frame is defined as "any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one concept it is necessary to understand the entire system; introducing any one concept results in all of them becoming available" (Petruck, 1996).[2]

Besides meaning, Frame Semantics also focuses on use. Fillmore (1969) argues that it is important not only to ask what a word means, but also to consider what we need to know about a word to use it appropriately and to understand other people when they do so. According to this author, cultural and world knowledge motivate linguistic expressions and are embedded in them (cf. Fillmore, 1977). Thus, when "we interpret a text, we bring to the task more than our knowledge of the language – knowledge about the world, beliefs about human nature, assumptions about typical instances of objects, repertories of stereotypic instances of behaviour, and so on" (Fillmore, 1977). For example, to understand what breakfast means, you need knowledge of cultural practices (having three meals daily, at usual times, eating usual food, etc.).

Words belonging to certain word classes evoke frames, primarily verbs but also nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. In this context, a semantic frame is a conceptual gestalt that can represent an event, state, attribute, relation, or entity (Boas et al., 2024).

Frame Semantics is also a significant methodological framework for linguistic analysis because it explicitly connects syntactic and semantic phenomena (Atkins et al., 2003) , linking word meanings to the syntactic contexts in which they occur (e.g., frame elements are linked to their corresponding syntactic realisations). This type of analysis, among other things, enables conclusions about semantico-syntactic interdependencies. To represent such detailed

[1] The term *frame* is a general term for the set of concepts known, in the natural language understanding literature, also as *schema*, *script*, *cognitive model*, *folk theory*, etc. (Fillmore, 1982).

[2] For example, the Commercial Transaction Frame includes a BUYER, a SELLER, GOODS, and MONEY as its elements. This frame is evoked by multiple verbs (*buy, sell, pay, spend* etc.), all of which evoke different aspects of this frame. "The idea is that knowing the meaning of any one of these verbs requires knowing what takes place in a commercial transaction and knowing the meaning of any one verb means, in some sense, knowing the meaning of all of them" (Petruck, 1996).

information on syntactic and semantic behaviour, the FrameNet database was developed.

Awareness of the importance of relating syntax and semantics, and grammar and lexicon, dominated linguistic research throughout the second half of the 20th century. It has also been emphasised in Serbian linguistic literature. Authors note that lexicographic description relies not only on semantics but also on syntax (Стевановић, 1982); close collaboration between authors of dictionaries and grammars, and unified principles of description in the reference literature, are needed (Тополињска, 2002; Поповић, 1997, 2003). The Serbian metalexicographic literature also highlighted the importance of this relation (Марковић, 2014, 2017).

The lexical analysis focuses on describing the frame together with the lexical unit that evokes it. Following the Serbian linguistic terminology, the term *sublexeme* (Поповић, 2003) is sometimes used instead of *lexical unit* to refer to a lexeme in one of its senses. If a word is polysemous, it is associated with several different frames.

To provide an exhaustive description of a given frame and the sublexemes that evoke it, you first need to describe the situation denoted by the frame. In other words, this involves presenting the type of situation, event, relation, or entity (depending on the word class of the target word) underlying a word's meaning, along with the roles of the participants (the frame elements) in that situation[3] and their syntactic realisations.

Frame elements that represent conceptually obligatory components of a frame, i.e. distinctive features that make each frame unique, are called core frame elements. They typically fill slots corresponding to basic syntactic functions, such as the subject and object, and their syntactic realisation is generally obligatory.

All other types of frame elements have either peripheral or extrathematic status. These frame elements do not function as syntactic complements.[4] Still, they are nevertheless highly important for

[3] What differs the roles of the participants of certain situations from Fillmore's original idea of semantic roles is their situational character – they are situational roles (Petruck, 1996).

[4] FrameNet also records core-unexpressed frame elements (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016), which are not relevant to the present study and will therefore not be discussed.

understanding the situation as a whole, and FrameNet accordingly gives them due attention.

Peripheral frame elements do not refer to additional, independent, or separate events related to the main event being described, and they typically occur in many frames. These include elements such as TIME, PLACE, MANNER, MEANS, DEGREE, and the like. Extrathematic elements, by contrast, also combine with many frames but situate the event against a backdrop of another state of affairs, incorporating it into a broader context or elaborating descriptions of participants or the setting. They are considered conceptually external to the frames in which they occur (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016).

1.2. FrameNet and lexicography

Frame Semantics has been applied in various fields since its inception, most prominently in lexicography, specifically in FrameNet, an electronic lexical database based on annotations of authentic examples from electronic corpora.[5]

Charles J. Fillmore and Sue Atkins laid the foundations for the concept of a frame-based lexicon in numerous works (see Fillmore and Atkins 1992; 1994; 2000, among others). They pointed out several limitations of traditional lexicography, particularly in sense identification. After the analysis of the treatment of two lexemes (the word *risk* and the verb *to crawl*) in different English dictionaries (compiled at approximately the same time, based on similar corpora, and intended for similar purposes), they observed that the senses identified sometimes differed considerably among dictionaries (they were represented differently, and even the inventory of senses wasn't the same) (Fillmore and Atkins, 1994, 2000). This raised the question of whether sense differentiation is arbitrary or whether senses can be identified more systematically and precisely (Fillmore and Atkins, 2000).

The development of corpus linguistics offered a wealth of data to lexicographers, which can be helpful, but also misleading – going through a lot of data is time-consuming, and it is not always easy to decide what is lexicographically relevant. For this reason, it has been argued that without a formal method for structuring lexicographic evidence, corpus analysis can be merely impressionistic (Atkins, 1994).

[5] It is available at: `https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/`.

More objective criteria for analysing word senses and systematically extracting relevant information from corpus data can be achieved only within a project such as FrameNet – a corpus-based research programme that includes many attestations for each word and classifies them according to the semantic frames underlying their meanings (Fillmore and Atkins, 2000). All the relevant contextual information found in sentences or phrases containing the word in question should be taken into account. To get a full picture, it is necessary to examine how a word behaves in natural language and only then identify the key information relevant to its description. The authors introduce the notion of lexicographic relevance, which refers to grammatical contexts important for finding relevant information about the word in question; these contexts differ across word classes and relate to the category of the word's maximal projection (Atkins et al., 2003).

Such a detailed description of words' combinatorial properties cannot be represented within a standard printed dictionary. Namely, the wealth of data concerning, for example, syntactico-semantic relations and valence patterns cannot be compressed into a two-dimensional, linear dictionary format.

The FrameNet lexical database stores a wealth of information concerning word meaning. It is organised around semantic frames, represented by an intensional definition in prose and an extensional definition consisting of a list of lexical units that evoke the frame, as well as a list of frame elements, each with its own textual definition (Boas et al., 2025). This allows examination of all words that evoke a particular frame, regardless of their part of speech. In addition, syntactic and semantic information is presented in syntactic and semantic valence reports, which are also accessible.

1.3. Null Instantiation in FrameNet

When conceptually obligatory frame elements are not linguistically specified, this phenomenon is called null instantiation, and FrameNet records it obligatorily. More specifically, FrameNet distinguishes three types of null instantiation: CNI (Constructional Null Instantiation), DNI (Definite Null Instantiation), and INI (Indefinite Null Instantiation) (Atkins et al., 2003). Particular grammatical circumstances, such as omitting the AGENT in passive clauses, condition Constructional Null Instantiation. DNI refers to omitting specific lex-

ically identifiable information available from the immediate context. In contrast, INI refers to omitting an element whose nature (or at least its semantic type) can be inferred from interpretive conventions or world knowledge (e.g., we know that the omitted object of the verb *jesti* 'eat' must be some type of food).

1.4. Metaphor in FrameNet

For our research and annotation, the treatment of metaphor matters. Although metaphor conventionality is a matter of a continuum, FrameNet (FN) reduces this nuance to a binary distinction: metaphors are classified as either productive or lexicalised (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016). In the FrameNet approach, productive metaphors are annotated in the source domain, that is, in the "literal" frame, and the sentence is assigned the sentence-level *Metaphor* label. Lexicalised metaphors, by contrast, are annotated in the target domain (the frame which directly reflects the speaker's intended meaning), while a *Metaphor* relation is established between the source and target frames.

Importantly, the standard FrameNet practice does not normally involve annotating both the source and target domains within the same sentence, with Burchardt et al. (2009) being a notable exception. Their approach provides a more fine-grained representation of metaphorical meaning, but it is also considerably more labour-intensive. As Burchardt et al. (2009), Djemaa et al. (2016), and others also observe, annotating figurative meanings therefore presents particular challenges, especially when distinguishing productive from lexicalised metaphors.

The difficulty is that this distinction is not always straightforward at the level of an individual sentence. A metaphorical expression may be sufficiently conventionalised to be interpreted directly in its figurative sense while still retaining a relatively transparent connection to the corresponding literal scene. This makes it difficult to determine whether to analyse the expression in the source frame as a productive metaphor or in the target frame as a lexicalised metaphor. The issue is therefore not simply whether an expression is metaphorical, but how to represent its degree and type of conventionalization within the FrameNet framework.

FrameNet provides three criteria for identifying productive metaphor: (i) all synonyms of the target word and semantically re-

lated terms exhibit a corresponding alternation between literal and metaphorical uses; (ii) all frame elements (FEs) of the target domain can be mapped onto FEs of the source domain; and (iii) the sentence can only be understood by relatively consciously evoking the source domain lexicalised (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016). The authors, however, note that the third criterion is particularly vague and has not been used in practice as a deciding factor, since it correlates closely with the other two criteria. Thus, the distinction between productive and lexicalised metaphor rests primarily on the distribution of literal and metaphorical uses across semantically related expressions and on the possibility of mapping the target-domain FEs onto those of the source domain.

2. Related work

Although FrameNet was originally developed to structure the English lexicon, FrameNet projects have since been initiated for numerous other languages to apply the principles of Frame Semantics to them.[6] The Multilingual FrameNet project (Torrent et al., 2018; Boas et al., 2025) was launched as a collaborative effort between Berkeley FrameNet and frame-based projects in seven other languages. These initiatives address whether and how existing FrameNet frames can describe and analyse other languages; in practice, many projects adopt the Berkeley FrameNet repository directly, creating new frames only to a limited extent (Boas et al., 2025).

The development of FrameNet resources for general language has also led to projects modelling domain-specific terminology. These include resources for finance (Greek-English financial lexical resource), aviation (Croatian *AirFrame*), biomedicine (*BioFrameNet*; *Cancer FrameNet*), software design, sports (*Kicktionary*), and tourism (the "Copa 2024" FN Brasil project) (Boas et al., 2025).

Regarding the applicability of Frame Semantics to Serbian-language data, several researchers have presented initial results. Specifically, Marković et al. (2021) examine FrameNet's applicability by presenting several frames from the risk domain, while Dinić Marinković et al. (2024) and Dinić Marinković and Marković

[6] In addition to lexicography, Frame Semantics has influenced numerous other domains, including linguistic theory, computational linguistics, applied linguistics, and others (for a more detailed overview, see Boas et al., 2025).

(2026) explore FrameNet as a tool for tracking semantic development in FLA. Bagi (2025) presents a syntactico-semantic analysis of the verbs *oštetiti* ('to damage') and *uništiti* ('to destroy') from this theoretical perspective, and a forthcoming study (Баги, 2026) provides a lexicographic description of the verb *lomiti* ('to break').

2.1. On tearing and ripping (typological and contrastive studies)

As stated above, this paper analyses the frames evoked by the polysemous, partially synonymous verbs *kidati* and *cepati* – roughly corresponding to the English equivalents *tear*, *rip*, and *split* – and compares them with their senses in two Serbian descriptive dictionaries (SASA Dictionary (Речник САНУ, 1959–) and MS Dictionary (Матица српска, 1967–1976)).

Belonging to the cross-linguistically recognised "cutting and breaking" domain (Majid et al., 2007, 2008), these verbs denote everyday activities (such as cutting, breaking, slicing, chopping, hacking, smashing, shattering, and snapping) that describe a change in an object from a state of integrity to a state of separation or material destruction (Majid et al., 2008), and have been central to human cognition and culture for over two million years. Given their grounding in everyday experience, these lexemes offer ideal material to examine whether Frame Semantics can effectively differentiate their overlapping senses and highlight similarities and differences in their syntactic behaviour, particularly as typological studies (Majid et al., 2007, 2008) show that actions denoted by *tear* and *rip* are often clearly distinguished from other activities within the domain.

We will also refer to specific questions in the sections reserved for results and discussion.

