# **A** Materials

The mappings from abstract frames to their corresponding instantiations for both our replication of White et al. 2018 (Table 1) and the MegaAcceptability dataset (Table 2) can be found below.

Abstract Frame	Instantiated Frame
NPed	Someoneed.
NPed NP	Someoneed something.
NPed NP NP	Someoneed someone something.
NP ed NP S	Someoneed someone something happened.
NP ed NP S[-tense]	Someone ed someone something happen.
NP ed NP VP	Someone ed someone do something.
NP ed NP about NP	Someone ed someone about something.
NP ed NP that S	Someone ed someone that something happened.
NP ed NP that s[-tense]	Someone ed someone that something happen.
NP ed NP to VP	Someoneed someone to do something.
NP ed S	Someone ed something happened.
NP ed VPing	Someone ed doing something.
NP ed wh s	Someone ed why something happened.
NP ed wh to VP	Someone ed why to do something.
NP ed about NP	Someone ed about something.
NP ed for NP to VP	Someoneed for someone to do something.
NP ed if S	Someone ed if something happened.
NP ed if s[-tense]	Someone ed if something happen.
NP ed it that S	Someone ed it that something happened.
NP ed it that S[-tense]	Someone ed it that something happen.
NP ed so	Someone ed so.
NP ed that s	Someone ed that something happened.
NP ed that s[-tense]	Someone ed that something happen.
NP ed there to VP	Someone ed there to be a particular thing in a particular place.
NP ed to	Someone ed to.
NP ed to NP that S	Someone ed to someone that something happened.
NP ed to NP that s[-tense]	Someone ed to someone that something happen.
NP ed to VP	Someone ed to do something.
NP was ed that s	Someone was ed that something happened.
NP was ed that s[-tense]	Someone was ed that something happen.
NP was ed to VP	Someone was ed to do something.
s, I	Something happened. I
s, NP ed	Something happened, someone ed.
It ed NP WH S	It ed someone why something happened.
It ed NP WH to VP	It ed someone why to do something.
It ed NP that S	It ed someone that something happened.
It ed NP that S[-tense]	It ed someone that something happen.
It ed NP to VP	Ited someone to do something

**Table 1:** Abstract frames and corresponding instantiated frames used inour replication of White et al. 2018 (Section 3).

Abstract Frame	Instantiated Frame
NP ed	Someone ed.
NP ed NP	Someone ed something.
NP ed NP VP	Someone ed someone do something.
NP ed NP VPing	Someoneed someone doing something.
NP ed NP that S	Someone ed someone that something happened.
NP ed NP that S[+future]	Someone ed someone that something would happen.
NP ed NP that S[-tense]	Someoneed someone that something happen.
NPed NP to NP	Someoneed something to someone.
NPed NP to VP[+eventive]	Someoneed someone to do something.
NPed NP to VP[-eventive]	Someoneed someone to have something.
NPed NP whether S	Someoneed someone whether something happened.
NPed NP whether S[+future]	Someoneed someone whether something would happen.
NPed NP whichNP S	Someoneed someone which thing happened.
NP <u>ed</u> S	Someoneed something happened.
NPed VPing	Someoneed doing something.
NPed about NP	Someoneed about something.
NPed about whether S	Someoneed about whether something happened.
NPed for NP to VP	Someoneed for something to happen.
NPed so	Someoneed so.
NPed that S	Someoneed that something happened.
NPed that S[+future]	Someoneed that something would happen.
NPed that S[-tense]	Someoneed that something happen.
NPed to NP that S	Someoneed to someone that something happened.
NPed to NP that S[ + future]	Someoneed to someone that something would happen.
NPed to NP that S[-tense]	Someoneed to someone that something happen.
NPed to NP whether S	Someoneed to someone whether something happened.
NPed to NP whether S[ + future]	Someoneed to someone whether something would happen.
NPed to VP[+eventive]	Someoneed to do something.
NPed to VP[-eventive]	Someoneed to have something.
NP ed whether S	Someoneed whether something nappened.
NPed whether S[ + future]	Someoneed whether something would nappen.
NPed whether to VP	Someoneed whether to do something.
NPeu whichNP S	Someoneed which thing to do
NPed whichNP to VP	Someone was ed
NP was ed s	Someone wased comething happened
NP wased about NP	Someone wased about something
NP was ed about whether S	Someone wased about something.
NP was ed so	Someone wased so
NP was ed that S	Someone wased that something happened.
NP was ed that $S[+future]$	Someone wased that something would happen.
NP was ed that S[-tense]	Someone was ed that something happen.
NP was ed to VP[+eventive]	Someone was ed to do something.
NP was ed to VP[-eventive]	Someone wased to have something.
NP was ed whether s	Someone wased whether something happened.
NP wased whether S[+future]	Someone wased whether something would happen.
NP was ed whether to VP	Someone wased whether to do something.
NP wased whichNP S	Someone wased which thing happened.
NP wased whichNP to VP	Someone wased which thing to do.
s, I	Something happened, I .

