The Semantics of Deverbal Nouns in French Annotation Guide

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List of Abbreviations

agt Agent

anl Analogy

anm Animate

art Artifact

art*cog Artifact*Cognitive

art*ist Artifact*Institution

ben Beneficiary

cau Cause

cog Cognitive

cog*evt Cognitive*Event

coll Collective

des Destination

dis Disease

dom Domain

evt Event

evt*fin Event*Financial

evt*nat Event*Natural

evt*phn Event*Phenomenon

evt*sta Event*State

exp Experiencer

ext Extent

fin Financial

ins Instrument

ist Institution

loc Location

man Manner

n No

na Not Applicable

nat Natural

pat Patient

phn Phenomenon

ppt Property

pth Path

pvt Pivot

qua Quantity

res Result

src Source

sta State

sti Stimulus

thm Theme

tim Time

tpc Topic

y Yes

General Principles

This annotation guide is part of a research project on the semantics of deverbal nouns in French¹. The objective is to contribute to a better understanding of how the meaning of nouns derived from verbs is structured. It focuses on the semantic classification of deverbal nouns, in relation to morphological structure, base verb properties, and the (non-)preservation of verbal properties in the derivational process. The many-to-many relations between form and meaning and the polysemy of deverbal nouns are thus investigated.

The project is based on the detailed analysis of a large sample of deverbal nouns taken from an extensive corpus of contemporary French². By combining qualitative and quantitative approaches, the project aims to reveal the main tendencies in the morphosemantic construction of deverbal nouns.

1.1 Annotated properties

Three groups of semantic properties are annotated:

- 1. the semantic type of deverbal nouns;
- 2. the lexical aspect of base verbs and deverbal nouns;
- 3. the semantic roles assigned by base verbs and deverbal nouns.

1.2 Semantic identification

The semantic analysis proposed here is based on the assumption that word-formation processes apply to lexemes, understood as semantically specified items. An ambiguous noun or verb corresponds to different lexemes, whether the ambiguity is due to polysemy or homonymy. A noun or a verb is considered ambiguous if any of its analyzed semantic properties has two or more values.

¹Swiss National Science Foundation project n° 100012 188782.

²FRCOW16A (Schäfer 2015; Schäfer and Bildhauer 2012).

The semantic annotation applies to the lexical properties of nouns and verbs. Contextually coerced interpretations are not considered in the annotation. Lexical ambiguity is signalled in the dataset by adding numeral subscripts to the lemmas and by splitting the entries in case of nominal ambiguity (see Section 1.5).

1.3 Verb-noun pairing

The annotation is centered on nouns insofar as they are morphologically related to a verb. Entries in the resulting dataset are verb-noun pairs. The pairing of verbs and nouns is based on the principle of closest semantic proximity, i.e. in case a verb or a noun is ambiguous, the verbal and nominal lexemes that share the more aspectual and role-assigning properties are paired together.

1.4 Verb alternations

Verbs that allow for systematic syntactic alternations are encoded as unique lexical entries. Their role-assigning properties are encoded according to the patterns described in Table 1.1.

Α×	B (encoded form) ✓
X charge Y de Z	X (agt) charge Z (thm) dans Y (des)
$X\ et\ Y\ disctutent$	X (agt) discute avec Y (agt)
X mélange des Y	X (agt) $m\'{e}lange$ Y (pat) et Z (pat)
X pullule de Y	Y (thm) pullulent dans X (loc)
X déborde de Y	Y (thm) $débordent de X$ (src)
$X \ repasse \ Y \ avec \ Z$	X (agt) repasse Z (thm) sur Y (pth)
X saute au-dessus de Y	X (thm) saute Y (pth)

Table 1.1: Verb alternations

Se-V forms are identified as possible lexical entries in case they are:

- intrinsic verb forms (e.g. se méfier vs *méfier);
- autonomous verb forms (e.g. Y s'aperçoit de Z vs *X aperçoit Y de Z);
- anticausative verb forms (e.g. Y s'affaiblit vs X affaiblit Y).

1.5 Annotation Steps

The annotation task is performed following three steps:

- 1. annotation of the semantic type of the derived noun;
- 2. annotation of the aspectual and role-assigning properties of the corresponding base verb;
- 3. annotation of the aspectual and role-assigning properties of the derived noun.

A new entry is created in the dataset if:

- the derived noun is ambiguous with respect to ontological or relational semantic type (Step 1);
- the derived noun is ambiguous with respect to any aspectual or role-assigning property (Step 3).

NB: Only the verb senses that are related to the identified noun senses are annotated.

Verbs are referenced according to the following criteria:

- transitive verbs are referenced before intransitive verbs;
- numeral subscripts are added if there are two or more verb senses or if the same verb sense appears in the dataset two or more times.

Nouns are referenced according to the following criteria:

- numeral subscripts are added if there are two or more noun senses;
- noun senses derived from transitive verbs are referenced before nouns derived from intransitive verbs;
- transpositional senses are referenced before other relational types.

1.6 External resources

Lexical ambiguity can be identified by consulting the following resources:

- lexicographic resources: Wiktionnaire (Wikimedia Foundation n.d.), Petit Robert en ligne (Editions Le Robert n.d.), Trésor de la langue française informatisé (ATILF, CNRS, and Lorraine n.d.);
- corpus occurrences: frWaC (Baroni et al. 2009), FRCOW16A (Schäfer 2015; Schäfer and Bildhauer 2012), frTenTen17 (Jakubíček et al. 2013; Suchomel, Pomikálek, et al. 2012).

Linguistic tests can be evaluated through individual intuition and by browsing the Internet for attested occurrences.

1.7 References

The annotation of verb-noun pairs is based on a series of definitions and linguistic tests detailed in the present guide. Many of these definitions and tests are taken from or adapted from existing works. The main references used to develop the annotation criteria are the following:

- nominal classification: Haas, Barque, et al. (in preparation), Gross and Kiefer (1995), Godard and Jayez (1996), Flaux and Van de Velde (2000), Kleiber et al. (2012), Huyghe (2015);
- aspectual properties: Vendler (1967), Dowty (1979), Verkuyl (1993), Hay, Kennedy, and Levin (1999), Piñón (1999), Meinschaefer (2004), Rothstein (2004), Haas, Huyghe, and Marín (2008), Haas (2009), Heyd and Knittel (2009), Huyghe and Jugnet (2010), Balvet et al. (2011), Huyghe (2011), Haas and Jugnet (2013), Huyghe (2014), Dugas, Haas, and Marín (2019);
- semantic roles: Unified Verb Index (University of Colorado Boulder n.d.), Framenet (Baker, Fillmore, and Lowe 1998), VerbNet (Kipper-Schuler 2005), PropBank (Palmer, Gildea, and Kingsbury 2005), LIRICS (Petukhova and Bunt 2008), SensoComune (Vetere et al. 2011), VerbeNet (Danlos, Nakamura, and Pradet 2014; Pradet, Danlos, and Chalendar 2014).

Verb Annotation Instructions

2.1 Number of Senses

Criterion Number of meanings of the verb that are related to deverbal nouns

Label /nb sens v/

Options any integer

Example boursicoter $\rightarrow \boxed{1}$

2.2 Transitivity

Criterion Transitivity of the base verb (i.e. subcategorization of direct objects)

 ${\bf Label}\ /v_{trans}/$

Options

- $\boxed{\mathbf{y}}$ = The base verb allows for direct objects
- [n] = The base verb does not allow for direct objects

Remarks

- In case of y , direct objects may be implicit (e.g. *Pierre mange*).
- In case of $\boxed{\mathbf{n}}$, verbs may subcategorize oblique arguments, but not direct object arguments.

Examples

- scruter → \boxed{y} , lire → \boxed{y} , concrétiser → \boxed{y}
- boursicoter $\rightarrow \boxed{n}$, se concrétiser $\rightarrow \boxed{n}$, renoncer $\rightarrow \boxed{n}$, profiter $\rightarrow \boxed{n}$

2.3 Dynamicity

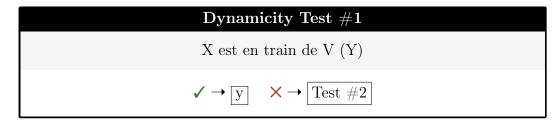
Criterion Dynamicity of the base verb

Label /v dyn/

Options

- -y = The base verb denotes dynamic eventualities
- [n] = The base verb denotes stative eventualities

Tests



Remarks

- Tests #1 and #2 must be applied in order.
- In Test #1, X est en train de V (Y) must not have an inchoative interpretation.

