FrameBank: a database of Russian lexical constructions*

Olga Lyashevskaya[1], Egor Kashkin[2]

National Research University Higher School of Economics[1], Moscow, Russia
V. V. Vinogradov Russian Language Institute of RAS[1,2], Moscow, Russia
olesar@yandex.ru, egorkashkin@rambler.ru

Abstract. Russian FrameBank is a bank of annotated samples from the Russian National Corpus which documents the use of lexical constructions (e.g. argument constructions of verbs and nouns). FrameBank belongs to FrameNet-oriented resources, but unlike Berkeley FrameNet it focuses more on the morphosyntactic and semantic features of individual lexemes rather than the generalized frames, following the theoretical approaches of Construction Grammar (Ch. Fillmore, A. Goldberg, etc.) and of Moscow Semantic School (Ju. D. Apresjan, E. V. Paducheva, etc.).

Keywords: Russian · construction grammar · frames · corpus linguistics · morphosyntax · semantic roles · polysemy

1 Background

FrameBank[1] is an open access database which consists of a dictionary of Russian lexical constructions and a corpus of their uses tagged with a FrameNet-like annotation scheme [1, 2, 3]. The examples are randomly taken from the Russian National Corpus [4]. At present the dictionary provides data for ca. 4000 target verbs, adjectives, and nouns, and the corpus part includes ca. 50000 annotated examples.

The project under discussion started in 2011. The ideology of FrameBank has obviously been inspired by Berkeley FrameNet [5], but there are some crucial differences in how these two resources are organized. Firstly, FrameBank is more focused on morphosyntactic patterns than FrameNet. This is determined by the grammatical properties of Russian (which are not relevant in English), where different case structures often help to profile the situation differently. Secondly, the target entries in FrameNet are extralinguistic situations – frames, which are further linked to a list of semantically related verbs (e. g., the frame of Motion embraces such lexical units as *to come, to go, to fly, to float, to glide, to blow*, etc.). On the contrary, FrameBank has particular lexical items as target entries, providing data on their morphosyntactic pat-

* The work was partly supported by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities, grant No.13-04-12020, and by the Russian Basic Research Foundation, grant No. 15-07-09306.

[1] www.framebank.ru

terns and on the frames corresponding to different meanings of a lexeme.

The theoretical basis of FrameBank includes Construction Grammar (Ch. Fillmore, A. Goldberg, etc.) as well as some approaches developed in the Moscow Semantic School (Ju. D. Apresjan, E. V. Paducheva et al.) with its attention to the differences between close synonyms and to the interaction between lexical and grammatical features of lexical items. There is another resource developed within the Moscow Semantic School – namely, the Lexicographer database [6]. However, it does not seem to equally embrace all the main semantic classes of Russian verbs and all the possible constructions of the verbs it includes. Neither is it directly linked to a set of corpus examples, which is one of the main features of FrameBank.

The paper is structured as follows. After outlining how the dictionary of constructions is designed, we discuss the annotation scheme and some theoretical issues it raises. Further, we consider two databases included in FrameBank: the graph of semantic roles and the graph of formal and semantic shifts between constructions. The graph of semantic roles presents our own inventory, which correlates with the semantic classification of verbs and forms a hierarchy in order to support flexible search options. The other graph shows both formal changes of verbal constructions (omission of a participant, change of a morphosyntactic pattern, diathetic alternations etc.) and their semantic changes (metaphor, metonymy, and also some shifts which have not been discussed so widely, like specialization or rebranding). FrameBank also provides quantitative data on the frequency of semantic roles and semantic shifts, which could be used in the automatic annotation of texts (e. g. for the tasks of semantic role labelling). Finally, we outline some future steps in developing FrameBank.