3. Database

Developing a lexical resource such as FrameNet for Serbian, a low-resourced language, is particularly important, especially given the growing interest in FrameNet and its applications in lexicography and natural language processing. Initial steps have been taken using the Brazilian FrameNet platform (Torrent et al., 2025). Bagi et al. (2026) provide further information on the initial steps toward building a Serbian FrameNet.

We manually translated frame and frame-element names from English into Serbian Cyrillic and double-checked them for terminological and conceptual consistency. We integrated a Serbian lexical resource derived from Leximirka (Stanković et al., 2018; Lazić and Škorić, 2019), comprising 17,860 distinct lexemes with morphological information, into the database. FrameNet Brasil team entered all data into the database. Furthermore, an annotation workflow has also been established, with its results presented in (Bagi et al., 2026).[7]

For this study, we made additional database modifications. Specifically, we added a *Metaphor* label to the Sent (Sentence) layer, and added more than 100 labels for prepositions, prepositional expressions and combinations, and subordinators to the PT (Phrase Type) layer. In addition, we introduced the label ECNI as a distinct type of null instantiation.

We discuss why these labels were useful later in the paper.

3.1. Corpus

The corpus compiled for this study comprises over 300 sentences containing the sublexemes *kidati* and *cepati* (approximately 150 examples for each verb). The examples were extracted from Serbian electronic corpora, primarily from the *SrpKor2021+* corpus[8] (Витас et al., 2025), supplemented by the *PDRS 1.0*[9] corpus and *CLASSLA-web.sr 2.0*,[10] both of which contain web-based data. The searches were conducted using the queries [lemma = "kidati" and pos = "v.*"] and [lemma = "cepati" and pos = "v.*"].

To ensure comprehensive identification of constructions relevant to these sublexemes' meanings, we examined their behaviour in Sketch Engine using the Word Sketch tool and used the results to guide example extraction.

3.2. Methodology

Since our study focuses on the polysemy of two lexemes and aims to identify as many of their meanings and associated frames as possible, the analysis follows a corpus-driven, lemma-by-lemma approach (Burchardt et al., 2009), rather than the frame-by-frame

[7] https://external.frame.net.br/
[8] https://noske.jerteh.rs/#dashboard?corpname=SrpKor2021plus
[9] https://www.clarin.si/ske/#dashboard?corpname=pdrs10
[10] https://www.clarin.si/ske/#dashboard?corpname=classlaweb2_sr

Figure 1: The behaviour of the verb *kidati*

strategy traditionally employed in FrameNet.[11] This approach also allows a brief comparison of how FrameNet and traditional lexicography treat polysemy. Accordingly, the study examines all senses of each target verb rather than all lexical units belonging to a particular frame. We also considered other potential lexical units evoking the frames under investigation, and we further supported the analysis by examining the behaviour of synonyms of *kidati* and *cepati*.

After extracting examples, we analysed and classified all sentences into frames according to the FrameNet annotation manual (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016). To capture the full range of behavioural patterns and syntactic realisations of frame elements, we selected and annotated a subcorpus of 80 to 90 representative sentences in the database for each verb.

FrameNet distinguishes between lexicographic annotation, in which corpus sentences are selected for a predetermined target lexical unit, and full-text annotation, in which all frame-evoking words

[11] Two additional types of strategies can be distinguished: full-text strategy, adopted within the Berkley FrameNet project, and corpus-driven domain-by-domain strategy, which is implemented in French FrameNet, within the ASFALDA project (Djemaa et al., 2016).

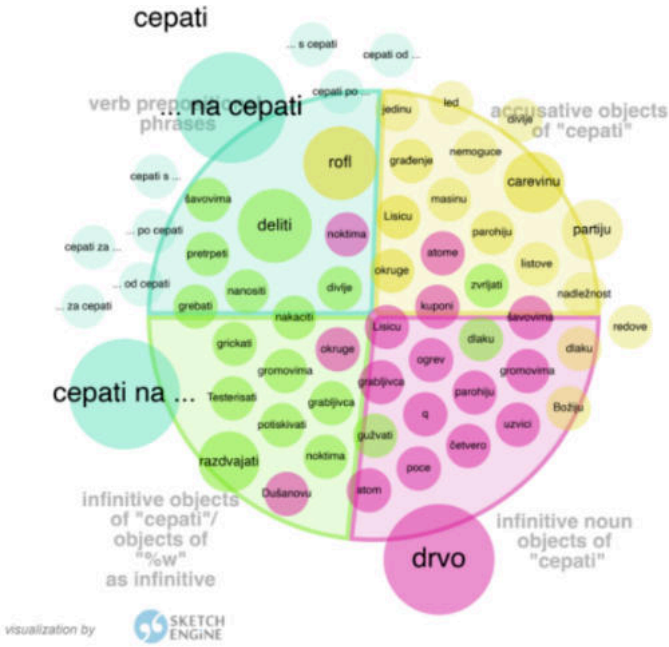

Figure 2: The behaviour of the verb *cepati*

in a given text are annotated. Because this study focuses on two lexemes, we adopted the lexicographic annotation approach. Both annotation practices are lexicographically motivated, and their syntactic and semantic descriptions are tailored exclusively to lexicographic description. They may therefore differ in some respects from those of conventional linguistic analysis (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016).

In lexicographic annotation, we select the frame evoked by the target lexical unit and annotate the relevant constituents on three layers: the frame element layer, the grammatical function layer, and the phrase type layer. The annotation is partial, as only constituents relevant to the target are annotated. Importantly, we annotate entire constituents that realise frame elements, not only their head words. Except for subjects, locally realised frame elements are annotated as constituents that form part of the maximal phrase headed by the target word (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016). With respect to grammatical function, FrameNet subsumes both arguments and modifiers under the single function Dependent (Dep); it reflects the distinction between complements and modifiers in the distinction between core and non-core frame elements (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016).

4. Results

The analysis conducted on corpus examples, following the FrameNet methodology, revealed that the verb *kidati* is associated with up to 21 frames, while the verb *cepati* is associated with 18 frames.[12]

The lexeme *kidati* evokes the following frames: `Cause_to_fragment`, `Cause_harm`, `Removing`, `Worry`, `Experience_bodily_harm`, `Waver_between_options`, `Damaging`, `Beat_opponent`, `Desirability`, `Breaking_apart`, `Self_motion`, `Stimulate_emotion`, `Competition`, `Becoming_damaged*`, `Make_an_effort*`, `Sever_connection*`, `Becoming_disconnected*`, `Activity_ongoing`, `Overcharging*`, `Expertise`, and `Loss_of_continuity*`.[13]

The following frames are associated with the lexeme *cepati*: `Cause_to_fragment`, `Cause_harm`, `Separating`, `Damaging`, `Perception_body`, `Beat_opponent`, `Make_noise`, `Reshaping`, `Breaking_apart`, `Removing`, `Becoming_damaged*`, `Winning_moves`, `Make_an_effort*`, `Becoming_separated`, `Performing_an_activity_intensively*`, `Activity_ongoing`, `Intensive_activity_directed_at_an_entity*`, and `Moving_at_a_certain_speed*`.

Because the lexemes *kidati* and *cepati* are partially synonymous, they share 9 frames. Still, each lexeme evokes frames by itself.

The following table lists the frames shared by both lexemes, as well as those specific to each verb.

Since we cannot describe all attested frames in this paper, we focus on those central to understanding these lexemes and aim to illustrate their semantics and syntactic behaviour. Accordingly, we will briefly present several frames shared by both verbs, as well as several frames associated with only one lexeme. We also focus on frames we did not find in Berkeley FrameNet, i.e., those we created ourselves.

We will describe next shared frames: `Cause_to_fragment`, `Damaging`, `Removing`, `Breaking_apart`, `Becoming_damaged*`; frames specific to verb *kidati*: `Desirability`, `Severe_connection*`, `Becoming_disconnected*`, `Expertise`, `Loss_of_continuity*`; and frames

[12] Frames associated with these LUs are available at: https://external.framenet.br/annotation/lu

[13] The frames marked with an asterisk (*) are frames that we created for the purposes of this study. To the best of our knowledge, these frames are not included in the Berkeley FrameNet database.

Table 1: Shared and specific frames for *kidati* and *cepati*.

Shared frames	*Frames specific to the verb kidati*	*Frames specific to the verb cepati*
Cause_to_fragment	Worry	Separating
Damaging	Experience_bodily_harm	Body_perception
Cause_harm	Waver_between_options	Make_noise
Beat_opponent	Desirability	Reshaping
Removing	Self_motion	Winning_moves
Breaking_apart	Stimulate_emotion	Becoming_separated
Becoming_damaged*	Competition	Perform_an_activity_intensively*
Make_an_effort*	Sever_connection*	Intensive_activity_directed_at_an_entity*
Activity_ongoing	Becoming_disconnected*	Moving_at_a_certain_speed*
	Expertise	
	Loss_of_continuity*	
	Overcharging*	

specific to verb *cepati*: Separating, Becoming_separated, Perform_an_activity_intensively*, and Intensive_activity_directed_at_an_entity*.

5. Discussion

5.1. Shared frames

5.1.1. Cause_to_fragment

The most prominent frame associated with the verbs *kidati* and *cepati* is the Cause_to_fragment. The situation denoted by this frame involves an AGENT (or CAUSE) suddenly and often violently separating the WHOLE_PATIENT into two or more smaller PIECES, resulting in the WHOLE_PATIENT no longer existing as such. The core frame elements are AGENT/CAUSE, WHOLE_PATIENT, and PIECES. Consider the following examples.

(1) [Agent Oni] su čupali pozlaćene odore s oltara i gazili ih i **kidali** [Pieces u delove]. [Whole_patient DNI][14] '[Agent They] ripped gold-embroidered vestments from the altar, trampling on them and tearing [Whole_patient them] [Pieces to pieces].'

(2) Skrivene kamere … pokazale su da su [Agent zaposleni] krali poštu … i nakon toga **cepali** [Whole_patient koverte] [Pieces na sitne delove]. 'Hidden cameras … revealed that [Agent employees] were stealing mail … and subsequently tearing [Whole_patient envelopes] [Pieces into tiny pieces].'

Thus, these verbs denote a situation in which, typically, an AGENT (a living being), by stretching, pulling, or similar abrupt movements, separates a WHOLE_PATIENT into two or more Pieces, thereby compromising its material integrity, i.e., its wholeness (cf. Levin, 1993; Viberg, 2007). In the literature, tearing and splitting involve separation or division by pulling, and these lexemes therefore indicate the manner in which the action is performed (Viberg, 2007, 2020). This largely holds for Serbian as well.

However, although the actions denoted by the verbs *cepati* 'tear/split' and *kidati* 'tear/rip' are similar in that both may result in an object's fragmentation, the two verbs differ in how that fragmentation is brought about. More specifically, *kidati* prototypically denotes tearing an entity apart, usually by pulling its parts away from one another, typically with the hands moving in opposite directions (e.g., *kidati konopac* 'tearing a rope'). The action may also involve separating a smaller part from a larger whole (with one or two hands). Thus, the defining feature of *kidati* is disrupting an entity as a whole: the object is pulled apart by exerting force on its parts, causing them to separate.

By contrast, the prototypical action denoted by *cepati* involves separating an entity along a particular line or direction, typically through guided, linear hand motion (e.g., *cepati papir* 'tear paper'). Here, the relevant aspect is not primarily pulling the entity apart as a whole, but disrupting its internal connectedness along a specific path. As Viberg (2007) observes, connectedness can be understood in terms of the existence of a continuous path within an entity. In the case of *cepati*, this path corresponds to a line along which the material is intentionally separated. The separation therefore proceeds along what

[14] The WHOLE_PATIENT in Serbian sentence instantiates the case of DNI, while it is overtly expressed in English.

may be termed a natural or intended splitting line (cf. O'Connor, 2007), i.e., a boundary or direction identified by the person performing the action. Consequently, whereas *kidati* foregrounds separating parts from one another, *cepati* foregrounds dividing an entity along a particular line.

Importantly, the number of resulting fragments does not distinguish the two verbs. Both *cepati* and *kidati* may denote actions that result in an entity being divided into multiple pieces. The distinction lies instead in the manner of fragmentation: *kidati* involves pulling parts apart and thereby disrupting the whole's cohesion, whereas *cepati* involves separating the material along a particular line or direction.

What follows is an example from our corpus in which this natural boundary is linguistically expressed by the peripheral frame element SUBREGION (*po šavu* 'along the seam').