Examples #1

- (1) a. Camille est en train de manger une fondue. ✓
 - b. Le renard est en train de chasser une proie. ✓
 - c. La neige est en train de fondre. ✓
- (2) a. ?Sacha est en train de posséder trois voitures. X
 - b. ?Marion est en train d'adorer cette situation. X
 - c. ?Valéry est en train de connaître cette plante. X
 - d. ?Le néon est en train d'éclairer le couloir. X
 - e. #L'armée est en train de capituler. X inchoative interpretation
 - f. #Pierre est en train de percer le ballon. X inchoative interpretation

Examples #2

- (3) a. Qu'a fait l'armée hier? L'armée a capitulé. ✓
 b. Que s'est-il passé hier? Pierre a percé le ballon. ✓
- (4) a. Qu'a fait Sacha hier? #Elle a possédé trois voitures. ×
 - b. − Qu'a fait Marion hier? − #Elle a adoré cette situation. ×
 - c. Que s'est-il passé hier? #Valéry a connu cette plante. \times
 - d. Que s'est-il passé hier? #Le néon a éclairé le couloir. X

2.4 Durativity

Criterion Durativity of the base verb

Label /v_dur/

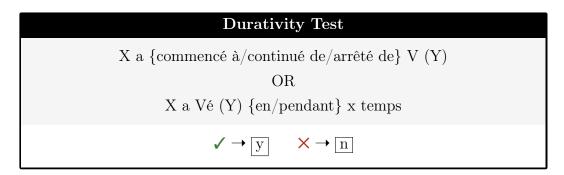
Options

- \boxed{y} = The base verb denotes durative eventualities
- [n] = The base verb denotes non-durative eventualities

Interdependence

- Stative verbs are durative (\boxed{n} to Dynamicity $\boldsymbol{\rightarrow} \lceil \overrightarrow{y} \rceil$ to Durativity).
- Verbs of variable telicity are durative ($\boxed{\mathbf{v}}$ to Telicity $\rightarrow \boxed{\mathbf{y}}$ to Durativity).

Tests



Remarks

- X and Y must denote entities in delimited quantity (e.g. L'enfant a mangé une pomme vs. L'enfant a mangé des pommes and Des enfants ont mangé une pomme).
- -x temps is a duration expression in which x is a numeral determiner and temps is a temporal unit (e.g. seconde, minute, heure, jour, mois).
- The tests must not target the preparatory phase of the process denoted by V.
- The tests must not target the post-phase of the process denoted by V.

- The tests must not trigger an iterative interpretation.
- By default, inherently frequentative verbs, i.e. verbs which denote repetitive actions, are not interpreted as iterative (e.g. *sautiller*, *clignoter*, etc.).

Examples

- (5) a. J'ai commencé à cuisiner ce plat. ✓
 - b. Camille a continué de fredonner. 🗸
 - c. Elle a arrêté de regarder le film. 🗸
 - d. Pierre a modernisé son entreprise en trois ans. 🗸
 - e. Tu as marché pendant deux heures. 🗸
- (6) a. *Il a {commencé à/continué d'/arrêté d'} apercevoir un avion. ×
 - b. *Jeanne a {commencé à/continué de/arrêté de} naître. X
 - c. #J'ai {commencé à/continué de/arrêté de} notifier ce problème. \times iterative interpretation
 - d. #Elle a atteint le sommet en deux jours. X preparatory phase
 - e. #Je lui ai notifié ce problème pendant deux ans. × iterative interpretation
 - f. #Il a exclu Sacha pendant quinze minutes. X post-phase

2.5 Telicity

Criterion Telicity

Label /v tel/

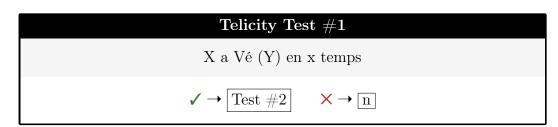
Options

- $\boxed{\mathbf{y}}$ = The base verb denotes telic eventualities
- [n] = The base verb denotes atelic eventualities
- |v| = The base verb denotes eventualities of variable telicity

Interdependence

- Stative verbs are atelic (\boxed{n} to Dynamicity $\rightarrow \boxed{n}$ to Telicity).
- Non-durative verbs are telic ($\boxed{\mathbf{n}}$ to Durativity $\rightarrow \boxed{\mathbf{y}}$ to Telicity).

Tests



Remarks

- Tests #1 and #2 must be applied in order.
- X and Y must denote delimited entities (e.g. L'enfant mange une pomme vs. L'enfant mange des pommes and Des enfants mangent une pomme).
- -x temps is a duration expression where x is a numeral determiner and temps is a temporal unit (e.g. seconde, minute, heure, jour, mois).
- The *en* complement must relate to a dynamic process, not to a preparatory phase.
- The *beaucoup* and *considérablement* complements must have an intensive interpretation, not an extensive interpretation.
- Verbs of variable telicity often derive from gradable adjectives (e.g. ralentir > lent, refroidir > froid).

Examples #1

- (7) a. La coopérative a augmenté le prix du lait en deux semaines. 🗸
 - b. Le blé a séché en trois jours. ✓
 - c. L'économie a ralenti en six mois. ✓
 - d. Elle a complété le questionnaire en quarante minutes. 🗸
 - e. Sacha a mangé son repas en vingt minutes. 🗸
 - f. J'ai réparé ma voiture en trois semaines. 🗸
- (8) a. ?Le bourreau a martyrisé sa victime en deux mois. X
 - b. ?Sacha a aperçu son voisin en quatre minutes. X
 - c. #Chloé a démissionné en deux heures. X preparatory phase

Examples #2

- (9) a. La coopérative a considérablement augmenté le prix du lait. 🗸
 - b. Le blé a beaucoup séché. ✓
 - c. L'économie a considérablement ralenti. 🗸
- (10) a. ?Elle a beaucoup complété le questionnaire. X
 - b. #Sacha a beaucoup mangé. × extensive interpretation (quantitative)
 - c. #J'ai beaucoup réparé ma voiture. X extensive interpretation (iterative)

2.6 Post-phase

Criterion Post-phase

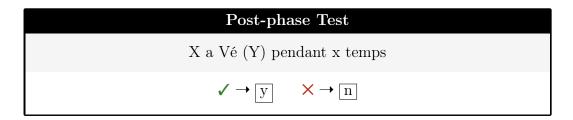
Label /v_post_phase/

Options

- $\boxed{\mathbf{y}}$ = The base verb denotes eventualities that include a post-phase
- $\boxed{\mathbf{n}}$ = The base verb denotes eventualities that do not include a post-phase

Interdependence Post-phase applies to telic eventualities (\boxed{n} to Telicity \rightarrow \boxed{n} to Post-phase).

Test



Remarks

- X and Y must denote delimited entities (e.g. L'enfant mange une pomme vs. L'enfant mange des pommes and Des enfants mangent une pomme).
- The *pendant* complement must relate to a post-phase, not (only) to a dynamic process.