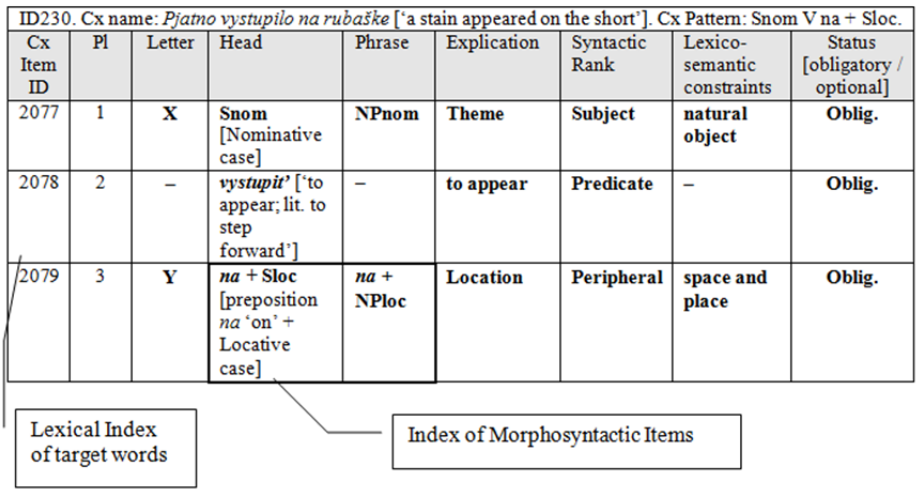
2 Dictionary of construction patterns

We will discuss the architecture of FrameBank using the example of verbs, which form the core of the database. Information about each lexical construction is stored as a construction template, which includes:

1. the syntactic rank of the element (Subject, Object, Predicate, Peripheral, Clause);
2. the morphosyntactic features of the element[2] (including POS, case and preposition marking);
3. its status: lexical constant vs. variable;
4. the semantic roles of the argument (e. g., Agent, Patient, Instrument);
5. the lexical-semantic class of the element (e. g., human, animate, abstract entity, means of transport, etc.);
6. the morphosyntactic features of the target lexical unit itself (e.g. impersonal, passive participle, etc.);
7. one or several examples.

[2] This part was originally based on [7]

Figure 1 shows a sample pattern in the dictionary.



ID230. Cx name: *Pjatno vystupilo na rubaške* ['a stain appeared on the short']. Cx Pattern: Snom V na + Sloc.

Cx Item ID	Pl	Letter	Head	Phrase	Explication	Syntactic Rank	Lexico-semantic constraints	Status [obligatory / optional]
2077	1	**X**	**Snom** [Nominative case]	**NPnom**	**Theme**	**Subject**	**natural object**	**Oblig.**
2078	2	–	***vystupit'*** ['to appear; lit. to step forward']	–	**to appear**	**Predicate**	–	**Oblig.**
2079	3	**Y**	***na* + Sloc** [preposition *na* 'on' + Locative case]	***na* + NPloc**	**Location**	**Peripheral**	**space and place**	**Oblig.**

Fig. 1. The template of the construction *Pjatno*[Noun.Nom] *vystupilo*[Verb] *na rubaške*[PREP + Noun.Loc] 'a stain appeared on the short'.

Each verb is followed in the database by a list of lexical constructions in which it serves as a target word (each construction is named by a mnemonic sentence label). Lexical constructions are grouped in clusters usually corresponding to a particular lexical meaning; the constructions belonging to one cluster differ in the number of explicit arguments and in their morphosyntactic marking. Figure 2 shows two groups of LexCxs of the verb vystupit' 'to step forward' which correspond to the frame of motion and the frame of coming into existence, respectively.

Target Lexeme: *vystupit'*
1. 'to step forward'
ID220. <Snom V> *Vystupilo srazu pjat' soldat* 'Five soldiers stepped forward at once'
ID221. <Snom V PR_from+S>. *Iz stroja vystupil čelovek* 'A man stepped forward from the line'
ID222. <Snom V PR_to+S> *On vystupil na seredinu komnaty* 'He stepped forward to the center of the room'
...
5. 'to appear (about blood, tears, stains, etc.)'
ID 230. <Snom V *na*.PR+Sloc> *Pjatno vystupilo na rubaške* 'A stain appeared on the short'
ID 231. <Snom V *na*.PR+Sloc *u*.PR+Sgen> *Sljozy vystupili u nee na glazax* lit. 'Tears appeared on the eyes at her'
ID 232. <Snom V *u*.PR+Sgen *ot*.PR+Sgen> *U nee ot smexa vystupili sljozy* lit. 'Tears appeared at her from laughing'