**Table 2:** Abstract frames and corresponding instantiated frames in theMegaAcceptability dataset (Section 4; see also White & Rawlins 2016).

All of the verbs used in the MegaAcceptability dataset can be found below.

**a** abhor, absolve, accept, acclaim, accredit, acknowledge, add, address, admire, admit, admonish, adore, advertise, advise, advocate, affect, affirm, afford, affront, aggravate, aggrieve, agitate, agonize, agree, aim, alarm, alert, allege, allow, alter, amaze, amuse, analyze, anger, anguish, annotate, announce, annoy, answer, anticipate, apologize, appall, appeal, appear, appease, applaud, apply, appoint, appraise, appreciate, approach, approve, argue, arouse, arrange, articulate, ascertain, ask, assert, assess, assign, assume, assure, astonish, astound, attempt, attest, audit, authorize, awe

**b** babble, back, badger, baffle, bandy, banter, bargain, bark, be, beam, bear, befuddle, beg, begin, believe, belittle, bellow, beseech, bet, bewilder, bicker, bitch, blame, blare, blast, bleat, bless, blog, bluff, bluster, boast, boggle, bore, bother, brag, brainstorm, bribe, brief, broadcast, brood, bug, bullshit, bully, bury, buy

**c** cackle, cajole, calculate, calibrate, call, calm, care, carp, catch, categorize, cause, caution, cease, celebrate, censor, censure, certify, challenge, change, chant, characterize, charge, charm, chasten, chastise, chat, chatter, check, cheer, cherish, chide, chime, chirp, choose, chronicle, chuckle, circulate, claim, clarify, classify, clear, cloud, coach, coax, coerce, come, come around, come out, comfort, command, commence, commend, comment, commission, communicate, compel, compete, complain, compliment, conclude, concur, condemn, condone, confess, confide, configure, confirm, confound, confuse, congratulate, conjecture, connect, consent, consider, console, conspire, constrain, consult, contact, contemplate, contend, content, contest, continue, contract, contribute, contrive, control, convey, convince, correct, corroborate, cough, counsel, counter, cover, crack, crave, credential, cringe, criticize, croak, croon, crow, crush, cry, curse

**d** dare, daunt, daydream, daze, debate, deceive, decide, declare, decline, decree, decry, deduce, deem, defend, define, deject, delete, deliberate, delight, delineate, delude, demand, demean, demonstrate, demoralize, demystify, denounce, deny, depict, deplore, depress, deride, derive, describe, design, designate, desire, despair, despise, detail, detect, determine, detest, devastate, devise, diagnose, dictate, dig, direct, disagree, disallow, disappoint, disapprove, disbelieve, discern, discipline, disclose, disconcert, discourage, discover, discriminate, discuss, disgrace, disgruntle, disgust, discourage, discover, discriminate, discuss, disgrace, disgruntle, disgust, discover, discove

hearten, disillusion, dislike, dismay, dismiss, disparage, dispatch, dispel, dispirit, display, displease, disprefer, disprove, dispute, disquiet, disregard, dissatisfy, dissent, distract, distress, distrust, disturb, dither, divulge, document, doubt, draw, drawl, dread, dream, drone, dub, dupe