Examples

- (11) a. Le roi a emprisonné Jeanne pendant deux ans. 🗸
 - b. Le chat a disparu pendant deux semaines. ✓
 - c. L'arbitre a exclu le joueur pendant dix minutes. ✓
- (12) a. #Sacha a réparé le vélo pendant une heure. X
 - b. #Mon voisin a rénové son chalet pendant trois mois. X
 - c. #Elle a maintenu sa tête sous l'eau pendant trente secondes. X

2.7 Semantic Roles

Criteria Semantic role assigned by the verb to its subject, object or oblique argument

Labels /v rol subj/, /v rol obj/, /v rol obq/

Options any role from the list below, na if there is no argument

List

- Agent (agt)
- Beneficiary (ben)
- Cause (cau)
- Destination (des)
- Experiencer (exp)
- Extent (ext)
- Instrument (ins)
- Location (loc)
- Manner (man)
- Path (pth)
- Patient (pat)
- Pivot (pvt)
- Result (res)
- Source (src)
- Stimulus (sti)
- Theme (thm)
- Topic (tpc)

Precautions Annotators should be aware of the following:

- Semantic roles are annotated for arguments that are both semantic and syntactic. For example, avec un couteau in (13a) is not annotated because it is a semantic but not a syntactic argument of trancher (13b); à sa mère in (14a) is not annotated because it is a syntactic but not a semantic argument of acheter (14b).
- (13) a. Il a tranché le pain avec un couteau bien aiguisé.
 - b. Il a tranché le pain, et il l'a fait avec un couteau bien aiguisé.
- (14) a. Elle a acheté un bouquet à sa mère.
 - b. ?Elle a acheté un bouquet, et elle l'a fait à sa mère.
 - When identifying the role of a given argument, a broad range of scenarios must be considered (e.g. 15a-15b), i.e. not only the usual situations that involve animate entities (15c).
- (15) a. La canicule a tué Camille.
 - b. Le rocher a tué Camille en tombant.
 - c. Mon voisin a tué Camille.
 - Semantic role assignment is described for lexical entries, i.e. it should encompass all possible variants for each argument type (e.g. tuer is considered to assign the role of Cause by default, although some subjects are Agents).

2.7.1 Cause

Cause (cau)

Entity that initiates an eventuality (not necessarily intentionally), or is the reason why an eventuality occurs

- **Remarks** A Cause role is lexically assigned by causative verbs that do not imply intentionality (whether intentionality is not involved in the eventuality or is only accidentally observed).
- **Hierarchy** Cause subsumes Agent and Stimulus. Agents are Causes that are necessarily intentional. Stimuli are Causes that initiate a psychological, perceptive or physiological state.

Concurrent roles Unlike Causes:

- Experiencers are in or enter a psychological, perceptive or physiological state, but do not cause anything;
- Pivots are attributed a property, but do not cause anything.

Prototypical examples

- (16) a. La tempête a détruit le chalet.
 - b. Sacha a détruit (par mégarde) le bricolage de sa soeur.
- (17) a. La crise a déclenché un mouvement de réformes.
 - b. Le pilote a (involontairement) déclenché l'alarme.
- (18) a. La canicule a tué de nombreuses personnes.
 - b. Valéry a tué Camille (par accident).

Marginal examples

- (19) a. Le satellite a détecté une rafale de rayons gamma.
 - b. Mon chat ronfle.
 - c. Le bébé bave.

2.7.2 Agent

Agent (agt)

Entity that brings about an event intentionally

Remarks Agents are prototypically animate entities. They also include machines, robots, vehicles, etc. in case the event is fundamentally described by the verbal predicate as intentionally performed by an autonomous entity.

Hierarchy Agent falls under Cause. An Agent is a Cause that is necessarily intentional.

Concurrent roles Unlike Agents:

- Stimuli cause states, not necessarily intentionally;
- Experiencers are in or enter a psychological, perceptive or physiological state, and do not perform actions;
- Pivots are attributed a property, and do not perform actions.
- Themes are not necessarily intentional

Prototypical examples

- (20) a. Camille a assassiné son frère.
 - b. Le chat a chassé une souris.
 - c. La classe a corrigé le devoir avec application.

Marginal examples

- (21) a. L'androïde a attaqué le commissariat.
 - b. Romain se rend à Paris.
 - c. Le vendeur a amadoué son client.

2.7.3 Stimulus

Stimulus (sti)

Entity that causes a psychological, perceptive or physiological state

Remarks Stimuli affect Experiencers.

Hierarchy Stimulus falls under Cause. A Stimulus is a Cause that initiates a psychological, perceptive or physiological state.

Concurrent roles Unlike Stimuli:

Agents are necessarily intentional Causes, and necessarily perform actions.

Prototypical examples

- (22) a. La crise a traumatisé Pierre.
 - b. Ce tableau plaît beaucoup à Sacha.
 - c. Le film amuse les enfants.
- (23) a. Pierre a senti une odeur de croissant.
 - b. Sacha a entendu des hurlements inquiétants.
 - c. J'ai vu un cerf ce matin.

Marginal examples

- (24) a. {Cette option/Pierre} a séduit Jeanne.
 - b. {La situation/Pierre} agace Jeanne.
- (25) a. Mon pull en laine me gratte.
 - b. La fumée lui picote les yeux.

2.7.4 Pivot

Pivot (pvt)

Entity that is attributed a property, or is in a non-stimulated condition

Remarks A Pivot is prototypically the subject of an individual-level predicate that denotes an inherent property. A Pivot can nevertheless be in an episodic state, provided it is not a psychological, perceptive, physiological or locative state.

Concurrent roles Unlike Pivots:

- Causes bring about eventualities;
- Experiencers are in a transitional psychological, perceptive or physiological state;
- Themes are located entities;
- Topics are involved in cognitive activities.

Prototypical examples

- (26) a. *Marie* possède trois vélos.
 - b. Le glacier s'étend sur 56 km2.
 - c. Le noir va bien avec le rouge.

Marginal examples

- (27) a. Le poster présente les gestes de premiers secours.
 - b. Le texte décrit une bataille qui a eu lieu il y a 100 ans.
 - c. Les règles interdisent de fumer.
 - d. La mer rutile à la lumière du soleil levant.

2.7.5 Experiencer

Experiencer (exp)

Entity that is in or enters a particular state in relation to a psychological, perceptive or physiological stimulation

Remarks Experiencers are prototypically animate entities. They can be affected by Stimuli. They do not cause anything.

Concurrent roles Unlike Experiencers:

- Causes and Agents necessarily bring about an eventuality;
- Pivots are in a non-psychological, non-perceptive and non-physiological state;
- Themes are in a locative state.

Prototypical examples

- (28) a. La crise a traumatisé *Pierre*.
 - b. Ce tableau plaît beaucoup à Sacha.
 - c. Le film amuse les enfants.
 - d. Paul s'énerve.
- (29) a. Mon voisin a senti une odeur de croissant.
 - b. Sacha a entendu des hurlements inquiétants.
 - c. Camille a aperçu un cerf ce matin.
 - d. *Marie* frissonne.

Marginal examples

- (30) a. Mon pull en laine me gratte.
 - b. Les épines de la rose picotent *Pierre*.
- (31) Jeanne pense à son futur dîner.

2.7.6 Patient

Patient (pat)

Entity that undergoes a (potential) change of structure

Remarks Patients can be affected by an event triggered by a Cause or an Agent, but the cause for structural change is not necessarily expressed.

Concurrent roles Unlike Patients:

- Results are entirely created through a process;
- Themes, Beneficiaries and Topics do not undergo a change of structure.

Prototypical examples

- (32) a. La tempête a détruit le chalet.
 - b. Sacha a assassiné son frère.
 - c. La classe a corrigé le devoir.
 - d. Valéry désosse une cuisse de poulet.
- (33) a. Mireille se meurt.
 - b. La bombe a explosé.
 - c. Le pays s'est beaucoup transformé.
 - d. Le vernis a durci.

Marginal examples

- (34) a. Le tonneau fuit.
 - b. La voiture percute le mur.
 - c. Camille gaspille sa nourriture.
 - d. Sacha consomme de l'électricité.

2.7.7 Result

Result (res)

Entity that is created through an event

Remark Results are created by Causes or Agents.

Concurrent roles Unlike Results:

 Patients, Beneficiaries, Themes, and Topics are entities that preexist to the eventuality.

Prototypical examples

- (35) a. Pierre a fabriqué une bibliothèque.
 - b. Marion a creusé un trou.
 - c. Sacha a peint un tableau.
 - d. L'écrivain a inventé une langue très complexe.
 - e. Mes parents ont cuisiné un gâteau.

Marginal examples

- (36) a. Les négociations ont abouti à un accord.
 - b. Ces mesures ont permis une baisse des émissions de CO2.

2.7.8 Beneficiary

Beneficiary (ben)

Entity that is advantaged or disadvantaged by an event or a state

Remarks Beneficiaries correspond prototypically to dative arguments.

Concurrent roles Unlike Beneficiaries:

- Patients undergo a change of structure;
- Results are created through a process;
- Themes are involved in a locative relation;
- Topics are not (dis)advantaged by an eventuality.