(3) [Explanation Kako jedna nezgoda ne dolazi uvek sama], [Time u zoru] [Cause jak vetar sa kopna] **cepa** [Subregion po šavu] [Whole_patient i glavno jedro], te ostavši bez jedara, ulazimo u luku Ročele Jonike. [Pieces INI]
'[Explanation As misfortunes never come alone], [Time at dawn] [Cause a strong offshore wind] rips [Whole_patient the mainsail] [Subregion along the seam] as well, and left without sails, we enter the port of Roccella Ionica.' [Pieces INI]

The existence of such a path is also reflected in the fact that, in Serbian, firewood is characteristically described as being split (*cepati drva*), rather than torn (*kidati*). This process is usually carried out with the help of a tool, an axe, following the so-called "grain" of the wood; in other words, the wood is typically split lengthwise.

In the context of physical fragmentation and the type of entity that can occur as the WHOLE_PATIENT, *kidati* predominantly occurs with so-called three-dimensional entities (ropes, wires, thread, chains, bread, etc.) and, less frequently, with two-dimensional, flexible objects (paper, fabric), whereas with *cepati*, the predominant type is the separation of two-dimensional, flexible entities (paper, fabric), with three-dimensional entities (such as wood) occurring less frequently.

Although tearing and splitting differ in how they are performed, both activities yield largely the same result. Because the action is typically performed by hand, the separation of the object is somewhat uncontrolled (cf. Spalek and McNally, 2026), resulting in fragments with uneven, ragged, or otherwise irregular edges. This is

also related to the predictability of the locus of separation. Namely, in both cases, and particularly in tearing, it is not entirely possible to predict where the object will separate; consequently, separation by tearing or splitting can be regarded as irregular or uncontrolled.

The PIECES resulting from tearing/splitting are typically syntactically realised as a nominal in a prepositional phrase headed by *u / na* + accusative (*u/na delove/komade* 'into pieces'). However, they do not always need to be linguistically expressed. Consider the following example.

(4) **Kidali** su [Whole_patient ih] [Instrument rovokopačima] [Circumstances pri prenosu iz primarnih u sekundarne grobnice]. [Agent ECNI] [Pieces INI] 'They tore [Whole_patient them] apart [Instrument with excavators] [Circumstances while transferring them from the primary to the secondary graves].' [Agent ECNI] [Pieces INI]

In this example, two core elements, AGENT and PIECES, are omitted. Based on world knowledge, we can conclude that PIECES represent the result of tearing the WHOLE_PATIENT with excavators, and annotate them as INI.

However, for annotating Constructional Null Instantiation, we distinguish between the omission of the AGENT in passive clauses, the omission of external arguments of non-finite verb forms, and the omission of the subject in active clauses, which is common in Serbian. We therefore use the existing label for the first and the second, and introduce the label ECNI – External Constructional Null Instantiation for the third (omission of the subject in active clauses). We adopted this distinction, among other reasons, following the approach of Spanish FrameNet (Subirats, 2009). Namely, omitting the AGENT in a passive clause represents a different situation, since the AGENT does not form part of the profiled scene: it has been removed through deagentivization and cannot occupy the subject slot. This involves demoting the AGENT and promoting the PATIENT (Stipčević, 2023). By contrast, the AGENT of an active clause occupies the subject position but need not be overtly expressed because it is "contained" in the finite, agreement-bearing form of the verb. Thus, in sentence (4), which begins with *Kidali su ih* '[They] were tearing them'…, the verbal form (third-person plural perfect) allows us to infer that *oni* 'they' occupies the subject position (*Oni su ih kidali* 'They were tearing them'). Thereby, we annotate an AGENT as ECNI.

In our corpus, an element typically expressed as an INSTRUMENT (*zubi* 'teeth') also occupies the subject slot. Consider the following example:

(5) [Instrument Zubi] grizu, **cepaju**, žvaću, kidaju. [Whole_patient INI] [Pieces INI] '[Instrument The teeth] bite, tear, chew, and rip.' [Whole_patient INI] [Pieces INI]

In this example, *zubi* are presented as the entity carrying out the actions of biting, tearing, chewing, and ripping. However, a person performs the actions, while the teeth are the physical means through which they are carried out. The use of *zubi* in the subject position can therefore be understood as a metonymic shift in which the INSTRUMENT stands for the AGENT controlling and performing the action. This raises a question about annotating *zubi* within the `Cause_to_fragment` frame. If *zubi* are annotated as an INSTRUMENT, following the FrameNet convention (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016), this would require treating AGENT and INSTRUMENT as belonging to the same coreness set. However, this analysis is problematic because Instrument does not appear to be a core frame element of `Cause_to_fragment`, whereas AGENT is. Moreover, analysing *zubi* simply as INSTRUMENT does not fully capture the sentence's semantic structure, since the entity referred to by *zubi* does not initiate or control the action.

We therefore consider it more appropriate to treat this use as a metonymic realisation of the AGENT, with *zubi* functioning as the overt linguistic expression of an INSTRUMENT that stands for the implicit AGENT. This analysis makes explicit that an AGENT is conceptually present behind the metonymically expressed element, while avoiding the need to introduce INSTRUMENT as a core frame element solely to accommodate this type of realisation.

In Subsection 1.4., we mentioned the criteria relevant to treating and classifying metaphor in FrameNet. In particular, establishing the relevant alternation across synonyms and related expressions may be difficult. At the same time, the mapping between the source- and target-domain FEs may not always correspond neatly to an existing FrameNet frame. Consequently, classifying individual metaphorical expressions may remain uncertain even when their figurative character is clear. This was also the case for several examples in our annotation, as illustrated below.

(6) [Agent Crveno-beli] su (po)**kidali** [Whole_patient živce] [Maleficiary navijačima[15]]. [Pieces INI] '[Agent The Red-and-Whites] tore up [Maleficiary the fans'] [Whole_patient nerves].'

(7) [Whole_patient Srce] [Maleficiary mi] **cepa** [Means svojom ravnodušnoću]. [Agent INI] [Pieces INI] '[He/she] tears [Maleficiary my] [Whole_patient heart] apart [Means with his/her indifference].' [Agent INI]

In (6), *kidati živce nekome* (lit. 'to tear someone's nerves') means 'to annoy/upset someone' and therefore does not describe a literal physical act of tearing. Nevertheless, the sentence can plausibly be analysed in the source frame `Cause_to_fragment` and marked with the *Metaphor* label, or analysed in a target frame such as `Stimulate_emotion`, with a *Metaphor* relation established between the source and target frames. Similarly, in (7), *cepati srce nekome* (lit. 'to tear someone's heart') means 'to make someone deeply unhappy' rather than to cause literal physical damage to the heart. The conceptual metaphor underlying the first example can be characterised as Emotional/neurological distress is physical rupture of an object, whereas the second instantiates the metaphor Emotional pain is physical damage/destruction of an object.

These examples illustrate the difficulty of classifying metaphorical expressions that are clearly figurative but retain a transparent connection to a literal scene within FrameNet's distinction between productive and lexicalised metaphor. Both expressions have conventionalised figurative meanings, yet their interpretation remains closely tied to the physical scenes profiled by the corresponding source frames. In such cases, it is not always clear whether the figurative meaning should be represented by moving to a target frame or whether the source-frame analysis, supplemented by a sentence-level *Metaphor* label, provides a more appropriate representation.

For the present annotation, we therefore treat such cases as relatively productive metaphors. We annotate them in the source

[15] It is clear that there is no strict parallelism among Serbian and English frame elements in translated examples. Since the purpose of annotated sentences translated into English is to illustrate the annotation in Serbian, we emphasize that what is realised as a Maleficiary in Serbian (the dative case of maleficiary) doesn't have to appear in the English translation (it is often realized as possessive determiner; Serbian dative of maleficiary *mi* → English possessive pronoun *my*). We decided to annotate it as the Maleficiary in the English sentences just for the sake of illustration.

frame and mark the sentence with the *Metaphor* label, which was introduced into the database specifically for this study and which appears on the Sent (Sentence) layer. This solution preserves the source-domain structure underlying the expression while avoiding potentially arbitrary decisions in a target-frame analysis. Importantly, this should be understood as an operational decision for the present annotation rather than a claim that all such cases are unambiguously productive under the FrameNet criteria.

At the same time, we acknowledge that a two-frame analysis would provide a more complete representation of the metaphorical relation, as in Burchardt et al. (2009). Such an analysis, however, substantially increases annotation complexity, particularly because the target figurative meanings are not always readily describable in terms of existing FrameNet frames. Burchardt et al. (2009) likewise report difficulties assigning figurative meanings to appropriate target frames and, to maintain annotation efficiency, restrict their analysis to source-domain interpretations in more complex cases. Our current procedure follows a similar practical consideration: rather than forcing an uncertain target-frame analysis, we retain the source-domain annotation and explicitly mark the sentence as metaphorical.

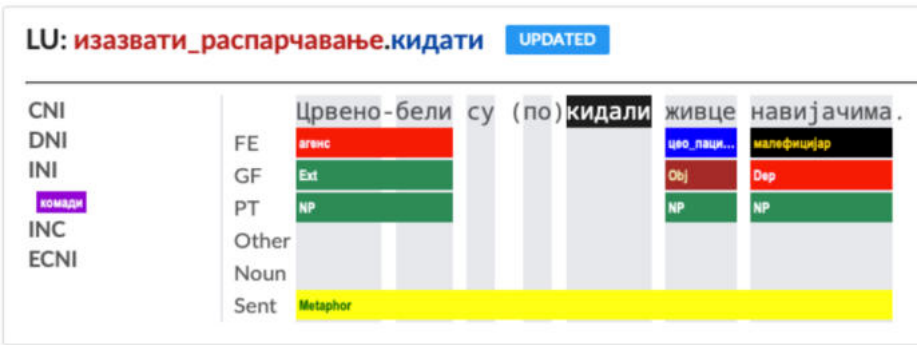

Figure 3: Metaphor label in the source domain for LU cause_to_fragment.tear.

When Pieces are linguistically explicit, it is clear that the `Cause_to_fragment` frame is involved. However, this is often not the case, so it is necessary to pay attention to the context and, with the help of encyclopedic knowledge, determine whether the Pieces occur as a result of fragmentation. This is the situation in the following example, where the Agent tears the upper edge of an envelope, but

Figure 4: Metaphor label in the source domain for LU cause_to_fragment.rip.

it is not specified whether the tearing action is carried through to completion or whether the envelope is merely partially damaged, i.e., torn.

(8) Iz ogromne kožne torbe vadi tamnoplavi koverat i uz naklon ga predaje [Agent Šopenhaueru], [Agent koji] [Time istog trenutka] **cepa** [Whole_patient gornju ivicu] i izvlači komad hartije. [Pieces INI] 'From a huge leather bag, he takes out a dark blue envelope and hands it with a bow [Agent to Schopenhauer], [Agent who] [Time instantly] tears open [Whole_patient the top edge] and pulls out a piece of paper.' [Pieces INI]

Nevertheless, based on world knowledge, we assume that the AGENT typically tears off the entire upper edge of the envelope, separating it from the rest of the paper, to remove the paper contained in the envelope. Moreover, the upper edge is not a typical WHOLE_PATIENT. Here, we are dealing with synecdoche, more specifically, a part-for-whole relation (cf. Geeraerts, 2010; Dragićević, 2010), whereby the upper edge can be said to stand for the whole – the envelope. For this reason, we decided to treat this example as an instance of the `Cause_to_fragment` frame.

A similar situation is illustrated by the following two examples, in which prayer beads and a chain with a cross are torn, while the PIECES are not linguistically expressed:

(9) [Explanation Od jeda] **kida** [Whole_patient brojanice], te rasuta zrna prskaju po sobi i oknima prozorskim. [Agent ECNI] [Pieces INI] '[Explanation Out of rage], [he/she] snaps [Whole_patient the prayer beads], and the scattered beads spray across the room and windowpanes.' [Agent ECNI][Pieces INI]

(10) [Agent Takvi kao vi] su [Maleficiary mi] [Time pre dvadeset godina] **kidali** [Whole_patient lančić sa krstom koji sam nosila oko vrata]. [Pieces INI]
'[Agent People like you] tore [Whole_patient the cross necklace I wore around my neck] [Maleficiary from me] [Time twenty years ago].'

Since prayer beads and chains are circular objects consisting of a series of beads connected by some kind of thread or cord, or a series of links that together form a chain, we may ask whether tearing them actually fragments them or merely damages them. In example (9), the tearing clearly breaks the thread holding the beads together, and the event can therefore be understood as fragmentation: later in the sentence, we see the scattered beads fly across the room. On the other hand, in sentence (10), since the chain has no beads, the focus seems to be more on disrupting the cohesion inherent in such an object. If these circular objects are straightened out, they appear as a straight line whose continuity is interrupted where the object is torn. Nevertheless, it seems that even in this case, speakers of Serbian conceptualise certain PIECES the same way they do when a rope or thread is torn. This may be because the two ends of the elongated object created by tearing are construed as distinct objects, even though they belong to a single object. For this reason, we have provisionally decided to annotate these examples as instances of the `Cause_to_fragment` frame. Here, fragmentation is understood as a disruption of connectedness (Viberg, 2007). The concept of functionality is also associated with the concept of fragmentation, or disruption of connectedness, since after being torn, prayer beads and chains can no longer be used in the conventional way.