Fig. 2. The passport of the lexeme *vystupit'*

3 Corpus annotation

The dictionary of constructions is supplemented by examples tagged manually. The examples are randomly selected from the Russian National Corpus, each target lexical unit is illustrated by up to 100 sentences with their pre- and post-context. Each example is annotated by one of the annotators in the online FrameBank Markup environment, and then is checked and corrected by the editor. An example is matched to a suitable construction pattern, which includes establishing correspondences between their elements and assigning morphosyntactic and semantic features of the arguments in a particular example. If an example does not fit any of the existing patterns, an annotator should add a new item into the dictionary of constructions (this is often the case for colloquial constructions, for the on-going changes in the semantics of verbs, and for idiomatic expressions). Note that the participants of a frame are annotated irrespective of their syntactic relation to the predicate (this distinguishes FrameBank from the treebanks like SynTagRus or Prague Dependency Treebank). For example, if we annotate the verb *vyslušat'* 'listen to somebody' and come across sentence (1), we will mark the NPs 'Andropov' and 'the marshal' as the participants of the frame referred to by the verb *vyslušal* 'listened' (the fact that they are not syntactically related to the predicate will also be mentioned in the annotation).

(1) *Andropov prin'al maršala v svojem rabočem kabin'et'e,* ***vyslušal*** *i ob'eščal razobrat's'a v etoj probl'em'e* 'Andropov received the marshal in his office, **listened** to him and promised to examine the problem'

The annotators of FrameBank also mark non-standard types of constructions or non-standard variants of argument realization, such as passive, imperative, participial or converbal constructions, constructions with infinitives, control, genitive of negation. The annotation takes into account not only construction arguments and the properties of the predicate, but also adjuncts and modal particles. More details on the annotation procedure can be found in the full version of the manual for annotators, which is available online[3].

4 Semantic roles

As has already been mentioned, construction patterns in FrameBank contain information on the semantic roles of the participants. The inventory of semantic roles may have quite different volume and structure depending on the particular research task and theoretical framework (see, for example, [8: 587–588, 9, 10, 11: 125–126, 12: 370–377]). The most important principles governing the inventory of semantic roles in FrameBank are as follows:

[3] http://framebank.wikispaces.com/

- the inventory should be hierarchical in order to support flexible search options (it may be reduced to 5-10 basic roles, or enlarged to several dozen labels);
- the roles should correlate with the semantic classification of verbs (what follows from this is that traditionally "broad" roles such as Agent or Patient should get different labels in different semantic classes, cf. Agent in destruction vs. speech vs. motion);
- the scope of a semantic role is defined in accordance with the Prototype Theory: for instance, the prototype of Patient is a participant changing under the physical influence of an Agent; peripheral examples (Patient of a non-physical process, Patient which is not changing, Patient created as a result of a physical action) get specific labels (Theme, Result, etc.) and are considered as specific types of Patient.

The detailed list of semantic roles currently contains 91 items classified into seven domains (those of Agent, Possessives, Patient, Addressee, Experiencer, Instrument, Settings), which are further subdivided into smaller units. Initially, we intended to use a list of semantic roles suggested in [12: 370–377]. However, we had to work out some of its parts in further detail in order to be in line with our theoretical principles. For instance, the inventory suggested by Ju. D. Apresjan includes the role of Experiencer without any further semantic specification. To achieve our goals, we considered Experiencer not as a single semantic role, but as a domain including Subject of Perception ('see', 'hear'), Subject of Mental State ('think', 'understand'), Subject of Psychological State ('love', 'be afraid'), Subject of Physiological State ('feel pain', 'have a buzzing in one's ears'), Subject of Physiological Response ('tremble with cold', 'feel sick'), and Subject of Psychological Response ('laugh', 'cry (burst into tears)'). Similarly, the role of Agent is defined in our inventory as an active (prototypically animate) participant of a situation, intentionally changing something in the world. This role is typically assigned to verbs of physical impact, eating and drinking, creation, causation of motion, while more specific verbs which are less closer to the prototype of Agent receive their own semantic roles (Speaker, Subject of motion, Subject of social relationship, etc.).