Prototypical examples

- (37) a. Marcel a offert des livres à son ami.
 - b. Paul a pardonné à son voisin.
 - c. Pierre a promis à sa soeur de ne plus se droguer.
 - d. Les règles nous interdisent de fumer.

Marginal examples

- (38) a. L'économie a profité de conditions propices.
 - b. Arnaud caresse un petit chat roux.
 - c. La météo a pénalisé la production viticole.
 - d. J'ai arnaqué mon voisin.
 - e. La promulgation de la loi a aidé notre cause.
 - f. Son coup de sang a coûté trois matches de suspension au joueur.

2.7.9 Theme

Theme (thm)

Entity that is in a certain location or changes location

Remarks Themes can be statically related to a Location, or change location through a process initiated by an Agent or a Cause. They can also be (non-intentional) self-moving items.

Concurrent roles Unlike Themes:

- Agents are necessarily intentional;
- Patients, Results, and Beneficiaries are not located, and do not undergo a change of location.

Prototypical examples

- (39) a. Sacha pousse le chariot.
 - b. Valéry est tombé de son lit.
 - c. La caisse glisse sur la glace.
- (40) a. Le livre se trouve sur la table.
 - b. Les vélos sont dans le garage.
 - c. La casserole contient de l'eau bouillante.

Marginal examples

- (41) a. Mes voisins investissent beaucoup d'argent dans ce projet.
 - b. Valéry possède douze chats.
 - c. Sacha porte une veste en tweed.
 - d. Camille coordonne les deux équipes.
 - e. Elle a trouvé une source d'eau chaude.
 - f. Les insectes grouillent dans la forêt.

2.7.10 Topic

Topic (tpc)

Entity that is a subject of thought, discussion or cognitive activity

Remarks Topics are involved in cognitive eventualities but do not instigate or cause those eventualities, and are not affected by them.

Concurrent roles Unlike Topics:

- Patients are affected entities;
- Results are created through an event;
- Themes are involved in a locative relation;
- Pivots are characterized with respect to their properties.

Prototypical examples

- (42) a. Mes collègues parlent d'astronomie.
 - b. Ils étudient *l'histoire*.
 - c. Les enfants pensent aux prochaines vacances.

Marginal examples

- (43) a. Mon voisin aboie une insulte.
 - b. Marc photographie un raton-laveur.
 - c. Jeanne enregistre Pierre.
 - d. Pablo scanne un document.

2.7.11 Instrument

Instrument (ins)

Entity that is manipulated in order to perform an action

Remark The Instrument role is rarely assigned to syntactic arguments of verbal predicates.

Concurrent roles Unlike Instruments:

- Agents are intentional and not manipulated by another entity;
- Patients undergo a change of state.

Examples

- (44) a. Elle se sert d'un couteau pour couper le pain.
 - b. Il utilise un savon doux pour se laver.
 - c. Je manie un sabre laser.
 - d. Tu as manipulé le vase avec délicatesse.

2.7.12 Manner

Manner (man)

The way an action is performed, or the intensity of a state

Remarks Some verbs assign a Manner role to oblique arguments.

Examples

- (45) a. Camille et Sacha se comportent bien.
 - b. Son chien se conduit bizarrement.
 - c. Mon voisin se sent mal.
 - d. Tu te tiens *droit*.
 - e. Je traite mon chat de manière exemplaire.

2.7.13 Location

Location (loc)

Entity that serves as a landmark to locate another entity

Remarks Locations are spatial or temporal points of reference that can be used to localize Themes. Metaphorical abstract Locations can be identified for verbs that allow for spatial or temporal landmarks.

Concurrent roles Unlike Locations:

- Paths are involved in dynamic localization and indicate trajectories;
- Sources are involved in dynamic localization and indicate a starting point in a change of location;
- Destinations are involved in dynamic localization and indicate an endpoint in a change of location.

Prototypical Examples

- (46) a. Le livre se trouve dans la bibliothèque.
 - b. Les insectes grouillent dans la forêt.
 - c. La réunion tombe un mardi.

Marginal Examples

- (47) a. Sacha est dans une mauvaise passe.
 - b. Ce travail se situe dans une perspective interactionniste.
 - c. L'association se trouve dans une situation difficile.

2.7.14 Path

Path (pth)

Trajectory followed during a change of location

Remarks Paths are spatial or temporal entities that can be used to localize movements or changes of location. Metaphorical abstract Paths can be identified for verbs that allow for spatial or temporal trajectories. Fictive motions can involve a Path argument.

Concurrent roles Unlike Paths:

- Locations are surrounding landmarks that are not used to characterize trajectories;
- Sources do not indicate a trajectory but a starting point in a change of location;
- Destinations do not indicate a trajectory but an endpoint in a change of location.

Prototypical Examples

- (48) a. Valéry traverse le lac en kayak.
 - b. Nous avons passé la frontière.
 - c. Sacha emprunte souvent ce chemin de terre battue.

Marginal Examples

- (49) a. Camille traverse une période difficile.
 - b. Ils ont dépassé le quart d'heure de retard.
 - c. La route longe le canal.

2.7.15 Source

Source (src)

Starting point in a change of location

Remarks Sources are temporal or spatial points of reference used to localize the start of a movement. Metaphorical abstract Sources can be identified for verbs that allow for spatial or temporal starting points. Fictive motions can involve a Source argument.

Concurrent roles Unlike Sources:

 Locations are surrounding landmarks and do not indicate reference points in a change of location;

- Paths indicate a trajectory and do not focus on a starting point;
- Destinations indicate an endpoint rather than a starting point.

Prototypical Examples

- (50) a. L'eau a jailli du sol.
 - b. Elle est partie de Fribourg.
 - c. Le colloque a commencé à 9h00.

Marginal Examples

- (51) a. Notre équipe est partie de rien.
 - b. Le sentier démarre de Brest.
 - c. Ce régime s'éloigne des valeurs démocratiques.

2.7.16 Destination

Destination (des)

Endpoint in a change of location

Remarks Destinations are temporal or spatial points of reference used to localize the end of a movement. Metaphorical abstract Destinations can be identified for verbs that allow for spatial or temporal endpoints. Fictive motions can involve a Destination argument.

Concurrent roles Unlike Destinations:

- Locations are surrounding landmarks and do not indicate reference points in a change of location;
- Paths indicate a trajectory and do not focus on an endpoint;
- Sources indicate a starting point rather than an endpoint.

Prototypical Examples

- (52) a. Valéry a amené son chat chez le vétérinaire.
 - b. Sacha a conduit ses parents à la gare.
 - c. Le colloque s'est terminé à 17h30.

Marginal Examples

- (53) a. Sacha a conduit le projet à son terme.
 - b. Ce chemin va à la ville.
 - c. La fenêtre donne sur la cour.

2.7.17 Extent

Extent (ext)

Extensive value related to an event, or measurable magnitude of a change of state or location

Remark Extents are measures of space, time, size, weight, temperature, money, etc.

Examples

- (54) a. La route fait 4 kilomètres de long.
 - b. L'appareil a tourné de 90 degrés.
 - c. Leur concert a duré trois heures.
 - d. Ce pain pèse une livre.
 - e. Le livre de Valéry coûte 20 francs.