5.1.2. Damaging

The `Damaging` frame is similar to `Cause_to_fragment`, but more general, since some verbs in this frame, such as *oštetiti* 'damage', specify neither the action nor the result of the damage. Namely, `Damaging` involves a situation in which an AGENT/CAUSE affects a PATIENT so that the PATIENT ends up in a non-canonical state, which is often considered undesirable.

In our analysis, when the PIECES were not linguistically expressed, we considered that, in some examples, the verbs *kidati* and *cepati* evoke the `Damaging` frame. Let us consider the following two sentences.

(11) Danas tuku Marijana Rističevića, **kidaju** [Maleficiary mu] [Patient sako]. [Agent ECNI] 'Today they are beating up Marijan Rističević, tearing [Patient [Maleficiary his] jacket].' [Agent ECNI]

(12) Pa šta drugo da se peva dok [Maleficiary mi] **cepaju** [Patient košulju]? [Agent ECNI] 'What, what else is there to sing while they are tearing [Maleficiary my] [Patient shirt]?' [Agent ECNI]

In examples (11) and (12), the objects of *kidati* and *cepati* are items of clothing: a jacket (blazer) and a shirt. World knowledge suggests that tearing or ripping an item of clothing does not necessarily divide it into completely separate pieces. In example (11), for instance, the jacket is torn while someone is still wearing it. Even if the AGENT has stretched and pulled the jacket forcefully, the most likely result is a tear or split in the fabric, or perhaps a partially detached section that remains connected to the rest of the garment and hangs down. In other words, although the jacket is damaged, most of it, and, importantly, the torn parts themselves, remain connected to the original garment. The same applies to example (12). Thus, the result of *kidati* or *cepati* need not be a set of clearly delimited, newly separated pieces. Instead, it may modify the original object through tears, splits, or partially detached sections of fabric, with the resulting parts remaining at least partly connected to the whole.

Indeed, some researchers classify such verbs as binary scale verbs, which denote gradual actions that bring about incremental change (Spalek and McNally, 2026). The Serbian verbs *kidati* and *cepati* could likewise be viewed in this way. Depending on the amount of the PATIENT that is affected by the change, the tearing or ripping may be partial or complete. A partial change is illustrated in example (13), where it is also emphasised by the use of the adverb *skoro* 'almost':

(13) Komandir je prestao sa potpisima, sad podvlači one najuspešnije. [Manner Brzo], [Iterations dvaput], [Manner snažno], [Degree skoro] **cepa** [Patient papir]. [Agent DNI] 'The commander stopped signing, now underlining the most successful ones. [Manner Quickly], [Iterations twice], [Manner forcefully], he [Degree almost] tears [Patient the paper].' [Agent DNI]

Namely, the commander presses the pen firmly against the paper as he underlines the text, almost tearing the paper. More precisely, he almost creates a tear in the paper but does not actually

separate it into pieces. The actions of tearing and ripping could be viewed as a sequence of sub-states or stages, only some of which may be reached. At the endpoint of this sequence, the resulting state consists of separate pieces (Levinson, 2007). Namely, the separation of two-dimensional flexible entities, such as clothing and paper, comes bit by bit (Bowerman, 2005).

The sublexemes *kidati* and *cepati* are also more likely to evoke the `Damaging` frame when the PATIENT is an entity whose fragmentation would be difficult to carry out. This is the case in example (14), where vandals tear wire fences:

(14) Većina vrtića ima ograde, jedini problem jesu [Patient one žičane] [Patient koje] [Agent nasilnici] [Frequency redovno] **kidaju**, a mi krpimo. 'Most kindergartens have fences; the only problem is [Patient the wire ones] [Patient that] [Agent vandals] [Frequency regularly] tear apart, and we patch them up.'

Since a fence is a relatively large object made of material that cannot easily be broken into separate pieces, it is difficult to imagine vandals literally tearing the wire fence into pieces. It is more likely that, by pulling the fence in opposite directions with their hands, they create tears or holes. The continuation of the sentence (14) supports this hypothesis: other people patch up the fences the vandals damage, i.e., close the holes they create.

5.1.3. Removing

The sublexemes *kidati* and *cepati* are connected with another frame that is, in a certain sense, comparable to the `Cause_fragment` frame – the `Removing` frame. In this frame, an AGENT causes a THEME to move away from a location, the SOURCE. Let us consider the following example.

(15) To me je podsetilo na [Agent crne ptice] [Agent koje] su **kidale** [Theme meso] [Source s Lazarevih vojnika]. 'That reminded me of [Agent the black birds] [Agent that] were tearing [Theme flesh] [Source from Lazar's soldiers].'

In this situation, the birds tear flesh from the bodies of Lazar's soldiers by pulling and pecking at it, so the verb *kidati* means 'to remove by separation'. Unlike fragmentation, where the focus is on the result of the action – on the separation – in this frame, the removal is profiled, while separation is reduced to a manner component (Viberg,

2020). However, removal and separation cannot always be easily distinguished, and many examples are ambiguous in this respect. Consider, for example, sentence (10), in which a necklace with a cross is torn: this action could also be interpreted as removal, since a chain is typically torn from the neck. However, because the SOURCE was not explicitly expressed, the example was interpreted as fragmentation, even if the separation actually occurs through removal.

The SOURCE can be realised by a nominal in the prepositional phrase *od* + genitive (example 16), *s(a)* + genitive (example 18), or *iz* + genitive (example 17).

(16) [Source Od zamešenog testa] **kidati** [Theme male sitne loptice] i zakuvati ih u čorbu. [Agent CNI] 'Tear off [Theme small balls] [Source of the kneaded dough] and cook them in the soup.' [Agent CNI]

(17) Podsetiću na pisanje novosadskog lista „Dnevnik", gde [Agent zaposleni u toj ustanovi] **cepaju** [Theme listove] [Source iz knjige žalbi]. 'I will recall an article in the Novi Sad newspaper Dnevnik, in which [Agent employees of that institution] tear [Theme pages] out [Source of the complaint book].'

(18) Čak sam na jednoj vojnoj vežbi imao zadatak da kao pripadnik „plavih" napišem [Theme preteće „okupatorske proglase"], [Theme koje] bi [Agent snage „narodnog otpora"] [Agent dakle „crveni"] [Time noću] **cepale** [Source sa zidova i taraba]. 'I even had the task during a military exercise, as a member of the "blue" forces, to write [Theme threatening "occupational proclamations"], [Theme which] the [Agent "people's resistance" forces], [Agent meaning the "reds"], would tear down [Source from walls and fences] [Time at night]. '

There are, however, examples in which the SOURCE is not linguistically expressed in the typical manner but can be inferred from the sentence:

(19) A [Agent doktor Matejka] je **kidao** [Manner jedan za drugim] [Theme listove kalendara]. 'And [Agent doctor Matejka] was tearing [Theme the calendar pages] off [Manner one after another].'

Namely, sentence (19) describes a situation in which the AGENT tears off sheets that are actually part of a calendar (similarly to example17), that is, tears them out of the calendar. For this reason, we consider it relevant to annotate the SOURCE on a separate layer, even though it forms part of the constituent express-

ing the Theme – as an attribute of the noun phrase *calendar sheets* (consider Figure 5).

Figure 5: Annotation of the Source (sr Извор) on a separate layer (LU removing.rip).

5.1.4. Breaking_apart and Becoming_damaged

For the reflexive forms *kidati se* and *cepati se*, we present only the two key common frames these sublexemes evoke. These are the `Breaking_apart` and `Becoming_damaged` frames. Both frames are connected by frame-to-frame relations to the corresponding causative frames – `Cause_to_fragment` and `Damaging`, respectively.

The `Breaking_apart` frame involves a situation in which a Whole breaks apart into Pieces, resulting in the loss of the Whole. In most cases, the newly formed pieces have no separate function. Let us consider examples (20) and (21).

(20) Ljudi sa terena javljaju nam da su svojim očima gledali [Whole drveće] [Whole koje] se [Circumstances / Explanation pod ogromnim teretom] **cepa** [Pieces na pola]. 'People from the field report that they watched with their own eyes as [Whole trees] split [Pieces in half] [Circumstances / Explanation under the immense weight].'

(21) Na slici se tačno vidi kako se [Whole zgrada] **cepa** [Subregion po polovini]. [Pieces INI] ' In the picture, you can clearly see how [Whole the building] is splitting down [Subregion the middle].' [Pieces INI]

In these sentences, unlike the examples illustrating the `Cause_to_fragment` frame, no Agent or Cause carries out the fragmentation. Instead, the situation is profiled as if the fragmentation was occurring spontaneously. Therefore, this frame has only two core elements: Whole and Pieces. In example (20), the Pieces are realised

by a nominal[16] in the prepositional phrase *na* + accusative (*na pola*), while in examples (21–23), they are understood but not linguistically expressed (therefore annotated as INI).

(22) [Whole Maska] se nije **kidala** [Time dok sam ju odljepljivala]. [Pieces INI] '[Whole The mask] did not tear [Time while I was peeling it off].'[Pieces INI]

(23) [Whole Poprečna vlakna] **kidaju se** [Manner jedno za drugim]. [Pieces INI] '[Whole The transverse fibers] tear [Manner one after another].' [Pieces INI]

Circumstances (and Explanation) under which the tearing/ripping occurs may also be expressed (*pod ogromnim teretom* 'under enormous weight'), and the Subregion (*po polovini* 'along the middle'), along which the event takes place, may likewise be specified. The Whole may be realised by various types of entities, including trees, buildings, masks, transverse fibres, and so on.

This frame also covers certain metaphorical cases. In Berkeley FrameNet, for instance, it is noted that many sublexemes evoking this frame can be used metaphorically to refer to the breaking apart of institutions. The same applies to example (24), in which the European Union is divided into northern, southern, eastern, and western camps. The underlying conceptual metaphor is Institutional separation is physical fragmentation.

(24) [Whole Evropska unija] **se cepa** [Pieces na severni, južni, istočni i zapadni tabor]. '[Whole The European Union] is splitting [Pieces into northern, southern, eastern, and western camps].'

The `Becoming_damaged` frame describes a change of state in which the Undergoer (or some Subregion of the Undergoer) transitions from a canonical to a non-canonical state, the latter typically being construed as negative or undesirable. The focus is not on the entity causing the change (e.g., Agent or Cause), but rather on the process itself, and on the resulting state of the Undergoer. This is also the situation denoted by the sublexemes *kidati se* and *cepati se*. Thus, in these cases, the tearing or ripping does not result

[16] In Serbian, *na pola*, written separately, could be the prepositional phrase (preposition *na* and noun *pola*), meaning 'in half'. There is also an adverb *napola*, sometimes written separately, as two words. If it were an adverb, it couldn't be a frame element Pieces (it would rather be Manner). We consider it a noun in a prepositional phrase, and annotate it as Pieces.

in the formation of separate pieces; rather, the change can be viewed as partial. Thus, in examples (25–27), no fragmentation occurs, but merely damage.

(25) [Manner Na ovaj način] **kida se** [Undergoer vaša dlaka], slabite njen koren, samim tim i opada. '[Manner In this way], [Undergoer your hair] breaks, you weaken its root, and as a result, it falls out.'

(26) [Undergoer Čarape] su [Maleficiary joj] **se cepale** [Explanation bez ikakvog razloga]. '[Undergoer Her socks] kept tearing [Explanation without any reason].'

(27) Ali [Explanation zato] [Maleficiary mi] **se** [Whole farmerke] [Manner brže] **cepaju** [Subregion na kolenima]. 'But [Explanation that's why] [Whole my jeans] tear [Manner faster] [Subregion at the knees].'

In sentence (25), the hair is damaged, causing it to become porous and more prone to "breakage", while in examples (26) and (27), the socks and jeans develop tears and holes, often at a specific location (SUBREGION, *na kolenima* 'at the knees').

5.2. Frames associated with *kidati*

The frames `Sever_connection`, `Becoming_disconnected`, and `Loss_of_continuity` are evoked only by the verb *kidati*, since this lexeme denotes an activity whose outcome is generally the disruption of the cohesion of the whole being torn. In other words, tearing compromises an entity's integrity by disrupting its connectedness. For this reason, Serbian speakers commonly use *kidati* with nouns such as *konopac* 'rope', *konac* 'thread', *nit* 'strand/thread', *lanac* 'chain', and the like. Such entities are often conceptualised as lines whose continuity is disrupted by tearing. However, the verb *kidati* can also be used metaphorically, extending the physical act of tearing a thread or rope to the disruption of abstract entities, such as interpersonal connections, conceptualised as threads or lines. This is precisely the case with the frames `Sever_connection`, `Becoming_disconnected`, and `Loss_of_continuity`.