**e** educate, elaborate, elate, elect, electrify, elucidate, email, embarrass, embellish, embitter, embolden, emphasize, employ, enchant, encourage, end, endorse, endure, energize, enforce, engage, enjoy, enlighten, enlist, enrage, ensure, enthrall, enthuse, entice, entreat, envision, envy, establish, estimate, evaluate, evidence, examine, exasperate, excite, exclaim, excuse, exhibit, exhilarate, expect, experience, explain, exploit, explore, expose, expound, express, extrapolate

**f** fabricate, face, fake, fancy, fantasize, fascinate, fax, faze, fear, feel, feign, fess up, feud, fight, figure, figure out, file, find, find out, finish, flatter, flaunt, flip out, floor, fluster, flutter, fool, forbid, force, forecast, foresee, foretell, forget, forgive, forgo, formulate, frame, freak out, fret, frighten, frown, frustrate, fuel, fume, function, fuss

**g** gab, gall, galvanize, gamble, gasp, gather, gauge, generalize, get, giggle, gladden, glare, glean, glimpse, gloat, glorify, go, gossip, grant, grasp, gratify, grieve, grill, grimace, grin, gripe, groan, grouse, growl, grumble, grunt, guarantee, guess, guide, gurgle, gush

**h** haggle, hallucinate, handle, hanker, happen, harass, hasten, hate, hear, hearten, hedge, hesitate, highlight, hinder, hint, hire, hold, holler, hoot, hope, horrify, hound, howl, humble, humiliate, hunger, hurt, hush up, hustle

i identify, ignore, illuminate, illustrate, imagine, imitate, impede, impel, implore, imply, impress, incense, incite, include, indicate, indict, induce, infer, influence, inform, infuriate, initiate, inquire, inscribe, insert, insinuate, insist, inspect, inspire, instigate, instruct, insult, insure, intend, intercept, interest, interject, interpret, interrogate, interview, intimate, intimidate, intrigue, investigate, invigorate, invite, irk, irritate, isolate

j jabber, jade, jar, jeer, jest, joke, judge, jump, justify

**k** keep, kid, know

l label, lament, laud, laugh, lead, leak, learn, lecture, legislate, license, lie, like, lisp, listen, loathe, lobby, log, long, look, love, lust

**m** madden, mail, maintain, make, make out, malign, mandate, manipulate, manufacture, mark, marvel, mean, measure, meditate, meet, memorize, mention, miff, mind, minimize, misinform, misjudge, mislead, miss, mistrust, moan, mock, monitor, mope, mortify, motivate, mourn, move, mumble, murmur, muse, mutter, mystify

**n** name, narrate, nauseate, need, negotiate, nonplus, note, notice, notify

**o** object, obligate, oblige, obscure, observe, obsess, offend, offer, okay, omit, operate, oppose, ordain, order, outline, outrage, overestimate, overhear, overlook, overwhelm

**p** pain, panic, pant, pardon, pause, perceive, permit, perplex, persuade, perturb, pester, petition, petrify, phone, pick, picket, picture, piece together, pine, pinpoint, pity, placate, plan, plead, please, plot, point out, ponder, pontificate, portend, portray, posit, post, pout, praise, pray, preach, predict, prefer, prejudge, prepare, present, press, pressure, presume, presuppose, pretend, print, probe, proclaim, procrastinate, prohibit, promise, prompt, prophesy, propose, protest, prove, provoke, publicize, publish, punt, pursue, puzzle

**q** qualify, quarrel, query, question, quibble, quip, quiz, quote

**r** radio, raise, rankle, rant, rap, rationalize, rave, read, reaffirm, realize, reason, reason out, reassert, reassess, reassure, rebuke, recall, recap, reckon, recognize, recollect, recommend, reconsider, reconstruct, record, recount, recruit, rediscover, reevaluate, reexamine, regard, register, regret, regulate, reiterate, reject, relate, relax, relay, relearn, relieve, relish, remain, remark, remember, remind, reminisce, renegotiate, repeat, repent, reply, report, represent, repress, reprimand, reproach, request, require, research, resent, resolve, respect, respond, restate, result, resume, retort, retract, reveal, review, revolt, ridicule, rile, ring, rouse, rue, rule, ruminate, rush