Noun Annotation Instructions

3.1 Number of Senses

```
Criterion Number of senses of N
```

Label /nb_sens_n/

Options | any integer

Example $crachoir \rightarrow \boxed{1}$

3.2 Ontological Type

Criterion Ontological type of N

Label /n onto/

 $\mathbf{Options} \ \boxed{\mathsf{any}} \ \mathsf{type} \ \mathsf{from} \ \mathsf{the} \ \mathsf{list} \ \mathsf{below} \ \mathsf{,} \ \boxed{\mathsf{type-coll}} \ \mathsf{if} \ \mathsf{N} \ \mathsf{is} \ \mathsf{collective}$

List

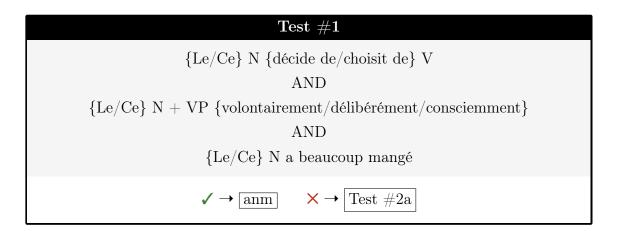
- Animate (anm)
- Artifact (art)
- Cognitive (cog)
- Disease (dis)
- Domain (dom)
- Event (evt)
- Financial (fin)
- Institution (ist)
- Natural (nat)
- Phenomenon (phn)
- Property (ppt)
- Quantity (qua)
- State (sta)

- Time (tim)
- Artifact*Cognitive (art*cog)
- Artifact*Institution (art*ist)
- Cognitive*Event (cog*evt)
- Event*Financial (evt*fin)
- Event*Natural (evt*nat)
- Event*Phenomenon (evt*phn)
- Event*State (evt*sta)

Tests

- Linguistic tests for ontological types are listed below.
- Tests should be applied in the indicated order to provide accurate classification.
- Tests should be applied successively to the same meaning of a noun (esp. when the noun is polysemous).
- Complex types are identified through copredication, which should be possible between exclusive predicates of each type (e.g. Le ministre des Finances a fait une déclaration selon laquelle le Brésil n'avait pas besoin de réforme fiscale). The possibility of having contextual underspecified interpretations (as opposed to ambiguous interpretations) between the multiple senses is also considered an indication of type complexity.
- If annotators cannot come to a decision about a given noun, they must select the most likely option from the list above.

3.2.1 Animate



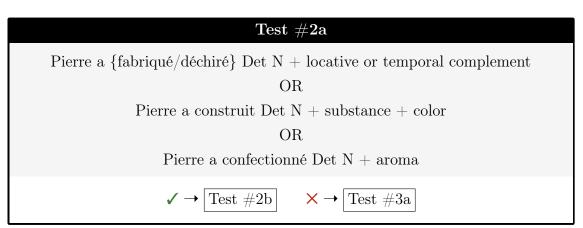
Prototypical denotation Animate entities, such as humans and animals

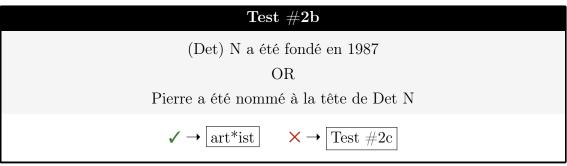
Examples #1

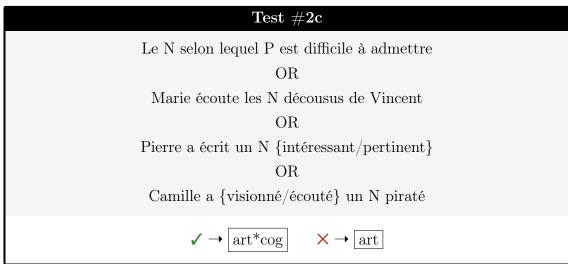
(55) a. Le compositeur {décide/choisit} de cuisiner un rôti. ✓

- b. Le compositeur a délibérément cuisiné un rôti. 🗸
- c. Le compositeur a beaucoup mangé. 🗸
- (56) a. Le ruminant {décide/choisit} de sauter dans l'eau. ✓
 - b. Le ruminant a volontairement sauté dans l'eau.
 - c. Le ruminant a beaucoup mangé. 🗸
- (57) a. La classe a {décide/choisit} de partir pour Rome. ✓
 - b. La classe a consciemment saboté l'expérience. ✓
 - c. La classe a beaucoup mangé. ✓

3.2.2 Artifact







- **Prototypical denotation** Concrete entities made by humans, such as objects, buildings, and meals
- Possible locative complements sur la table, à côté du sac, dans le jardin, à Paris, entre la table et le mur, en Europe, etc.
- Possible temporal complements ce matin, hier soir, lundi, à 14h00, etc.
- Possible substances en bois, en or, en béton, en verre, en pierre, en plastique, en argent, en inox, etc.
- Possible colors violet, orange, rouge, marron, vert, bleu, doré, argenté, multicolore, noir, blanc, etc.
- Possible aromas au chocolat, à la rose, à la fraise, à la muscade, à la moutarde, au paprika, au caramel, au cumin, etc.

Examples #2a

- (58) a. Pierre a fabriqué une génératrice dans l'usine. 🗸
 - b. Pierre a déchiré l'ordonnance ce matin. ✓
 - c. Pierre a construit une patinoire verte en bois. ✓
 - d. Pierre a confectionné une torsade au chocolat. 🗸

Examples #2b

- (59) a. Le restaurant a été fondé en 1987. 🗸
 - b. Pierre a été nommé à la tête de la fondation. 🗸

Examples #2c

- (60) a. Le jugement selon lequel j'ai tort est difficile à admettre. ✓
 - b. Marie écoute les justifications décousues de Vincent. 🗸
 - c. Pierre a écrit une dissertation intéressante. ✓
 - d. Camille a visionné un documentaire piraté. 🗸

3.2.3 Natural

Test #3a $\{ \text{Le/Ce} \} \text{ N se trouve} + \text{spatial locative complement} \\ \text{AND} \\ \text{un N + dimensional complement} \\ \text{OR}$

 $\{\text{Le/Ce}\} \text{ N se trouve} + \text{spatial locative complement} \\ \text{AND} \\ \text{dimensional quantifier} + \text{de N} \\ \\ \text{OR} \\ \\ \{\text{Le/Ce}\} \text{ N se trouve} + \text{spatial locative complement} \\ \text{AND} \\ \text{Un N de quinze N2} \\ \\ \checkmark \rightarrow \boxed{\text{Test } \#3b} \qquad \times \rightarrow \boxed{\text{Test } \#4a} \\ \\ \\ \end{pmatrix}$

Test #3b $\{\text{Le/Ce}\} \text{ N \{a eu lieu/s'est produit}\} \text{ à tel \{moment/endroit}\} }$ OR $\text{Pierre a \{effectué/procédé à/accompli}\} \text{ un N + expansion}$ $\checkmark \rightarrow \boxed{\text{evt*nat}} \qquad \times \rightarrow \boxed{\text{nat}}$

Prototypical denotation Concrete entities that are not made by humans, such as natural substances, living organisms, and natural locations

Possible spatial locative complements sur la table, à côté du sac, dans le jardin, à Paris, entre la table et le mur, en Europe, près du poumon droit, etc.

Possible dimensional complements de x mètres de large, de x m2, de x m3, de x hectares, de x grammes, de x kilos, where x is a numeral determiner

Possible dimensional quantifiers $x \{m/m2/m3/hectares\}$ de N, x grammes de N, x kilos de N, x tonnes de N, where x is a numeral determiner

Examples #3a

- (61) a. La nageoire se trouve sur le dos du poisson. ✓
 - b. une nageoire de 10 mm de large \checkmark
- (62) a. Cet éboulis se trouve au-dessus du village. \checkmark
 - b. 150 m3 d'éboulis \checkmark
- (63) a. Le couvain se trouve dans la ruche. ✓
 - b. un couvain de 15 rayons ✓
- (64) a. #Cette idée est dans l'air depuis un moment.