5.2.1. Sever_connection

Let us first consider examples instantiating the `Sever_connection` frame.

(28) [Participant_1 Vuk] je **kidao** [Participant_2 sa prošlošću]. [Connection INI] '[Participant_1 Vuk] was breaking [Participant_2 with the past].'

(29) Odavde se vidi da [Connection etimološku vezu] [Participant_2 sa osnovnim rečima] [Participant_1 izvedene reči] **kidaju** [Time u toku vremena] i tek tada postaju prave imenice. [Metaphor] 'From here, it can be seen that [Participant_1 derived words] sever their [Connection etymological connection] [Participant_2 with the base words] [Time over time], and only then become true nouns.'

(30) Može li to pomoći da se ponovo uspostave [Connection pokidane privredne veze] [Connection koje] nije trebalo **kidati**? [Participants CNI] 'Could this help re-establish [Connection the broken economic ties] that should not have been severed?' [Participants CNI]

This frame encompasses situations in which a Participant_1 severs an existing Connection with a Participant_2, or in which both Participants sever the Connection. In this case, Connection is conceptualised as a thread or string that can be broken, while the links or contacts between the Participants are construed as the Connection. The Participants typically represent people (example 28), although this frame element need not always be explicitly expressed (example 30). In addition, the core frame elements are connected by *Requires* and *Excludes* relations: Participant_1 requires Participant_2 (examples 28 and 29), whereas when both participants are mentioned in the sentence, Participants are excluded, and vice versa (example 30).

5.2.2. Becoming_disconnected

The `Becoming_disconnected` frame characterises situations in which the disruption of a Connection appears to occur autonomously. This frame is evoked by the reflexive form *kidati* se and is linked to `Sever_connection` through the frame-to-frame relation *Is Inchoative of*. Example (31) illustrates the dissolution of interpersonal ties (relationships), while sentence (32) demonstrates the termination of a telephone connection. We retain the latter example within this frame because we assume that a telephone connection is also established between two participants. Furthermore, it is conceptualised as a thread.

(31) [Connection Decenijama stvarane kulturne, političke pa i ljudske veze] **se** [Containing_event u ratu] [Manner veoma brzo] **kidaju**, a posle rata ih je teško ponovo uspostaviti. [Participants INI] '[Connection Cultural, political, and even human ties built over decades] are being severed

[Manner very quickly] [Containing_event in war], and after the war, it is difficult to re-establish them.' [Participants INI]

(32) Zato vam telefonska linija šušti i škljoca i [Connection veza] **se kida**. [Participants INI] 'That's why your telephone line crackles and clicks, and [Connection the connection] keeps breaking.' [Participants INI]

5.2.3. Loss_of_continuity

Finally, the sublexeme *kidati se* also evokes the `Loss_of_continuity` frame. This frame differs only slightly from `Becoming_disconnected`, primarily in that it doesn't encompass situations in which the Connection between people is disrupted. More specifically, the sublexeme *kidati se* in this frame describes scenarios in which an Entity, conceptualised as something that extends linearly, loses its continuity and becomes discontinuous. In examples 33 and 34, the entities under consideration are *glas* 'voice' and *tekst* 'text'.

(33) [Entity Glasom] [Entity koji] **se kidao** upitah ga otkuda mu oni stihovi. '[Entity In a voice] [Entity that] was breaking, I asked him where he got those verses from.'

(34) Tamo gdje u pismima naiđete na tri tačke, [Place na tom] **se** [Place mjestu] **kida** [Entity tekst] i nije ga bilo moguće pročitati. 'Where you come across three dots in the letters, [Entity the text] is broken off [Place at that point], and could not be read.'

Thus, concepts such as sound, voice, and text may be metaphorically conceptualised as entities that extend continuously along a linear path, analogous to threads, lines, or other elongated objects whose continuity can be disrupted. Within this conceptualisation, a break in the sound, voice, or text is understood as a loss of continuity: the Entity is no longer perceived as an uninterrupted whole, but as something interrupted or discontinuous at a particular point. The use of *kidati se* in these examples can therefore be understood as a metaphorical extension of the verb's physical sense, in which the loss of continuity, characteristic of a thread or other elongated object, is mapped onto an abstract entity such as a voice or a text. From this, we can formulate the following conceptual metaphors: Abstract entities with linear dimension are elongated physical objects. → Continuity of abstract entities is a physical continuity. → Interruption of abstract

ENTITIES IS PHYSICAL BREAKAGE/TEARING/RIPPING OF ELONGATED OBJECTS.

5.2.4. Desirability

The verb *kidati* has also developed several evaluative uses in slang. More specifically, this lexeme expresses an extremely positive evaluation of an entity or attributes exceptional ability and skill to a participant in a particular activity. The `Desirability` and `Expertise` frames illustrate such uses.

The `Desirability` frame concerns an EVALUEE being judged for its quality, with its desirability determined by one or more PARAMETERS. Let us consider the following examples.

(35) [Evaluee Crtaći] [Manner stvarno] **kidaju**, ali džabe bez dobre priče.
'[Evaluee The cartoons] [Manner really] rock, but it's no use without a good story.'

(36) **Kida** [Parameter po pitanju dopadljivog izgleda, funkcionalnosti i performansi]. [Evaluee ECNI] 'It rocks [Parameter when it comes to appealing looks, functionality, and performance].' [Evaluee ECNI]

In this frame, the EVALUEE is typically an inanimate entity, such as an object, a product, an activity, rather than a human participant. Here, *crtaći* 'cartoons' (example 35) and certain devices (example 36), which are not linguistically expressed, are being evaluated. Although in Berkeley FrameNet database this frame is primarily evoked by adjectives (with the verb *to rock* being a rare exception), an EVALUEE can also be judged using the verb *kidati*. If a device or a cartoon *kida*, it means it is exceptionally good or outstanding. This evaluative use can be directly mapped to the verb's literal meaning of physical destruction: the physical force, energy, and extremity associated with the source domain of tearing are metaphorically extended to represent an exceptionally high degree of the EVALUEE's desirable qualities. In this way, rather than describing a physical action, the verb directly expresses an exceptionally high degree of desirability, whereas adjectival targets of this frame may rely on external degree modifiers to convey a comparable intensity.

5.2.5. Expertise

In the `Expertise` frame, people's knowledge or skill in particular domains is evaluated. Let us consider the following examples.

(37) Nadam se da će tako ostati do Pariza i da ćemo **kidati** [Time do tih Olimpijskih igara]. [Skill INI] [Protagonist ECNI] 'I hope it stays that way until Paris and that we'll be crushing it/killing it right through [Time to those Olympic Games].' [Skill INI] [Protagonist ECNI]

(38) Elem, inspiraciju si dobio gledajući strance, što nije čudno, jer [Protagonist oni ljudi] [Manner stvarno] [Behavior_product to] **kidaju**. 'Anyway, you got inspiration by watching foreigners, which isn't surprising, because [Protagonist those people] [Manner really] kill [Behavior_product it]/crush [Behavior_product it].'

(39) Ljudi koji dolaze razmišljaju čekaj, [Protagonist ovi] **kidaju** [Knowledge u tenisu, vaterpolu, odbojci, pa i košarci], kako li tek onda igraju rukomet? 'People who come here think, "Wait, [Protagonist these guys] kill/crush it [Knowledge in tennis, water polo, volleyball, and even basketball], so how good must they be at handball?"'

(40) [Protagonist Klinac] [Criterion po do sada viđenom] **kida** [Skill kako igra]. '[Criterion Judging by what's been seen so far], [Protagonist the kid] is crushing it [Skill with the way he plays].'

(41) [Protagonist Google i Samsung] ipak **kidaju** [Advantage sa telefonima], oni su trenutno u vrhu ponude! '[Protagonist Google and Samsung] are still crushing it [Advantage with their phones]; they are currently at the top of the market!'

In this frame, the verb *kidati* describes situations in which the PROTAGONIST proves to be exceptionally successful, capable, or skilled in a particular domain or by virtue of a particular ADVANTAGE. The core elements of this frame are PROTAGONIST (the person who excels at something – *oni ljudi* 'those people'; *klinac* 'the kid'); an entity metonymically linked to the person (*Google and Samsung*); BEHAVIOUR_PRODUCT, a product of behaviour that shows the PROTAGONIST's skill or lack of it (*to* 'it'), as well as KNOWLEDGE (*u tenisu* 'in tennis'), SKILL (*kako igra* 'how he plays'), and ADVANTAGE (*sa telefonima* 'with phones').

The behaviour of the sublexeme *kidati* in this frame is particularly interesting. First, the verb can be used transitively, with an accusative complement without a preposition (cf. *to* in example 38), although this need not always be the case. In the sentence *Oni ljudi stvarno to kidaju* 'Those people really kill it', the sublexeme *kidati* conveys the meaning 'to do something extremely well', while the object of tearing is conceptualised as something that has been

"mastered" or "torn to pieces." We can also say that someone *kida* without specifying what they excel at, as in example 37.

Conversely, we can specify KNOWLEDGE, the area of knowledge in which the PROTAGONIST excels (example 39), or SKILL (*Klinac po do sada viđenom kida kako igra* 'Judging by what we have seen so far, the kid is killing it in the way he plays'). In addition, ADVANTAGE can be identified as a distinct core element of the frame (e.g. *Momci kidaju sa koreografijama* 'The guys are killing it with their choreography'). The constituents *sa telefonima* 'with phones' and *sa koreografijama* 'with choreography' refer to the advantage by virtue of which the PROTAGONIST achieves success. Thus, the sentence *Google i Samsung kidaju sa telefonima* 'Google and Samsung are killing it with their phones' could be paraphrased as 'Google and Samsung make excellent phones.'

Apart from the PROTAGONIST, the frame's core elements are rather heterogeneous. For this reason, it would be useful to introduce a superordinate frame element such as FIELD, which could encompass all vague cases (cf. 2016). For example, in the sentences *Studenti kidaju na faksu* 'The students are killing it at the university', and *Bakingem kida u Betmenu* 'Bakingem is killing it in Batman', the constituents *na faksu* 'at the university' and *u Betmenu* 'in Batman' do not correspond fully to KNOWLEDGE, but neither do they correspond to SKILL or ADVANTAGE. For this study, we therefore created the frame element PRILIKA 'Occasion' to cover occasions in which someone excels.

The question, then, is what motivates these slang uses of *kidati*. The meanings 'to perform exceptionally well, to excel' and 'to be outstanding' can be understood as metaphorical extensions of the verb's physical meaning of tearing or fragmenting an object. Two aspects of the physical event seem relevant to this extension. First, tearing an object apart may involve considerable force and persistence, particularly when the aim is to reduce the object to pieces. This physical exertion can be mapped metaphorically onto the effort and intensity with which a person performs an activity: just as an object can be torn apart through sustained force, a person can metaphorically 'tear' through an activity by performing it with exceptional energy and intensity. Second, the extreme result of the physical event – an object being torn apart to such an extent that little of the original whole remains – can be associated with an extreme degree of achievement.

The slang use of *kidati* thus appears to recruit both the intensity of the action and the extremity of its result in conceptualising exceptional performance. The source domain of physical force, persistence, and extreme fragmentation is consequently mapped onto the target domain of effort, intensity, and achievement. Therefore, in this case, the conceptual metaphor EXCEPTIONAL PERFORMANCE/SUCCESS IS PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION OF AN OBJECT is operative.

The same may be said of the outcome of such an activity. For example, in the sentence *Crtaći stvarno kidaju* 'Cartoons really rock', the success of the cartoon's creators is transferred to the product itself. In this case, therefore, we are dealing with a metaphorical extension from physical intensity to evaluative degree.

These uses of the verb *kidati* are positive in evaluation (the same applies to the `Beat_opponentframe`). Their positive interpretation is nevertheless compatible with the verb's destructive semantics. Since slang characteristically relies on expressive language (Bugarski, 2003) and intensification, verbs denoting destruction or extreme physical action may acquire positive meanings in colloquial use. In this case, the destructive semantics of *kidati* is retained as a source of intensity, while the verb is used to express exceptional performance or achievement.

5.3. Frames associated with *cepati* (Separating and Becoming_separated)

The verb *cepati* is associated with the `Separating` and `Becoming_separated` frames.