It should also be noted that the principles of FrameBank annotation allow marking double roles (following the ideas of [11: 140]). Thus, examples like ***kormit'*** *r'eb'enka s ložečki* '**to feed** a child with a spoon' or ***myt's'a*** *pod kranom* '**to wash oneself** under a tap' contain instrumental participants, which at the same time have locative properties (which influences their morphosyntactic marking). Therefore, these participants receive a double role Instrument & Place in our annotation scheme.

FrameBank also provides frequency data about semantic roles in lexical constructions. Table 1 shows the top-15 roles (the calculation is based on the number of construction patterns with this role; the data on the other roles are left out of this paper due to size limits). These data supplemented with the morphosyntactic patterns may be useful for the tasks of semantic role labelling [13, 14], see [15] for a case study based on FrameBank.

Table 1. Frequency of semantic roles in FrameBank (top-15).

Semantic role	Number of construction patterns	Example	Number of predicates in the dictionary
Agent	4787	*Prodav'ec r'ežet syr* 'The seller is cutting cheese'	1824
Patient	3086	*Prodav'ec r'ežet syr* 'The seller is cutting cheese'	1498
Theme	1591	*Na polu l'ežal č'elovek* 'There was a man lying on the floor'	1004
Subject of motion	1520	*My jed'em v Moskvu* 'We are going to Moscow'	515
Speaker	1304	*On govorit pravdu* 'He is telling the truth'	749
Patient of motion	1049	*Mal'čik v'el sl'epogo za ruku* 'The boy led a blind man by the hand'	358
Point of destination	921	*My jed'em v Moskvu* 'We are going to Moscow'	657
Place	903	*Na polu l'ežal č'elovek* 'There was a man lying on the floor'	738
Message	776	*On skazal, čto rabotajet nad knigoj* 'He said that he was working on a book'	454
Effector	643	*V'et'er povalil d'er'evo* 'The wind threw down a tree'	565
Subject of psychological state	643	*On toskujet po druz'jam* 'He misses his friends'	526
Mental content	637	*My sčitali jego opasnym č'elov'ekom* 'We considered him a dangerous person'	438
Content of action	634	*Potrudit'es' vstat', požalujsta!* 'Be so kind to stand up, please!'	526
Result	633	*Mama svarila sup* 'Mother has cooked soup'	445
Reason	616	*Komandira b'espokoilo, jesli razv'edčiki dolgo n'e vozvraščalis'* 'The commander was worried if the scouts didn't return long'	501

5 Non-core elements

Along with marking the arguments of target lexical units, the annotation of examples in FrameBank covers their adjuncts (non-obligatory valencies), see, for instance, [8: 72–79] on the theoretical foundations of the distinction between arguments and adjuncts. This provides large amounts of empirical evidence for discussing the restrictions imposed on the combinability of adjuncts with different types of predicates (cf. a traditional view touched upon in [8: 75] and stating that arguments are specific for each verb, while adjuncts are compatible with various verbs). Table 2 contains statistical data on co-occurrence of verbs and adjuncts depending on the semantic classes of both.

Table 2. Co-occurrence of verbs and adjuncts.

verb class	time	place	degree	manner	usualness	reason	duration	simultaneity	sequence	purpose	precision	frequency	comparison	speed
motion	**426**	**172**	**133**	219	148	93	107	62	58	64	26	38	**74**	**82**
speech	120	**131**	**44**	**139**	68	56	31	18	24	18	22	38	11	9
physical impact	70	89	44	80	36	28	33	20	21	19	4	24	12	7
emotion	69	44	**224**	21	41	39	21	11	11	6	29	3	8	
mental	79	79	40	36	31	28	32	18	17	12	21	5	6	
social interaction	71	64	58	41	43	35	14	17	9	11	13	10	6	4
start of existence	90	**104**	5	24	27	29	8	28	17	18	4	13	5	2
possessive	62	**69**	10	20	12	14	7	14	2	25	4	5	2	3
psychical	33	22	**71**	8	16	22	14	16	6	5	9	2	3	6
sound	17	42	2	16	9	2	2	5	6	2	7	2	2	
physiology	23	21	18	12	10	6	6	4	5		2	2		2
change of state	17	8	12	15	15	10	8	6	5	4		6	4	4
end of existence	19	6	10	2	10	8	7	8	10		4	5	1	8
SUM	1096	851	671	633	466	370	290	227	191	184	145	153	134	127