 × metaphorical interpretation

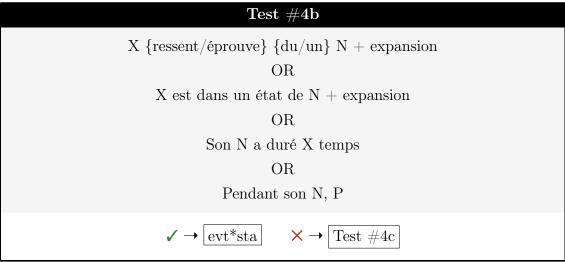
- b. ?une idée de $\{20 \text{ grammes}/4 \text{ m3}\} \times$
- (65) a. ?Cette maladie se trouve en Europe. Xb. ?une maladie de {20 grammes/4 m3} X

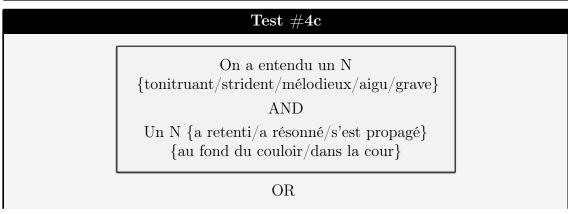
Examples #3b

- (66) a. L'éboulement a eu lieu hier matin. ✓
 - b. L'inflammation s'est produite près du poumon droit. 🗸

3.2.4 Event

Test #4a $\{\text{Le/Ce}\} \text{ N \{a eu lieu/s'est produit}\} + \text{locative or temporal complement } \\ \text{OR} \\ \text{X a {effectué/procédé à/accompli} un N + expansion}$ $\checkmark \rightarrow \boxed{\text{Test } \#4b} \qquad \times \rightarrow \boxed{\text{Test } \#5}$





On a vu un N $\{ {\rm aveuglant/\acute{e}blouissant/blafard/p\^{a}le} \}$

AND

Det N {a resplendi/s'est propagé/ a scintillé/a jailli} au fond du couloir

OR

 $On~a~senti~un~N\\ \{naus\'eabond/\^acre/enivrant/tenace/ent\^etant\}$

AND

Det N {s'est répandu/persiste/embaume} (dans) la pièce



Test #4d

Le N selon lequel P est difficile à admettre

OR

Marie écoute les N décousus de Vincent

OR

Pierre a écrit un N {intéressant/pertinent}

$$\checkmark \rightarrow \boxed{\text{cog*evt}} \qquad \times \rightarrow \boxed{\text{test #4e}}$$

$Test \ \#4e$

Il a versé Det N en euros

OR

Il a obtenu Det N modique

OR

Le N est la monnaie de tel pays

AND

Quel est le taux de change du N?

$$\checkmark \rightarrow \boxed{\text{evt*fin}} \qquad \times \rightarrow \boxed{\text{evt}}$$

Remark

– In Test #4b, a duré et pendant should entail a stative (vs. dynamic) interpretation.

Prototypical denotation Dynamic situations in which an event occurs or an action is performed

Possible locative complements sur la table, à côté du sac, dans le jardin, à Paris, entre la table et le mur, en Europe, etc.

Possible temporal complements ce matin, hier soir, lundi, à 14h00, etc.

Examples #4a

- (67) a. L'accouchement a eu lieu à l'hôpital. ✓
 - b. La transformation s'est produite ce matin. ✓
- (68) a. La mécanicienne a effectué une réparation délicate. 🗸
 - b. L'entreprise a procédé à un licenciement collectif. ✓
 - c. Sacha a accompli un exploit historique. ✓

Examples #4b

- (69) a. Je ressens un fort désenchantement. ✓
 - b. La falaise est dans un état de dégradation perpétuel. 🗸
 - c. Sa disparition a duré deux heures. ✓
 - d. Pendant son emprisonnement, Pierre a appris la couture. ✓
- (70) a. #La manifestation a duré trois heures.
 - × dynamic interpretation
 - b. #Jeanne s'est endormie pendant son massage.
 - × dynamic interpretation

Examples #4c

- (71) a. On a entendu un crissement strident. ✓
 - b. Un crissement a résonné dans la cour. 🗸
- (72) a. On a vu une illumination éblouissante. \checkmark
 - b. L'illumination s'est propagée au fond du couloir. ✓
- (73) a. On a senti un pet nauséabond. ✓
 - b. Son pet embaume la pièce. ✓

Examples #4d

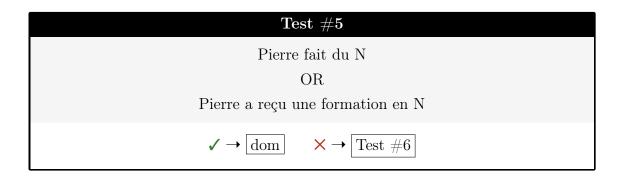
(74) a. L'affirmation selon laquelle l'embargo était légal est difficile à admettre. ✓

b. Camille écoute les accusations décousues de l'enquêteur. 🗸

Examples #4e

- (75) a. Elle a versé un financement en euros. 🗸
 - b. Il a obtenu un financhement modique. ✓

3.2.5 Domain



Remark Faire in Test #5 cannot be interpreted as 'fabriquer' or 'avoir.'

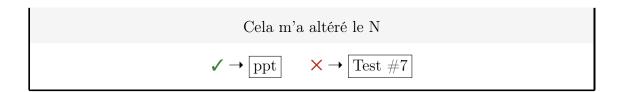
Prototypical denotation Activities and fields of expertise

Examples #5

- (76) a. Pierre fait du jardinage tous les week-ends. \checkmark
 - b. Pierre fait de la natation le mardi matin. ✓
- (77) a. Pierre a reçu une formation en traduction. ✓
 - b. Pierre a reçu une formation en peinture. ✓
- (78) a. #Pierre fait du porridge. (= Pierre fabrique du porridge.) X
 - b. #Pierre fait de l'eczéma. (= Pierre a de l'eczéma.) ×

3.2.6 Property

Test #6 Pierre est d'un grand N OR Det Obj N est d'un grand N OR Pierre a fait preuve $\{de\ N/d'un\ N\} + expansion$ OR



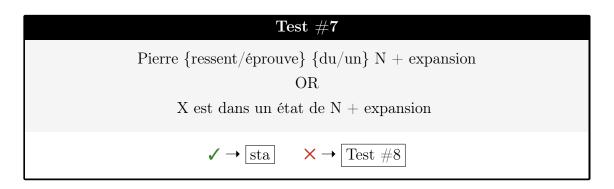
Remark Pierre est d'un grand N in Test #6 must be synonymous with Sacha a du N (79a vs 80).

Prototypical denotation Physical and psychological qualities

Examples #6

- (79) a. Pierre est d'une grande méfiance envers les charlatans. (= Il a de la méfiance envers les charlatans.) ✓
 - b. Cet exercice est d'une grande simplicité. ✓
 - c. Pierre a fait preuve de beaucoup de jugeote. ✓
 - d. Cela m'a altéré {le goût/la mémoire}. ✓
- (80) #Marie est d'une grande famille de peintres. (\neq Elle a de la famille de peintres) \times

3.2.7 State

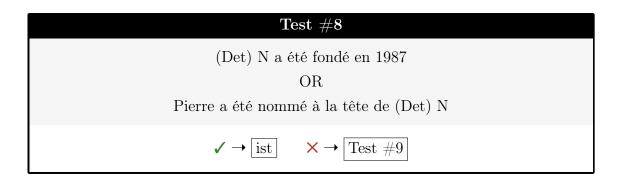


Prototypical denotation Feelings, physical and psychological states

Examples #7

- (81) a. Pierre éprouve une vive crainte à l'idée de partir. ✓
 b. Pierre ressent une fascination toute particulière pour le dessin. ✓
- (82) a. La maison est dans un état d'encombrement impressionnant. \checkmark
 - b. Le patient est dans un état de conscience minimale.

3.2.8 Institution

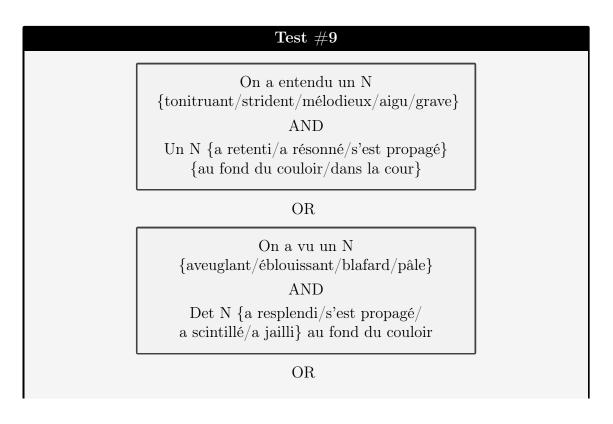


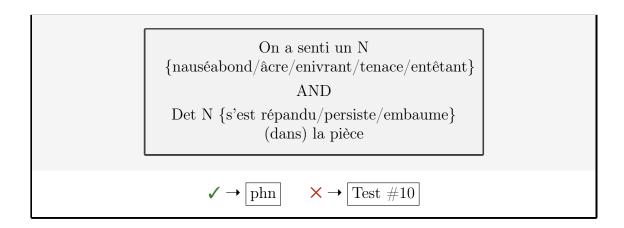
Prototypical denotation Institutes, associations, administrations, governments, clubs, societies