5.3.1. Separating

Namely, the `Separating` frame concerns separating a WHOLE into PARTS, or separating one part (PART_1) from another (PART_2). An AGENT or CAUSE carries out the separation, which may be made based on some CRITERION. Let us consider the following example.

(42) [Cause Velika ostrva] **cepala** su [Whole reku] [Parts u rukavce kojima je voda brzo proticala]. '[Cause Large islands] split [Whole the river] [Parts into branches through which the water flowed quickly].'

In the given sentence, the CAUSE (*velika ostrva* 'large islands') separates the river into branches. In contrast to the `Cause_to_fr`

agment frame, where fragmentation produces PIECES that generally lack independent function, the Separating frame yields PARTS that can be regarded as natural, functional, or pre-existing components of the WHOLE. Water, as a substance, cannot be fragmented; instead, when acted upon by a force, it can only branch or divide into channels, which represent alternative forms of the same WHOLE. Despite this, the separation is linguistically conceptualised as fragmentation, activating the conceptual metaphor SEPARATION OF A WHOLE INTO PARTS IS THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE WHOLE.

5.3.2. Becoming_separated

While the verb *kidati* is characterised by the disruption of continuity, the verb *cepati* is associated with division, that is, separation into parts based on a particular criterion or parameter, which is best illustrated by the Becoming_separated frame. Namely, the reflexive form of the verb *cepati se* is associated with this frame, which describes a situation in which a WHOLE separates into PARTS, or one part of a whole, called PART_1, becomes separate from the remaining portion, PART_2.

The situation in which, based on a particular CRITERION, a WHOLE separates into PARTS is illustrated by the following examples (43–46).

(43) Iako **se** [Whole Srbija] **cepa** [Criterion na toj dilemi], ona, istini za volju, deluje i naivno i iracionalno. [Parts INI] 'Although [Whole Serbia] is divided [Criterion over this dilemma], truth be told, it seems both naive and irrational.' [Parts INI]

(44) [Whole Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo] **se** [Criterion oko pitanja o EU] **cepa** [Parts na zasebne, nacionalno (u etničkom smislu) definisane oblasti]. '[Whole The United Kingdom] is splitting [Parts into separate, nationally defined (in the ethnic sense) regions] [Criterion over the issue of the EU].'

(45) [Whole Ljudi] su **se cepali** [Parts na rase], rase na nacije, nacije na porodice, porodice na pojedince. '[Whole People] split [Parts into races], races into nations, nations into families, and families into individuals.'

(46) [Whole Svaki hromozom] **cepa se** [Parts na dva], tako da svaki od novonastalog identičnog para prelazi u po jednu kćerku ćeliju. '[Whole Each chromosome] splits [Parts in two], so that each of the newly formed identical pairs passes into one daughter cell.'

In examples 43–45, people (*Ljudi*) or entities metonymically related to people (*Srbija; Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo*) are divided into PARTS that can be regarded as pre-existing elements of the WHOLE (e.g., separate, nationally (in the ethnic sense) defined regions; or races). However, this division is linguistically conceptualised as negative and undesirable – as fragmentation, and a disruption of the WHOLE's integrity. Consequently, the metaphor SEPARATION/DIVISION IS FRAGMENTATIOn is also operative in these cases. This provides a link to the `Cause_to_fragment` frame, particularly through the peripheral element CRITERION, which identifies the basis along which the WHOLE is divided. In this respect, CRITERION is comparable to SUBREGION in the `Cause_to_fragment` frame, as both specify the point or boundary associated with the division of the WHOLE. The CRITERION is linguistically expressed by a nominal in the prepositional-phrase construction *na* + locative (*na toj dilemi*) or *oko* + genitive (*oko pitanja o EU*).

Example 46 presents a somewhat different type of division. Here, the WHOLE is a chromosome, and the PARTS are the two resulting chromosomes, which constitute nearly identical units. Nevertheless, the example further supports associating *cepati* with fragmentation along a specific line or boundary. The chromosome does not divide arbitrarily; rather, a duplicated chromosome separates into two corresponding units. Thus, even in this biological context, the event is construed as division along a structurally determined boundary rather than as random separation.

The following example presents a situation in which PART_1 becomes separated from PART_2.

(47) [$_{\text{Explanation}}$ Zbog toga što je on postojao], [$_{\text{Part\_1}}$ Vojvodina] **se** nije **cepala** [$_{\text{Part\_2}}$ od Srbije]. '[$_{\text{Explanation}}$ Because he existed], [$_{\text{Part\_1}}$ Vojvodina] did not break away/split off [$_{\text{Part\_2}}$ from Serbia].'

In this instance, PART_2, expressed by a nominal in the prepositional phrase *od* + genitive (*od Srbije*), identifies the entity from which PART_1 would potentially be separated. Since Vojvodina and Serbia are conceptualised as spatially bounded entities, their division can be construed as a boundary separating the two PARTS. The physical sense of *cepati* is therefore also relevant here: just as a physical object can be torn along a boundary, the separation of territorially de-

fined entities can be conceptualised as occurring along the boundary between them.

In summary, across all discussed examples, although *cepati* typically yields functional PARTS rather than PIECES, the action remains conceptualised as fragmentation. This conceptualisation explains the use of the verb *cepati* rather than alternatives such as *deliti* ('divide, split') or *odvajati* ('separate').

5.3.3. Perform_an_activity_intensively and Intensive_activity_directed_at_an_entity

Like the lexeme *kidati*, the verb *cepati* has specific meanings in jargon or slang. These usages are documented within the frames `Perform_an_activity_intensively` and `Intensive_activity_directed_at_an_entity`.

The former frame describes a situation in which an AGENT (typically a human) performs a particular ACTIVITY intensively or to a great extent. Currently, this frame is abstract and encompasses metaphorical situations, as illustrated in the following examples.

(48) [Time U julu i avgustu], [Activity fudbal] smo **cepali** [Circumstances po najvećoj vrućini]. [Agent ECNI] '[Time In July and August], we played [Activity football] [Circumstances in the sweltering heat].'

(49) Sede [Agent svi] mirno i dostojanstveno i **cepaju** [Activity praseće pečenje]. '[Agent Everyone] sits calmly and with dignity, devouring [Activity roast pork].'

(50) Nego, sa takvim osećajem za biznis, lepo 5000 u APR, postani izdavač, i **cepaj** [Manner lepo] [Activity izdanja i reprinte] [Amount do mile volje]. [Agent ECNI] 'Anyway, with that kind of business sense, just put 5,000 dinars into the APR, become a publisher, and churn out [Activity editions and reprints] [Amount to your heart's content].'

Namely, in sentence (49), *cepati fudbal* denotes 'to play football a lot or intensely'. The same interpretation applies to examples 49 and 50, where the ACTIVITY is represented metonymically. Namely, *pečenje* 'roast meat' and *izdanja i reprinti* 'editions and reprints' stand for the activities typically associated with these noun phrases. Thus, *cepati pečenje* means 'to eat roast meat intensively or in large quantities', while *cepati izdanja i reprinte* indicates 'to publish/print editions and reprints intensively or in large quantities'. Such usage is common in language, and the object of the verb *cepati*

can encompass a broad range of activities or concepts metonymically linked to actions.

The origin of this usage of the verb *cepati* can be traced back to the physical act of tearing or fragmenting objects, which inherently requires force or effort. This component of fragmentation – force, effort, or intensity – is conceptually mapped onto the intensive performance of an activity. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor INTENSE PERFORMANCE OF AN ACTIVITY IS THE FRAGMENTATION OF AN OBJECT is operative here.

The `Intensive_activity_directed_at_an_entity` frame is analogous, describing situations in which an AGENT, typically a human, performs an activity intensively, directed toward a specific ENTITY. In other words, the situation is profiled so that the ENTITY is at its centre. This core frame element is expressed by a nominal in the prepositional phrase *po* + locative (*po gitarama* lit. 'at/on the guitars'; *po gasu* lit. 'at/on the gas').

(51) [Agent Marijači] [Place na sve strane] **cepaju** [Entity po gitarama]. '[Agent Mariachis] [Place all over the place] are hammering away [Entity on their guitars].'

(52) [Agent Ovaj prikoličar] opako vozi, samo **cepa** [Entity po gasu], ali najbolje je kad je zamalo babu pokupio. '[Agent This guy with the sidecar] drives like crazy, just flooring [Entity the gas], but the best part is when he almost ran over an old lady.'

Cepati po gitarama means 'to play the guitars intensely, almost hitting the instruments', while *cepati po gasu* can be paraphrased as 'to press the gas pedal intensely'. The ENTITY itself, being part of the construction with the preposition *po* and the locative case, is construed as the object toward which the activity of hitting or pressing is directed (cf. po 2b (Речник САНУ, 1959–)).

One possible source of this constructional pattern is the use of *udariti* in the *po* + locative construction, where *udariti po nečemu* can express the beginning of an intensive activity (e.g. *udariti po hrani* 'to start eating intensively'). If so, *cepati po gitarama* and *cepati po gasu* may reflect an analogous association between the *po* +

locative prepositional phrase and intensive activity directed toward a particular ENTITY.[17]

6. Splitting or lumping discussion

For the splitting-or-lumping approach, following Fillmore (2007), we assumed our analysis would be closer to meaning splitting than to meaning lumping. This choice follows from how FrameNet conceptualises the relationship among lexical meaning, semantic structure, and syntactic realisation. Although frames cannot be equated with traditionally conceived dictionary senses, linking lexical units to frames involves identifying a particular aspect of their meaning and providing a structured account of it. Unlike traditional lexical-semantic descriptions, frames explicitly model the relations between participants in a situation and the ways these participants are syntactically realised. We therefore assumed that different patterns of behaviour exhibited by the same lexeme, particularly when they involve different relations among frame elements, would more often need to be represented as distinct units rather than subsumed under a single frame. Our analysis confirmed this assumption, as the lexeme *kidati* is associated with 21 frames, while *cepati* is associated with 18 frames.

This approach, however, does not imply that every syntactic difference necessarily corresponds to a meaning difference. On the contrary, one of FrameNet's principal aims is the "exploration of paraphrase (and near-paraphrase) relations, showing how identical or similar semantic structures can be syntactically expressed in a variety of ways" (Fillmore, 2007). Thus, a difference in syntactic construction alone is not sufficient grounds for positing a new meaning or a new frame. This is particularly evident in cases involving different patterns of realisation of the same frame elements, including cases of Null Instantiation, where a difference in semantic structure does not accompany a difference in formal realisation. Conversely, the same syntactic construction does not necessarily indicate the same meaning. For example, Fillmore (2007), discussing the verb *to remember*, shows that different meanings can be realised with a direct object, but that they can still be distinguished by the types of noun phrases

[17] This use is not specific to the verb cepati; for example, the slot of the verb in the Verb + *po gasu* construction can also be occupied by the lexemes *dati* ('give'), *udariti* ('hit'), *opaliti* ('slap'), *(na)gaziti* ('step'), *odrapiti* ('floor') and many others.

involved and the aspectual properties of their typical uses. The decision to split meanings therefore requires considering semantic and syntactic patterns simultaneously rather than relying on any single formal property.

The question of splitting and lumping also relates directly to polysemy. Although FrameNet is not intended as a traditional dictionary, describing a sublexeme (lexical unit) requires identifying a particular lexical meaning, and FrameNet researchers therefore cannot disregard polysemy. As Fillmore (2007) points out, associating a particular use of a lexical unit with a particular frame requires "an initial survey of the most important of the word's other senses", as well as the need "to delimit one particular LU from others that use the same form". In this sense, whether particular uses should be split or lumped concerns not only the frame organisation but also the boundaries between individual sublexemes.

A further difficulty in this process is presented by cases of semantic indeterminacy, namely vagueness and underspecification. This issue is particularly salient at the boundary between the `Cause_to_fragment` and `Damaging` frames, since in some cases it is not possible to determine with certainty whether an object has been completely fragmented into separate parts or merely damaged or partially fragmented. In other words, a linguistic expression may leave unspecified precisely the semantic property relevant to choosing between the two frames. Such cases show that discrete boundaries between frames do not always correspond to boundaries that are explicitly encoded in linguistic expression.

In our analysis, we started with individual lexemes *kidati* and *cepati*, and their attested uses, adopting a lemma-by-lemma approach, and then considered whether the identified patterns required positing distinct frames. This approach, however, also raises the issue of FrameNet coverage: the existing inventory of frames cannot always be directly applied to all relevant uses of a given lexeme. In such cases, a lemma-oriented approach may require identifying or creating new frames. Djemaa et al. (2016) point to precisely this practical difficulty, arguing that it is extremely difficult for annotators to master frames from very different conceptual domains, and even more difficult to create new frames independently, although this may be necessary when a lemma-oriented strategy is adopted.