As can be seen in Table 2, the ratio of co-occurrence is much higher than average for verbs of emotion and the psychical sphere with adjuncts of degree, for verbs of motion with adjuncts of time, speed and comparison, for verbs of speech with adjuncts of manner and place, for verbs expressing start of existence or possessive relations with adjuncts of place (the overrepresented combinations are marked in bold). On the contrary, the ratio of co-occurrence is lower than average for verbs of motion and adjuncts of place, degree, reason and precision, for verbs of speech and adjuncts of degree and time, for verbs of physical impact and adjuncts of time, etc. (the underrepresented combinations are marked with a gray background; the least represented cases are on a dark-gray background). Interestingly, adjuncts referring to usualness, frequency, simultaneity and sequence do not tend to favor any particular verb class. Nevertheless, the data of FrameBank show that the combinability of adjuncts is

not arbitrary: the choice of an adjunct with a particular semantics is to some extent predetermined by the semantic class of a verb.

6 Construction Grapher

Another component of FrameBank is the graph of lexical constructions. It documents the systematic relations between constructions. First, it systematizes semantic shifts in verbal lexemes (metaphor, metonymy and some more complex relations). Second, the graph represents formal changes in argument structure, such as omission of a participant, diathetic alternations (cf. [8]), the inheritance of a pattern from another verb etc. The semantic part of the project is inspired by FrameNet grapher as well as by E. Rakhilina's research database on Russian polysemous adjectives and adverbs (see [16] and references therein). The formal part is guided by E. Paducheva and G. Kustova's theoretical and empirical analysis of polysemy in Russian verbs ([6, 8, 17]).

The types of formal and semantic changes are represented below (for the previous stage of its discussion see [3]). The figures in brackets after the name of a shift indicate the number of its occurrences in the database. Sometimes a construction undergoes more than one formal or semantic change, in such cases all changes are counted. For each verb in the database we construct a graph showing the formal and semantic changes undergone by its constructions. These graphs are tied into a larger graph of lexical constructions, since some edges of the latter establish linkages between different verbs, consider "Inheritance of a pattern" below. A case study of how the construction grapher works can be found in [18].

6.1 Formal changes

1. Morphosyntactic alternation (1796): *Vy **govorit'e** pravdu* 'You **are telling** the truth' ↔ *Papa **govorit**, čto bojat's'a n'ečego* 'Father **says** that there is nothing to be afraid of' ↔ *"Moemu drugu groz'at n'eprijatnosti"*, – ***govoril** on* ' "My friend is facing troubles", – he **said**'. This formal change is bidirectional (as well as all the changes marked with the left-right arrow), as we assume all the morphosyntactic variants to have equal status in the graph, instead of choosing the primary one, which would often be not quite evident.
2. Focus shift between participants (1230): *Žuravli **l'et'at** s vostoka* 'The cranes **are flying** from the east' ↔ *Lastočki **l'et'at** na jug* 'The swallows **are flying** to the south' ↔ *Nad gorami **letit** or'el* 'An eagle **is flying** over the mountains' In particular, this change is typical of motion verbs. We treat all the constructions with a mover + one locative participant as basic and formally interrelated by means of a focus shift, instead of deriving them from constructions like *Pticy **l'et'at** s vostoka na jug nad gorami* 'The birds **are flying** from the east to the south over the mountains', as the latter ones are quite rare in our corpus data and do not seem to be natural for human language.