Examples #8

- (83) a. L'association a été fondée en 1987. ✓
 - b. Pierre a été nommé à la tête du gouvernement. \checkmark

3.2.9 Phenomenon



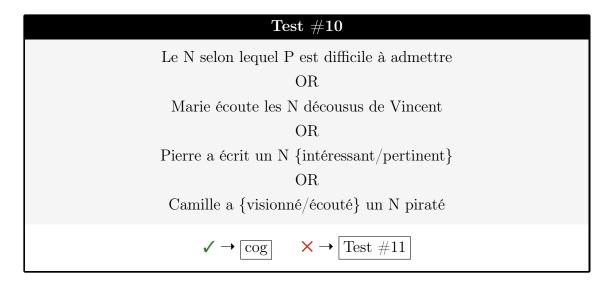


Prototypical denotation Noises and sounds, lights, smells

Examples #9

- (84) a. On a entendu un gazouillis mélodieux. ✓
 b. Un gazouillis s'est propagé dans la cour. ✓
- (85) a. On a vu une lueur blafarde. ✓b. Une lueur a scintillé au fond du couloir. ✓
- (86) a. On a senti une odeur nauséabonde. ✓b. Une odeur embaume la pièce. ✓

3.2.10 Cognitive

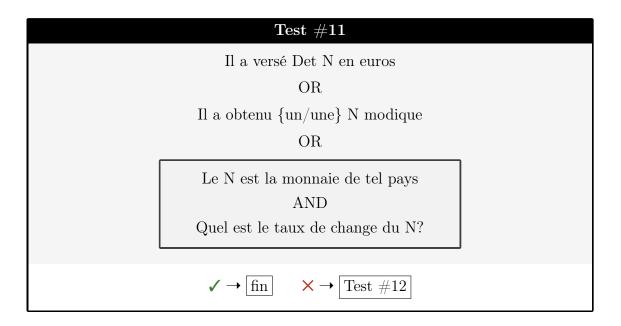


Prototypical denotation Informational contents, ideas, opinions, textual, cultural or artistic objects

Examples #10

- (87) a. Le raisonnement selon lequel ce virus a été fabriqué est difficile à admettre. \checkmark
 - b. Marie écoute les arguments décousus de Vincent. 🗸
 - c. Pierre a écrit une conclusion pertinente. ✓
 - d. Camille a écouté un podcast piraté. 🗸

3.2.11 Financial

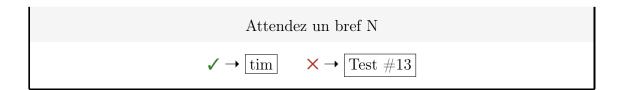


Prototypical denotation Money systems

Examples #13

- (88) Il a versé l'acompte en euros. ✓
- (89) Il a obtenu un rendement modique. ✓
- (90) a. Le franc est la monnaie de la Suisse. 🗸
 - b. Quel est le taux de change du franc? ✓

3.2.12 Time

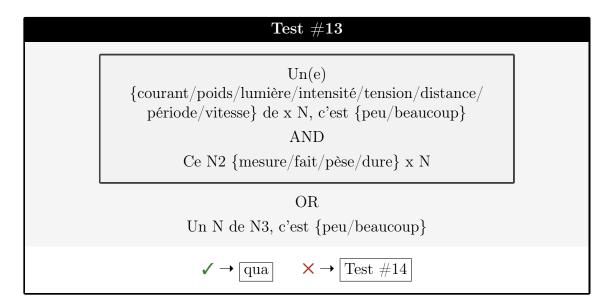


Prototypical denotation Punctual or durative moments

Examples #10

- (91) a. Ils se sont rencontrés {mardi/courant janvier/l'hiver dernier/trois jours durant/à l'aube}. ✓
 - b. Attendez un bref {instant/moment}. ✓

3.2.13 Quantity



Remarks

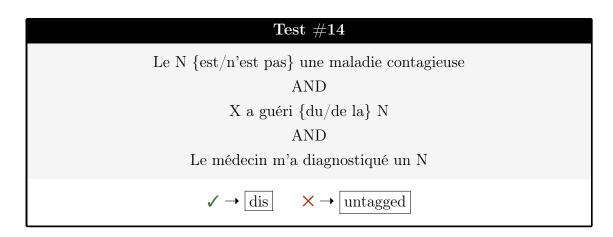
- -x is a numeral determiner (e.g. mille, un, cinquante, etc.).
- N2 is an artifact, a natural object or an animate entity, such as table, pont, léopard, personne, etc.
- N3 is a quantified element, such as farine, huile, sable, message(s), image(s), cheminée(s), projectile(s), juriste(s).

Prototypical denotation Units of measurement

Examples #13

- (92) a. Un poids de 20 kg, c'est peu. ✓
 - b. Ce léopard pèse 27 kg. \checkmark
- (93) a. Une pincée de sel, c'est peu. ✓
 - b. Un picotin d'avoine, c'est beaucoup. ✓

3.2.14 Disease



Prototypical denotation Medical conditions

Examples #12

- (94) a. La {grattelle/pelade} {est/n'est pas} une maladie contagieuse. ✓
 - b. Camille a guéri de la {grattelle/pelade}. ✓
 - c. Le médecin m'a diagnostiqué une {grattelle/pelade}. ✓
- (95) a. #La timidité n'est pas une maladie contagieuse. X
 - b. ?Valéry a guéri d'une timidité. ×
 - c. ?Le médecin m'a diagnostiqué une timidité. X

3.3 Relation

Criterion Relation of N to the base verb

Label /n relation/

Options

- any relation from the list below
- tsp if N is a semantic transposition of the base verb (i.e. preservation of the dynamicity/stativity feature between V and N); complex types that include an event type are annotated as tsp if they preserve the dynamicity feature of the base verb (Cognitive*Event, Event*Financial, Event*Natural, Event*Phenomenon or Event*State)
- <u>[relation attributed to m-anl]</u> if (i) N is one of the meanings of a polyse-mous noun, (ii) N is an analogy of another meaning m of the polysemous noun, and (iii) N does not seem to derive directly from the base verb associated with the polysemous noun

List

- Agent (agt)
- Beneficiary (ben)
- Cause (cau)
- Destination (des)
- Experiencer (exp)
- Extent (ext)
- Instrument (ins)
- Location (loc)
- Manner (man)
- Path (pth)
- Patient (pat)
- Pivot (pvt)
- Result (res)
- Source (src)
- Stimulus (sti)
- Theme (thm)
- Topic (tpc)

Examples

- patinoire $\rightarrow \boxed{\text{loc}}$
- $\ construction \ (d'une \ maison) \rightarrow \boxed{\text{tsp}}$
- lacet (d'une chaussure) → $\boxed{\text{ins}}$
- lacet (d'une route) → $\boxed{\text{ins-anl}}$

3.4 Dynamicity

Criterion Dynamicity of N

Label /n_dyn/

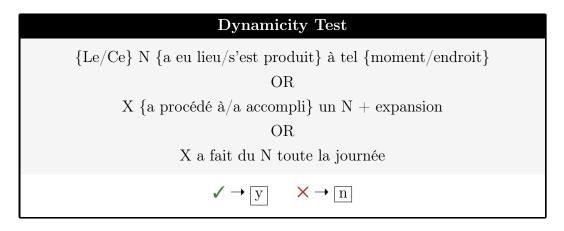
Options

- \boxed{y} = N denotes dynamic eventualities
- [n] = N denotes static eventualities
- na N has no aspectual properties

Interdependence

- The Dynamicity Test is performed on Domain, Event, Property, State, Cognitive*Event, Event*Financial, Event*Natural, Event*Phenomenon, and Event*State.
- Domain, Event, Cognitive*Event, Event*Financial, Event*Natural,
 Event*Phenomenon, and Event*State are dynamic (y to Dynamicity).
- Property and State are stative (n to Dynamicity).

Test



Remark In *X a fait du N toute la journée*, *faire* should not be interpreted as 'avoir' or 'fabriquer' (99).