Thus, in our analysis, we did not treat the choice between splitting and lumping as a predetermined decision about the number of frames, but as a process of establishing boundaries between meanings based on their semantic and syntactic distribution, while also taking into account the limitations of the existing frame-semantic representation.

6.1. Polysemic structure in descriptive Serbian dictionaries vs frames

In this subsection, we will compare the polysemic structures of the verbs *kidati* and *cepati* in Serbian descriptive dictionaries (SASA Dictionary and MS Dictionary) with the frames identified through our analysis. The aim is to determine whether frames cover all identified senses in monolingual descriptive dictionaries, and vice versa. Namely, we wonder whether the coverage of frames identified through our corpus-driven, lemma-by-lemma approach corresponds to the inventory of senses identified in dictionaries, and to what degree.

Verb *kidati*, according to SASA Dictionary, has 9 senses for the non-reflexive form, and 7 for the reflexive. This makes 16 senses (many senses contain subsenses, which we do not count as separate sublexemes). We identified 21 frames. Because there is no one-to-one correlation between dictionary senses and frames, the number of identified senses alone can't indicate the degree of overlap. Namely, only 13 of the frames we identified are covered by senses from the SASA Dictionary.

Moreover, under one sense we often find more than one frame, or we find attestations for one frame under different senses. For example, the first subsense (1a) in the SASA Dictionary has a definition that corresponds to the `Cause_to_fragment` frame, but the examples under this subsense are mixed; in addition to examples for this frame, we also find three examples for the `Removing` frame. Though these two frames are close, the `Removing` frame has SOURCE as a core frame element. The attestations for the `Removing` frame are grouped under subsense 1v, with a definition appropriate for this frame. This example shows that one (sub)sense often subsumes attestations for more than one frame, and that one frame can be scattered across two (even more) subsenses. We also found mixing of closely related frames under subsense 1b, which contains attestations for `Cause_to_fragment` and `Damaging` frames.

There are also senses with definitions and examples which correspond to exactly one frame: sense 2, which corresponds to the `Sever_connection` frame; sense 3, which corresponds to the `Stimulate_emotion` frame; sense 4, which corresponds to the `Self_motion` frame; under the reflexive form, sense 3 corresponds to the Worry frame; sense 4 to the `Make_an_effort` frame.

Under attestations for the verb *kidati*, we also found two examples for the frames specific to the verb *cepati*: `Perform_an_activity_intensively` and `Intensive_activity_directed_to_an_entity`. This shows that the border between these frames isn't impermeable.

The polysemic structure of the verb *cepati* is less grained, since the MS Dictionary is a concise dictionary of literary language. The irreflexive form has 4 senses, and the reflexive form has 3. For subsense 1a, we found a situation similar to that of the verb *kidati*: it includes examples from both the `Cause_to_fragment` and `Removing` frames.

As for the correspondence between senses and frames, only 4 of the 18 identified frames are covered (`Cause_to_fragment`, Reshaping, `Removing`, and `Becoming_separated`). This low coverage may be because a few frames specific to this verb are used in jargon, a register not represented in MS Dictionary.

7. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we analysed two Serbian verbs, *kidati* and *cepati*, from a Frame Semantics perspective. We aimed to identify frames evoked by lexical units (sublexemes) of these verbs; to populate the Serbian FrameNet database with new frames; to broaden the scope of the frame inventory; and to highlight new insights from this analysis and compare them to insights gained through traditional lexicographic description.

The analysis yielded 21 frames for the verb *kidati*, and 18 frames for the verb *cepati*. Because these two verbs are partially synonymous, they share 9 frames.

After identifying frames for each verb, we analysed the relation among these frames and senses identified in Serbian descriptive dictionaries. As expected, there is no one-to-one correlation. The analysis showed that dictionary examples often lump closely related frames (like `Cause_to_fragment`, `Damaging`, and `Removing`) together under one sense (or subsense). This may be because Frame Seman-

tics offers a more precise, less subjective analysis of the target word than traditional dictionary descriptions. This may also reflect the limitations of such a description. The linear dictionary format cannot adequately represent the full complexity of word usage and offer a detailed representation of its combinatorial properties. The theory we employed introduces the notion of lexicographic relevance – grammatical contexts important for finding the relevant information about the target word – and highlights its importance for a detailed description of a word's usage.

Our analysis showed that a Frame Semantics description, based on a three-layer annotation (frame elements layer, grammatical function layer, and phrase type layer) of (important grammatical contexts of) corpus sentences, offers more objective grounds for identification of frames. Because each frame models the relations among participants in a situation and their syntactic representation, this approach helps delimit closely related (sub)senses or frames. Returning to the example above, in the SASA Dictionary, the primary sense of the verb *kidati* correlates with the `Cause_to_fragment` frame, but also includes attestations for related frames, `Damaging` and `Removing`. Even the first subsense, 1a, contains the attestations for fragmenting and removing. The `Removing` frame has SOURCE among its core elements; it doesn't have to be overtly expressed and can be null-instantiated. This makes it harder to differentiate meaning nuances, which is why Frame Semantics offers a more objective description. If we know that removing implies a source from which something is removed, we can more easily delimit senses for fragmentation and removing.

A lemma-oriented approach required us to widen the scope of the frame inventory. This meant including frames from other conceptual domains or creating new frames. This analysis proves very useful for sense delimitation and even sense induction (finding new senses), and thus complements lexicographic analysis.

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A Verb *kidati* in SASA Dictionary

кӣдати, –ӣам несвр. **I. 1. а.** *наглим покретима раздвајати, растављати, делити у комаде, делове неку чврсту целину, раздирати, тргати, цепати; распарчавати, комадати.* — Кидам и цепам све са себе (Вас. Д. 3, 24). Чупају се, и гуше и даве, | Један другом кида месо живо

(Новић 2, 138). На багрему, испред цркве ... љуљао се лако ... огроман гавран и кидао неко грдно црево (Вас. Д. 3, 31). Они су стигли на време, седе крај ватре и кидају месо зубима (Дед. В. 2, 285). Требало га је само видети ... како изгледа долазак писмоноше ради оно троје четворо новина ... са којих је кидао разнобојне омоте (Ђорђ. М. 1, 157). Али, ако га закон примора да је [ливаду] на комаде дијели, да је кида? (Ћип. 1, 46). фиг. Све вјетрина магле на чуперке кида | Више их около грана (Назор 19, 32). **б.** *прекидати на једном месту или на више места нешто што је повезано, целовито; раскидати.* — Ја би само да кидам синџире (Поп. Мита 1, 254). Коловођа раширио коло преко целе авлије и виче да га нико не кида (Влај. 3, 250). Кидајте мост, кидајте мост! — чује се нечији глас као урлик (Јак. С. 5, 104). Јуре је дању био на послу, највише на оправци пруге коју су партизани кидали (Пол. 1951, 13751/9). фиг. Топтање окупаторских патрола гњечило је и кидало сан (Ћос. Д. 1, 415). Кидајте уговор! (Бошк. Ј. 2, 222). Кида народ окове, стиче слободу (Дед. В. 2, 440). **в.** *тргајући одвајати, откидати, брати.* — Кромпири и репе се ваде ... кукурузи кидају (Радић Ђ. 1, 69). За цвеће каже се: брати (узабрах стручак), кидати (укинути) (Бошк. Ј. 2, 223). Попадија ... псује Томинчеве људе који су кидали још недозрелу трешњу (Рен. М. 1, 480). фиг. насилно или против нечије воље одвајати, удаљавати од некога, нечега. — Плаче ми јуначка душа за женом и дјецом, гдје нас немило кидају из крила овога града (Новак В). 3, 36). Кида их од свега што им је мило (Крл. 4, 86). **г.** *сећи, одсецати, резати.* — Идите на покајање ... али не казујте женама, да се, по обичају, не би за умрлим шишале (кидале плетенице) (Пав. 18, 37). Ако ви баста стављајте нове пикете, али не заборавите да ћемо тада кидати ваше главе (Пав. 3, 153). Рекли су ми да ми кидају ногу (Лоп. Н. 2, 74). Горчин му није хтио кидати ни главу ни нос (Пав. 25, 67).

2. (с неким, с нечим, ретко нешто) *прекидати везу, контакт с неким или с нечим, раскидати с неким или с нечим, напуштати, стављати (некога, нешто).* — С тобом Малиша кида за навек (Ком. 7, 171). Милош није хтео одмах да кида с Турцима (Гавр. М. 1, 148). Кидајмо што пре са досадањим дилетантизмом у нашој пољопривреди! (П. Пр. 1924, 37/4). Ретко кад жена прва кида са несрећном љубављу (Дуч. Ј. 6, 98). Најља је девојка која кида са својом средином и постаје револуционар (Клајн Х., Књиж. 2, 420). Кидам с вама заувијек (Лукић В. 1, 630). И ако уноси толику промену у српску поезију, он не кида све традиције (Скерл. 9, 235).

3. (некога) фиг. **а.** *наносити, задавати некоме велики бол (физички или психички), мучити, морити, раздирати.* — Једна га само брига кидала, што није од срца порода имао (Клаић В., Виенац 1871, 125). Узбуђен, немиран, кида ме бол (Ћип. 8, 302). Ако си пријатељ, немој да ме кидаш (Кост. Т., БК 1911, 598). К'о тужни одјек тајанственог звука | Кидаће јади моју душу ц'јелу (Шант. 7, 226). Немирна нарав и догађаји искушавали су и кидали сиротог Шумановића и дању и ноћу (Сек. 2, 113). **б.** (са логичким субјектом у акузативу) безл. *осећати јаке болове сличне чупању, чупати.* — Отровани [се] тужи да га пече и кида у устима (Ђорђ. Вл. 5, 246).

4. разг. **а.** *бежати, склањати се.* — Аустријанци ће кидати преко Карпата као боси зечеви (Ковач 1, 8). Кидај, Милане, док ти је на рамену главе (Симић Н. 4, 109). Морам кидати, да ме не улове овдје (Франич. Ј. 2, 126). Чекај ти да ја метнем ове ствари у бисаге, па да кидамо ми (Нуш. 10, 66). Две недеље ће остати овде у апсу ... а после кад то издржи ... нека кида испред очију ми! (Јакш. Ђ. 5, 115). Увелико [се] бави шверцом и ... намерава да кида преко (Пол. 1957, 15832/12). **б.** *хитати, журити.* — Они у чаршији докони по ваздан кључкају и глођу ... Зато Јово свака час кида у град (Радић Д. 6, 70).

5. необ. *нагло вадити, извлачити, потезати.* — Њега не познајем! — одскаче Момир унезверено и кида из џепа сат (Каш. 2, 142).

6. *одапињати обарач, ороз на ватреном оружју, окидати, палити.* — Трже оба ... пиштоља ... па загрме као гром небески; „Кидај, ил' да окидам!“ (Весел. 12, 227). Да му опру пиштољ у груди и да кажу „дед овако“, кидај (Вукић. И. 1, 34). Кад видиш владику, обе [цеви] кидај (И. 2, 219).

7. покр. **а.** *уклањати, одстрањивати (ђубре, снег и сл.); чистити уклањајући ђубре, снег и сл.* — Гњој испод њи' [говеди] кида се лопатон и мотикон (Пољица, Иван. Ф., ЗНЖ 8, 273). Мој газда кида гној у стаји (Дук. А. 2, 124). Ђубре [из штале] се „кида“ дрвеном или гвозденом лопатом изјутра и увече (Фил. М. 6, 19). Ти не застрањуј већ кидај снијег (Кушан И. 1, 51). Кидати цесту — чистити од снијега (Будисављевић М., БК 1899, 23). (Вук, Рј.). **б.** фиг. *брзо, халапљиво јести.* — Богме тај кида, т.ј. чисти, јер у чинији не остане ништа (Банија, Грч. М.).