3. Diathetic alternation (407): *Korma lodki* ***ušla*** *v vodu* 'The stern of the boat **plunged (lit.: went)** into water' → *Lodka* ***ušla*** *v vodu kormoj* 'lit.: The boat **went** into water with its stern'.
4. Omission of a participant belonging to a definite class (335): *On* ***rastvor'aet*** *sahar v vod'e* 'He is dissolving sugar in water' → *On* ***rastvor'aet*** *sahar* 'He is dissolving sugar'.
5. Omission of a participant which is deictically or situationally defined (875): *Avtobus* ***prišel*** *na stanciju* 'The bus **arrived** at the station' → *Begite, avtobus* ***prišel****!* 'Hurry up, the bus has arrived!'
6. Omission of an indefinite (or unimportant) participant (1152): *Korabl'* ***plyv'et*** *iz gavani* 'The ship **is sailing** from the harbour' → *Korabl' m'edl'enno* ***plyv'et*** 'The ship **is sailing** slowly'.
7. Addition of a participant (2269): *Lastočki* ***l'et'at*** 'The swallows **are flying**' → *Lastočki* ***l'et'at*** *za kormom* 'The swallows **are flying** to find some food' This formal shift usually involves adding peripheral participants like Goal, Reason, Method, etc. Omission is in its turn marked when there is a core participant of a frame missing in a derived construction (e. g., Instrument in the frames of descruction or any kind of locative participant in the frames of motion).
8. Hybrid of two constructions (91): *Ptica* ***prygala*** *po trav'e* 'A bird **jumped** on the grass', *Ptica* ***prygala*** *p'er'ed domom* 'A bird **jumped** in front of the house' → *Ptica* ***prygala*** *po trav'e p'er'ed domom* 'A bird **jumped** on the grass in front of the house'.
9. Inheritance of a pattern (706): *' "Sl'edujt'e za mnoj", –* ***skazal*** *oficiant '* "Follow me", – **said** the waiter' → *' "Sl'edujt'e za mnoj", –* ***brosil*** *oficiant '* "Follow me", – **dropped** the waiter' The annotation of such examples sheds light on the most productive sources of inherited morphosyntactic patterns. These are the verbs *govorit'* 'to speak, to say' (66 constructions acquiring its pattern), *nakazat'* 'to punish' (32 cases), *bol'et'* 'to be ill' (21 cases), *bit'* 'to beat' and *udarit'* 'to hit once' (total 20 cases), *dat'* 'to give' (14 cases), *byt'* 'to be' (12 cases). The position of *govorit'* at the top of the list can be explained by the high productivity of metaphors referring to speech, as well as by the frequent occurrence of metonymic contexts which describe expressing emotions, cf. *"Vot eto fokus!"* – ***udivils'a*** *on* 'lit.: "What a trick!", he **was surprised**' In this example the verb *udivit's'a* 'to be surprised' not only denotes the emotional state of the experiencer, but also indicates that he is saying something. The latter part of meaning is supported by the use of direct speech inherited from verbs like 'to say'. In the case of *bol'et'* 'to be ill', the number of inherited patterns is high, as this semantic domain is inherently metaphorical: according to the cross-linguistic data analyzed in [19], most pain sensations are described with verbs borrowed from other domains (burning, cutting and breaking, sound, etc.), rather than with specific pain expressions. This semantic shift tends to be accompanied with morphosyntactic changes which make source verbs more "similar" to verbs of pain in their construction patterns (see [19] for details). The case of the verb *nakazat'* 'to punish' is a bit different. Many verbs become embedded into a construction with the preposition *za* + NPacc describing Motivation. This argument is typical of *nakazat'* and occurs with other verbs when

they denote an action evaluated as punishment, cf. ***ar'estovat'*** *za ubijstvo* '**to arrest** for murder', ***iskl'učit'*** *iz komandy za opozdanije* 'to expel from the team *for being late*', *S'erg'ej* ***byl ostanovl'en*** *policijej za to, čto projehal na krasnyj signal sv'etofora* 'Sergej **was stopped** by the police for running a red light'.