**s** sadden, sanction, satisfy, say, scare, schedule, scheme, scoff, scold, scorn, scowl, scramble, scrawl, scream, screech, scribble, scrutinize, see, seek, seem, select, send, sense, serve, set, set about, set out, settle, shame, shape, share, shatter, shock, shoot, shout, show, showcase, shriek, shut up, sicken,

sigh, sign, sign on, sign up, signal, signify, simulate, sing, sketch, skirmish, slander, smell, smile, smirk, snap, sneer, snicker, snitch, snivel, snort, snub, sob, sober, soothe, sorrow, speak, specify, speculate, spellbind, splutter, spook, spot, spout, spread, spur, sputter, squabble, squawk, squeal, stagger, stammer, stand, start, start off, startle, state, steer, stereotype, stew, stifle, stimulate, stipulate, stop, store, strain, stress, struggle, strut, study, stump, stun, stupefy, stutter, subdue, submit, suffer, suggest, sulk, summarize, summon, suppose, surmise, surprise, survey, suspect, swear, sweat, swoon

**t** tackle, take, talk, tantalize, tap, tape, taste, taunt, teach, tease, televise, tell, tempt, terrify, terrorize, test, testify, thank, theorize, think, thirst, threaten, thrill, tickle, torment, torture, tout, track, train, transmit, traumatize, trick, trigger, trouble, trust, try, turn out, tutor, tweet, type

**u** uncover, underestimate, underline, underscore, understand, undertake, unnerve, unsettle, update, uphold, upset, urge, use, utter

**v** venture, verify, vex, videotape, view, vilify, visualize, voice, volunteer, vote, vow

**w** wager, wallow, want, warn, warrant, watch, weep, weigh, welcome, wheeze, whimper, whine, whisper, whoop, will, wish, witness, wonder, worry, worship, wound, wow, write

y yawn, yearn, yell, yelp

## **B** Validation normalization

To normalize the acceptability judgments collected in the replication experiment (Section 3), we fit an ordinal (linked logit) mixed effects model to the ratings from both datasets, with fixed effects for VERB, FRAME, and their interaction and random unconstrained cutpoints for each participant (for further background on ordinal models, see Gelman & Hill 2006; Agresti 2012). This model is implemented in tensorflow (Abadi et al. 2015.

This procedure is analogous to the more familiar (within linguistics) approach of *z*-scoring by participant, then taking the mean of the scores for a particular verb-frame pair. The main difference between the two methods is in how they model the way that participants make responses on the basis of some "true" continuous acceptability. Both methods associate each par-

ticipant with a different way of binning the continuous acceptability scale (usually modeled as isomorphic to the real values) to produce an ordinal response—the first bin corresponding to a 1 rating, the second corresponding to a 2 rating, etc. They differ in that *z*-scoring assumes that these bins are of equal size (for a particular participant)—the inverse of which is generally estimated via the standard deviation of the raw ordinal ratings (viewed as interval data)—whereas an ordinal model with unconstrained cutpoints (for each participant), assumes the bins can be of varying sizes.

We select the particular normalization method we use on the basis of empirical findings presented in White et al. 2018 (the paper whose data we validate against in Section 3). White et al. compare the fit to their data of six different possible ordinal models, varying in 3 respects: (i) whether the bins corresponding to each rating are of constant size or vary in size; (ii) whether the bins are centered around 0 for all participants or each participant has a different center (*additive* participant effects); and (iii) whether the size of the bins stays constant across participants or can be expanded or contracted depending on the participant (*multiplicative* participant effects). They point out that *z*-scoring corresponds to the model wherein the bins are of constant size but where there are both additive and multiplicative participant effects.