Examples

- (96) a. La caramélisation s'est produite au bout de quelques minutes. ✓
 b. La perte des clefs a eu lieu à la bibliothèque. ✓
- (97) a. Sacha a effectué une longue promenade. \checkmark
 - b. Valéry a accompli un miracle. \checkmark
- (98) a. Sacha a fait du jardinage toute la journée. \checkmark
 - b. Valéry a fait du bricolage tout le weekend. \checkmark
- (99) a. #Joël a fait de la fièvre. (= Joël a eu de la fièvre) ×
 b. #Elle a fait du vin chaud. (= Elle a fabriqué du vin chaud) ×

3.5 Durativity

Criterion Durativity of N

Label /n_dur/

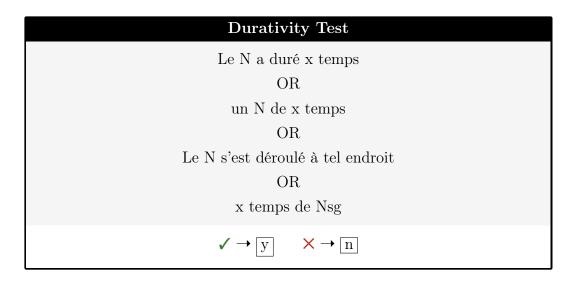
Options

- y = N denotes durative eventualities
- [n] = N denotes non-durative eventualities
- na = N has no relation to time

Interdependence

- The Durativity Test is performed on Domain, Event, State, Cognitive*Event, Event*Financial, Event*Natural, Event*Phenomenon, and Event*State. It does not apply to Property (na to Durativity).
- Domain and State are durative (y to Durativity).

Test



Remarks

- -x temps is a duration expression in which x is a numeral determiner and temps is a temporal unit (e.g. seconde, minute, heure, jour, mois).
- Durativity should relate to a dynamic process (vs. a post-phase).

Examples

- (100) a. La manifestation a duré deux heures. ✓
 - b. La caramélisation a duré dix minutes. ✓
- (101) a. un accouchement de huit heures \checkmark
 - b. une réunion de deux heures 🗸
- (102) a. La rencontre des linguistes s'est déroulée à Genève.
 - b. Le match s'est déroulé à St-Léonard. ✓
- (103) a. deux heures de jardinage \checkmark

- b. six mois d'apprentissage ✓
- (104) a. ?une liberté de plusieurs jours X
 - b. ?L'arrivée du coureur a duré deux heures. X
 - c. #La disparition de la jeune fille a duré trois jours. X post-phase

3.6 Telicity

Criterion Telicity of N

Label /n_tel/

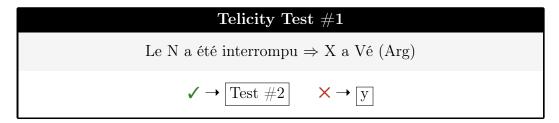
Options

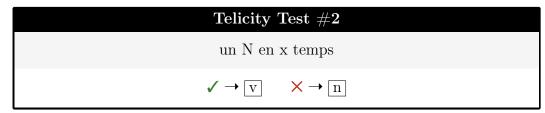
- $\left\lceil \overrightarrow{\mathbf{y}} \right\rceil = \mathbf{N}$ denotes telic eventualities
- n = N denotes atelic eventualities
- [v] = N denotes eventualities of variable telicitiy
- na = N has no relation to time

Interdependence

- The Telicity Tests are performed on Domain, Event, State, Cognitive*Event, Event*Financial, Event*Natural, Event*Phenomenon, and Event*State.
 They do not apply to Property (na to Durativity).
- Domain and State are atelic (n to Telicity).
- Dynamic non-durative eventualities are telic (y to Dynamicity and n to Durativity → y to Telicity).

Tests





Remarks

-x temps is a duration expression in which x is a numeral determiner and temps is a temporal unit (e.g. seconde, minute, heure, jour, mois).

- Possible internal arguments complementing the tested N should be delimited (e.g. construction d'une maison vs. construction de maisons).
- When performing Telicity Test #1, the partial realization of an incremental action should not be considered.
- N that denote atelic eventualities combine more easily with a *pendant* complement than with a *en* complement.
- N that denote eventualities of variable telicity can often be modified with fort (e.g. une forte caramélisation).

Examples #1

- (105) a. La manifestation a été interrompue.
 - \Rightarrow Ils ont manifesté. \checkmark
 - b. Le jardinage a été interrompu.
 - ⇒ On a jardiné. ✓
 - c. La caramélisation du sucre a été interrompue.
 - ⇒ Le sucre a caramélisé. ✓
 - d. L'augmentation du prix du lait a été interrompue.
 - ⇒ Le prix du lait a augmenté. ✓
- (106) a. L'accouchement de Marie a été interrompu.
 - ⇒ Marie a accouché. ×
 - b. L'exécution du condamné a été interrompue.
 - ⇒ Le condamné a été exécuté. ×
 - c. La réparation de la voiture a été interrompue.
 - ⇒ On a (intégralement) réparé la voiture. ×
 - d. La construction de la maison a été interrompue.
 - ⇒ On a (intégralement) construit la maison. ×

Examples #2

- (107) a. une caramélisation du sucre en 12 minutes 🗸
 - b. une augmentation du prix du gaz en deux ans ✓
- (108) a. ?une manifestation en deux heures X
 - b. ?un jardinage en deux heures \times

3.7 Post-phase

Criterion Post-phase of N

Label /n post phase/

Options

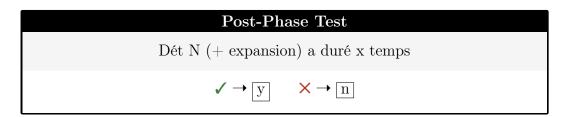
- [y] = N denotes eventualities that include a post-phase

- $\lceil \mathbf{n} \rceil = \mathbf{N}$ denotes eventualities that do not include a post-phase
- na = N cannot include a post-phase in its denotation

Interdependence

- The Post-Phase Test is performed on Domain, Event, State, Cognitive*Event, Event*Financial, Event*Natural, Event*Phenomenon, and Event*State.
 It does not apply to Property (na to Post-phase).
- Atelic nouns cannot include a post-phase (n to Telicity → n to Post-phase).

Test



Remark

- -x temps is a duration expression in which x is a numeral determiner and temps is a temporal unit (e.g. seconde, minute, heure, jour, mois).
- Durativity should not be related to a dynamic process.
- The state related to the post-phase is generally reversible (e.g. *empris-onnement*, disparition, exclusion).

Examples #1

- (109) a. Son emprisonnement a duré trois ans. 🗸
 - b. La disparition du chat a duré deux heures. 🗸
 - c. L'exclusion de l'élève a duré deux jours. ✓
- (110) a. #Son accouchement a duré quatre heures. X
 - b. #La démolition de l'immeuble a duré deux semaines. X
 - c. #La réparation de la voiture a duré deux jours. X

3.8 Semantic Roles

Criterion Semantic role of the first, second and third arguments of N

Labels

 /n_rol_arg1/ = only argument of N (e.g. éternuement de Pierre), or internal argument if N has two or three arguments (e.g. opération du patient, insertion de la pile)

- /n_rol_arg2/ = external argument if N has two arguments (e.g. opération de la chirurgienne), or oblique argument if N has three arguments (e.g. insertion dans le compartiment)
- /n_rol_arg3/ = external argument if N has three arguments (e.g. insertion par Pierre)

Options

- any role from the list below
- na if there is no argument

List

- Agent (agt)
- Beneficiary (ben)
- Cause (cau)
- Destination (des)
- Experiencer (exp)
- Extent (ext)
- Instrument (ins)
- Location (loc)
- Manner (man)
- Path (pth)
- Patient (pat)
- Pivot (pvt)
- Result (res)
- Source (src)
- Stimulus (sti)
- Theme (thm)
- Topic (tpc)

Remark Argument structures with maximal extension should be considered:

- éternuement de $X \rightarrow$ one argument
- opération de Y par $X \to \text{two arguments}$
- insertion de Y dans Z par $X \rightarrow$ three arguments

Examples

- éternuement de X: X → $\boxed{\text{cau}}$
- opération de Y par $X: Y \rightarrow \boxed{\text{pat}}, X \rightarrow \boxed{\text{agt}}$
- insertion de Y dans Z par X: Y → $\boxed{\text{thm}}$, Z → $\boxed{\text{des}}$, X → $\boxed{\text{agt}}$

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