6.2 Semantic changes

1. Metonymy: an associated participant (517): *Voda* ***zam'erzla*** 'The water **has frozen**' → *Prud* ***zam'erz*** 'The pond **has frozen up**'.
2. Metonymy caused by diathetic alternations (432): *Pojezd* ***jed'et*** *v gorod* 'The train **is going** to the city' → *Ja* ***jedu*** *v gorod pojezdom* 'I **am going** to the city by train'.
3. Metonymy: an associated domain (726): *Vasilij* ***int'er'esujets'a*** *russkoj lit'eraturoj* 'Vasilij **is interested** in Russian literature' → *Vasilij* ***int'er'esujets'a,*** *vo skol'ko prihodit pojezd* 'Vasilij **wonders (lit.: is interested)** when the train arrives' Here in the first example the verb *int'er'esovat's'a* 'to be interested in sth.' describes the mental state of the experiencer, while in the second example it shifts to expressing the speech of a person aiming at find something out.
4. Metaphor (5498): *Mat'* ***budit*** *syna* 'Mother **is waking** her son' → *Tišina* ***budit*** *vospominanija* 'Silence **evokes (lit.: wakes)** memories'.
5. Rebranding (146): a semantic shift where the derived meaning is an implicature from the source meaning [16], e. g. *Smotri: zv'er'* ***podhodit*** 'Look: a beast **is approaching**' → *Eto pal'to t'eb'e* ***podhodit*** 'This coat **suits (lit.: approaches)** you' In this example the idea of something approaching, conveyed in the direct use, implies meeting some standard as a figurative meaning. However, these two domains are not adjacent and therefore are not related metonymically. Neither is there a direct metaphoric relation which could be established between these two meanings.
6. Idiomatization (89): *On ulybnuls'a i* ***prot'anul*** *ruku* 'He smiled and stretched his hand' → *Vy tak nogi* ***prot'an'et'e*** 'You'll turn up your toes (lit.: stretch your legs)'.
7. Specialization (94): *Po utram on* ***pjet*** *čaj* 'He drinks tea in the morning' → *On* ***pjet*** 'He drinks (abuses alcohol)'.
8. Semantic bleaching (46): *javl'at's'a* 'to be (lit.: to come, to appear)'; ***obratit'*** *vnimanije* '**to pay (lit.: to turn)** attention'.

7 Future prospects

In the previous sections we have discussed the main parts of FrameBank: the dictionary of construction patterns, the annotation of constructions in corpus examples, the graphs of semantic roles and of shifts between constructions. Since FrameBank is an ongoing project, its development entails many further goals and challenges. The first task is to work out a graph of frames which could tie the constructions from the dictionary to the ontological classification of the lexicon. Although this graph may be to a great extent based on the broad inventory of semantic roles already existing in the database, it will sometimes require a more fine-grained semantic specification of the verbal ontology. The second task is to enlarge the database with constructions of

nouns, adjectives, and adverbs which are now on the periphery of our research. It will also be promising to add full-text annotation, as this would allow studying the distribution and interaction of constructions in paragraphs and large texts.