8. необ. *јако ударати, трзати.* — Станко Циганин ушао у коло и кида прстом жице (Лаз. Л. 2, 260).
9. покр. *ударати, одбацивати ногом.* — Један метне своју капу на земљу да му је други терају или кидају ногама (Миодр. 4, 246).
II. ~ се 1. а. *прекидати се, пресецати се; губити континуитет, престајати нормално тећи.* — Смиљо душо! Много ти се жице кидају? (Јакш. Ђ. 5, 21). Дивно су рекли људи: „Ће је танко, онђен се и кида!“ (Срем. 4, 3). Ондје се већ колона кида, јер ... су војнике почела бољети рамена (Јонке 3, 203). Узалуд је тражио ријечи, разговор се кидао (Бен. 1, 500). фиг. Област ума ... је састављена из најтањих конаца, који се лако замршују и кидају (Кнеж. Б. 4, 108). Реалистичка линија се често кидала (Богд. М. 5, 249). Њихова веза са основном речју — кида се, и оне добијају свој засебни живот (Белић 11, 31). **б.** *тргати се на комаде, распарчавати се; цепати се.* — Иде љето. Мање се кида [обућа]. Особито деца. Сад већ ходају боса (Франич. Ј. 1, 19). Маглене копрене кидају се око оштрих сњежних зуби на бреговима (Батуш. 3, 185). фиг. Срце му се на комадиће кидало (Срет. М. 4, 9). Сви на Вука сада погледају, | Ком се кида од злоће утроба (Поп. Јев. 1, 220).
2. *насилно или с муком и против своје воље одвајати се од некога или нечега, откидати се.* — Сузе се жалосне кап из ока кида мог (Матош, Р. МС—МХ). Свако оставља нешто што воли. | Кад се кидаш од најдражег, | Та рана боли (Поп. Ј., Књиж. 4, 179). фиг. Из груди кидао јој се уздах за уздахом (Ђал., Р. МС—МХ). Плач се кидао из узбурканих грудију ко помаман (Коз. И. 1, 59). Мушкарци ... погледаше бодро, у заруделу планину, над којом се сунце кидало из усијаних беочуга и журило висинама (Рен. М. 1, 8). То отац слуша, и у њему се нешто кида (Јовановић Љ., Вукић. И. 1, XXIII).
3. фиг. **а.** *подносити, трпети физичке или психичке тегобе, муке, мучити се.* — Коме је мука, нека се кида и нек умире (Ђор. С., СКГл 17, 403). Дочекивала је несрећу за несрећом, трпела је, кидала се у самој себи, и са жудњом је очекивала смрт (Ил. Д. 3, 104). Сви створови се једнако муче и кидају на свету, а нико ником не верује (Каш. 2, 94). Како то, газда Авраме? — пита Митар, а кида се од муке (Вукић. И. 2, 14). И она се почела кидати у страсти, боловима, пожуди (Дуч. Ј., Р. МС—МХ). **б.** *претерано се узбуђивати, узнемиравати; секирати се, нервирати се, једити се.* — Гуче Јоцко и кида се од неке радости (Конф. 3, 30). Цијеле ноћи не могаше ... да заспи, него се кида и ломи и све мисли: како ли је са дједом (Брл. 1, 12). А што се ти опет кидаш? ... Пусти га, нек говори! (Глиш. 1, 48). Зашто се опет толико кидате? Као да ћемо сећи жива човека (Лаз. Л. 2, 188). Она слабо се кида: што он више зановета, тим се она више смеје (Нен. Љ. 26, 43). Зашто бих се кидала због неколико безначајних трица ...? (Симић Ж. 5, 170).
4. фиг. *претерано се трудити око некога или нечега, ломити се, сатирати се; претерано се напрезати, претрзати се (од посла).* — Кудъ се гођъ макнемъ, видимъ најзнатніе младиће града где се замномъ кидаю (Зуб. 5, 59). Окупе [се] ти опаснији професори ... и друге финије госпође, па се после сви кидају и срећни су кад могу нешто да учине за Јорданку (Конф. 3, 122). Кријумчарење дувана почело је, и власти се нису много кидале да га спрече (Јов. С. 10, 186). Ни за шта се неће кидати сем за оно што ће подизати његово благостање (Сек. 6, 12). Што се кидаш толико. Ја то радим једноставније (Јак. С. 5, 679). Изузетно [су] били савесни и радљиви ако би овај [управник] навратио који пут код њих у канцеларију. Кад су сами пак, нису се много кидали (Ђорђ. Кон. 1, 180). Људи се кидаху од превелика рада (Мат. 15, 259). Кидала се од рада (Назор 27, 301).
5. *изводити, чинити жустре и оштре, одсечне покрете у ходу, трзати се.* — Увек иде онако кочоперно војнички; кида се, кад иде (Срем. 4, 82).
6. фиг. необ. *пробијати се некуда савлађујући тешкоће, препреке, отимати се.* — Кроз трску вихор се кида | и речне обале брише (Ил. В., Р. МС—МХ). Павле је голим ножем навалио на Кристијана, али га двојица држе, и он се кида из све снаге (Крл., Р. МС—МХ).
7. разг. *в. кидати (I, 4а).* — Ја овдје не остајем, кидај се даље Душићу! (Ковачић 1, 147). Рече оштро, нека га се не дотиче и нека му се кида с очију (Леск. 2, 37). Сав узрујан ... подвикну ... „Напоље! Напоље! Кидајте ми се с очију“ (СР 1920, 19/1). Кидајте се брзо од нас (Самок. 1, 163).
Изр. ~ нос (некоме) покр. *излагати (некога) великој срамоти, срамотити, брукати.* — Не, Господару, три пута те кумим од земље до неба ... не кидај ми нос пред Црногорцима! (Никац 2, 36). **~ се на резанце** шатр. 1) јако, много се секирати, нервирати; исп. кидати (II, 3б). — Ал’ ће да се кида на резанце кад то чује (Ред.). 2) покр. јако се врцкати у ходу. — Гле како се она сналша врцка, све се кида на резанце (Поцерина, Моск. 6). **~ се од плача** *јако, незадрживо плакати.* — *Држаше ... дијете у наручју, које се тада кидало од плача*

(Шим. 1, 64). ~ **се од смеха** *много, бучно и од срца се смејати.* — Опет се стаде кидати од смијеха (Мат. 8, 60). Кидају се од смијеха (Ђон. J. 4, 146). **~ себи од уста** *штедети на храни, скромно се хранити, одвајати себи од уста.* — Добро сам ја знао, како тешко плаћа за ме мој отац, и како себи цијела обитељ ... кида од уста (Лив. 1, 74). **~ срце (душа) му (јој и сл.) се кида** *веома му је тешко, жао и сл., много пати.* — Срце јој се кидало, патила је јадница (Нов. 20, 110). Биће ... зарад којега му се ... кидало срце (Ђал. 18, 366). Срце ми се кида (Самок. 1, 224). Радовану се срце кидало да је тако свакодневно гледа и слуша (Радић Д. 6, 89). Срце се кидало Жики (Давичо 3, 246). Илији се душа кидала (Ћип. 3, 46).

B Verb *cepati* in MS Dictionary.

це́пати, цêпāм (це́пајӯ) ијек. **цијѐпати**, цѝјепāм (цијѐпајӯ) несвр. **I. 1. а.** *ударајући чим оштрим растављати на делове по дужини:* дрва. — Задувани као да су кладе цепали (Јакш. Ђ., РМС). **б.** *кидати, тргати у комаде; растављати, комадати.* — Цепам све са себе, гледам своје голо тело (Вас. Д., РМС). Два пута је цепао Деспотовићеву листу (Ћос. Б. 3, РМС). Задружно имање не смије се цијепати на дијеле (Павлин., РМС). Муње заблистале змијолико и стадоше цијепати небо (Горан, РМС). фиг. И тај који хтедне цепати на парчад наш зној и нашу муку, нека је проклет! (Весел., РМС). *в. разједињавати.* — Грујић ... није хтео ... да цепа странку (Јов. С., РМС). [Петоколонашки елементи] хоће да цепају антихитлеровску коалицију (Дед. В., РМС). **г.** фиг. *нарушавати, реметити.* — Совуљаге се довикују и цепају тишину (Ћос. Д., РМС). **д.** *режући растављати, парати:* ~ платно. **ђ.** *раздвајати нити по дужини.* — Извади плетење из котарице, али све испушта плетиво или цепа жицу (Весел., РМС). **е.** *делити напола, преполављати, располављати, предвајати.* — Цепате л' ви [шљиве] кад кухате? (Шапч., РМС). **ж.** *ломити, кршити.* — Вјетар дува ... стене цепа, а побрђа дроби (Јакш. Ђ., РМС). [Струја] је у своме пролазу цепала и дробила ледену кору (Петр. Мих., РМС).
2. *чупати.* — Бранко је цепао жуљ на длану (Ђур. 2, РМС).
3. *стварати пукотине у земљи, браздати, орати; прелазити преко нечега остављајући видан траг, резати, парати.* — Пас љетни [суша] ... цијепа земљиште жедно (Марет., РМС). Оштро си [рало], сјајно, цијепаш земљу (Ђон. J., РМС). Торпиљери ... су оштрим кљуном цепали пенушаве таласе (Јак. С., РМС).
4. а. *снажно избијати (о нечему што тече), бризгати, шикљати.* — Из ногу му крв цијепа (Павлин., РМС). **б.** *пљуштати, сипати као из кабла (о киши).* — Не хаје ни што киша цијепа, ни што мећава мете (Виенац 1885, РМС). **в.** фиг. *пробијати до сржи у костима (о студени).* — Ова мртвачка ноћ ... цепа и мрзне (Петр. В., РМС).
II. ~ се 1. а. *делити се на делове, комаде, раздвајати се; рачвати се, гранати се.* — Гледајући ... оне огромне, порушене балване посред ријеке на којима се валови цијепају, пјенећи се ... заборавих на све тешкоће пута (Маж. Ф., РМС). Сукну пламени млаз, цепајући се при врху као да је змијски језик (Јак. С., РМС). Нева се цепа на више рукава па се онда улива у Финландски залив (Нов., РМС). **б.** *распарчавати се, разједињавати се.* — Народ се цијепа, племена се крвавијем очима гледају (Јакш. Ђ., РМС). Парламент се цепа на два дома (Јов. С., РМС).
2. (од кога) *одвајати се, удаљавати се.* — Ја сам се од свога детињства с њима научио, па нисам се могао од њих цепати (Ат. Б., РМС).
3. покр. *јако болети (од умора, слабости и сл.).* — Нећеш да признаш да си малаксао ... и да ти се ноге цијепају (Радул. J., РМС).
Изр. ~ **длаку на четворо** *истраживати до ситница, цепидлачити.* **цепа у колену (у нози, у зубу)** *јављају се оштри болови на махове.* **~ коме срце (груди, душу)** *задавати некоме оштар душевни бол.* **~ на коме дрва** *искоришћавати некога за најтеже послове.* **срце ми (му, јој и сл.) се цепа** *тешко ми (му, јој и сл.) је, трпим (трпи) велике душевне болове, патим, (пати).* **~ се од смеха** *јако, бучно се смејати.*

Analiza glagola *kidati* i *cepati* u Frejmnetu: okviri naspram tradicionalnog izdvajanja značenja reči

Marina Bagi, Aleksandra Marković, Eli Matos

Sažetak

Ovaj rad predstavlja analizu dva srpska glagola, *kidati* i *cepati*, iz ugla teorije semantike okvira (Frame Semantics) i upoređuje rezultate ove analize sa značenjima ovih glagola identifikovanim u dva srpska jednojezična opisna rečnika. Istraživanje ima nekoliko ciljeva: da ponudi analizu ovih glagola zasnovanu na semantici okvira; da dopuni bazu podataka *Serbian FrameNet* novim okvirima koje ovi glagoli prizivaju; da proširi postojeći inventar okvira; i da istakne nove uvide proizašle iz ove analize i uporedi ih sa uvidima iz tradicionalnog leksikografskog opisa. Analiza sprovedena na oko 180 rečenica koje sadrže ova dva glagola iz tri korpusa srpskog jezika prati pristup vođen korpusom (*corpus-driven*), kao i tzv. lema po lema pristup (*lemma-by-lemma*), kako bi se ispitala sva značenja ciljnih glagola. Pored toga, primenili smo leksikografsku anotaciju korpusnih rečenica izabranih za unapred određene ciljne leksičke jedinice.

Kao rezultat analize izdvojen je 21 okvir za glagol *kidati* i 18 okvira za glagol *cepati*. Pošto su ovi glagoli delimični sinonimi, identifikovali smo 9 zajedničkih okvira za oba glagola. Analiza je bila vođena semantičkom i sintaksičkom distribucijom leksičkih jedinica (subleksema), a ne unapred donetom odlukom o broju semantičkih okvira. Zbog toga postojeći inventar okvira nije bio dovoljan i morali smo da uvedemo nove okvire. Na kraju, uporedili smo naše rezultate sa njihovim značenjima i definicijama u srpskim opisnim rečnicima. Ovo poređenje je pokazalo, kao što se i očekivalo, da između okvira i rečničkih značenja ne postoji poklapanje jedan prema jedan. Umesto toga, oni su povezani na složen način.

Ključne reči: *Serbian FrameNet*, semantika okvira, glagol *kidati*, glagol *cepati*, leksikografija

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