8 References

1. Lyashevskaya, O. N., Kuznetsova, Ju. L.: Russian FrameNet: constructing a corpus–based dictionary of constructions [Russkij Frejmnet: k zadache sozdanija korpusnogo slovarja konstruktsij] (in Russian). In: Computational Linguistics and Intellectual Technologies: Proceedings of the International Conference "Dialog" [Komp'juternaja lingvistika i intelleltual'nye tehnologii: po materialam ezhegodnoj Mezhdunarodnoj konferentsii "Dialog"], vol. 8, pp. 306–312. RSUH, Moscow (2009)
2. Lyashevskaya O.: Bank of Russian Constructions and Valencies. In: Proceedings of the Seventh conference on International Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'10), pp. 1802–1805. ELRA, Valletta (2010)
3. Kashkin, E. V., Lyashevskaya, O. N.: Semantic roles and construction net in Russian FrameBank [Semanticheskie roli i set' konstrukcij v sisteme FrameBank] (in Russian). In: Computational Linguistics and Intellectual Technologies. Proceedings of International Conference "Dialog", vol. 12-1, pp. 297–311. RSUH, Moscow (2013)
4. Russian National Corpus, http://ruscorpora.ru
5. FrameNet, http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu
6. Lexicographer database, http://lexicograph.ruslang.ru
7. Apresjan, Ju. D., Pall, E.: Russian verb – Hungarian verb. Government and combinability [Russkij glagol – vengerskij glagol. Upravlenie i sochetaemost'] (in Russian). Tankyonvkiado, Budapest (1982)
8. Paducheva, E. V.: Dynamic patterns in lexical semantics [Dinamicheskie modeli v semantike leksiki] (in Russian). Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, Moscow (2004)
9. Fillmore, Ch. J.: The Case for Case. In Bach, E., Harms, R. T. (eds.) Universals in Linguistic Theory, pp. 1–88. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York (1968)
10. Dowty, D. R.: Thematic proto roles and argument selection. Language. 67, 547–619 (1991)
11. Apresjan, Ju. D.: Selected papers, vol. 1, Lexical Semantics [Izbrannye trudy, tom I. Leksicheskaja semantika] (in Russian). Jazyki Russkoj Kul'tury, Vostochnaja Literatura, Moscow (1995)
12. Apresjan, Ju. D., Boguslavskij, I. M., Iomdin, L. L., Sannikov, V. Z.: Theoretical issues of Russian syntax: the interrelation between grammar and vocabulary [Teoreticheskie problemy russkogo sintaksisa: vzaimodejstvie grammatiki i slovar'a] (in Russian). Jazyki slavjanskih kul'tur, Moscow (2010)
13. Màrquez, L., Carreras, X., Litkowski, K. C., Stevenson, S.: Semantic role labeling: an introduction to the special issue. Computational Linguistics. 34–2, 145–159 (2008)
14. Palmer, M. S., Wu Sh., Titov, I. Semantic Role Labeling Tutorial. NAACL 2013 tutorials. Electronic access: http://naacl2013.naacl.org/Documents/semantic-role-labeling-part-1-naacl-2013-tutorial.pdf, http://naacl2013.naacl.org/Documents/semantic-role-labeling-part-2-naacl-2013-tutorial.pdf, http://naacl2013.naacl.org/Documents/semantic-role-labeling-part-3-naacl-2013-tutorial.pdf
15. Lyashevskaya, O. N., Kashkin, E. V.: Evaluation of frame-semantic role labeling in a case-marking language. In: Computational linguistics and intellectual technologies. Proceedings of International Conference "Dialog", vol. 13-1, pp. 362–379. RSUH, Moscow (2014)

16. Rakhilina, E. V., Reznikova, T. I., Karpova, O. S.: Semantic shifts in attributive constructions: metaphor, metonymy, and rebranding [Semanticheskie perehody v atribultivnyh konstrukcijah: metafora, metonimija i rebrending] (in Russian). In: Rakhilina, E. V. (ed.) Linguistics of Constructions [Lingvistika konstrukcij], pp. 398–455. Azbukovnik, Moscow (2010)
17. Kustova, G. I.: Types of figurative meanings and mechanisms of linguistic broadening [Tipy proizvodnyh zhachenij i mehanizmy jazykovogo rasshirenija] (in Russian). Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, Moscow (2004)
18. Kashkin, E. V., Lyashevskaya, O. N.: Construction Grapher in Russian FrameBank: semantic and formal kinship map [Semanticheskie i formal'nye sv'azi russkih glagol'nyh konstrukcij: grafovoe predstavl'enije v sisteme FrameBank] (in Russian). In: Proceedings of the Kazan School on computational and cognitive linguistics TEL-2014 [Trudy Kazanskoj shkoly po kompjuternoj i kognitivnoj lingvistike TEL-2014], pp. 165–170. Fen, Kazan (2014)
19. Bricyn, V. M., Rakhilina, E. V., Reznikova, T. I., Yavorska, G. M. (eds.): The concept of PAIN from a typological point of view [Kontsept BOL' v tipologicheskom osveschenii] (in Russian). Vidavnicjij Dim Dmitra Burago, Kiev (2009)