They fit each of these models with fixed effects for VERB, FRAME, and their interaction—effectively, each pairing of a verb v and a frame f is associated with some continuous acceptability value  $a_{vf} = \beta_v + \beta_f + \beta_{vf}$ , which is jointly optimized with parameters representing the bins.<sup>1</sup> They find that, even after penalizing for model complexity using both the Akaike Information Criterion (Akaike 1974: AIC;) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwarz 1978), the model with varying bin sizes and additive and multiplicative participant effects fits the data substantially better than any other model, including the one corresponding to the assumptions of *z*-scoring (constant bin sizes and additive and multiplicative participant effects). We thus use a normalization method that assumes varying bin sizes.

We parameterize this method by assuming that each pairing of a verb v and a frame f is associated with some true real-valued acceptability  $a_{vf}$  (as described above) and that each participants p is associated with a way of binning these real-valued acceptability judgments, where each bin corresponds to a particular scale rating. These bins are defined by cutpoints  $\mathbf{c}_p$  for each participants p, where the bin corresponding to the worst rating—in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Steps must be taken to ensure identifiability, but how this is done is not important for current purposes.

our case, 1—is to the interval  $(-\infty, c_{p1}]$  and the bin corresponding to the best ratings—in our case, 7—is the interval  $(c_{p6}, \infty)$ . For all other ratings *i*, the corresponding bin for participant *p* is  $(c_{p(i-1)}, c_{pi}]$ . Alternatively, we say that  $c_{p0} = -\infty$  and  $c_{p7} = \infty$  for all participants *p*.

Similar to a binary logistic regression, which one can think of as having just two bins defined by a single cut point, we define the probability of a particular participant p giving a response  $r_{pvf}$  to verb v and frame f(assuming true acceptability  $a_{vf}$ ) based on these cutpoints. First, we define the cumulative density function.

$$\mathbb{P}(r_{pvf} \leq i) = \operatorname{logit}^{-1}(c_{pi} - a_{vf})$$

Then, from the cumulative density function, we can reconstruct the probability for each response *i*.

$$\mathbb{P}(r_{pvf} = i) = \mathbb{P}(r_{pvf} \le i) - \mathbb{P}(r \le (i-1))$$

From this, the (log-)likelihood of the data immediately follows. This likelihood is the measure we use as a measure of variability in the main text, since the lower this likelihood is for a particular verb-frame pair, the less able the model is to "explain" the participants' responses using a single value  $a_{vf}$ , even after adjusting for differences in how the participant bins the scale.

We estimate the true acceptabilities A for all verb-frame pairs and the cutpoints for all participants C by using gradient descent to maximize the sum of the likelihood of the data, an Exponential prior on the distance between the cutpoints (thereby making this a mixed effects model), and a small smoothing term, under the constraint that the mean of the third cutpoint is locked to zero, thus making the parameters identifiable. All analyses use the resulting acceptabilities A.

A reader may still wonder if there are empirical consequences to this choice of normalization method in contrast to *z*-scoring, even if this normalization is better theoretically and empirically motivated. In Appendix C we briefly explore this further, and show that using *z*-scoring produces scores that are highly correlated with the ordinal model-based method in the data at issue here.

### C MegaAcceptability normalization

As for our replication of White et al.'s dataset, to measure interannotator agreement, we compute the Spearman rank correlation between the responses for each pair of participants that did the same list. This yields a



**Figure 1:** Marginal distribution across all verb-frame pairs of different acceptability scores.

mean correlation of 0.416 (95% CI: [0.413, 0.419]), which is more than 10 points lower than the agreement obtained in the replication.

Part of the reason for this is likely that White et al.'s—and consequently, our replication—contained mostly high frequency verbs, whereas the MegaAttitude dataset contains many low frequency verbs that participants are likely less certain about.<sup>2</sup> Another source of this low agreement is likely a higher rate of poor participants in these data. This is evidenced by the fact that the agreement scores have nontrivial left skew, with a median correlation of 0.455 (95% CI: [0.451, 0.458]).

To mitigate the effect of poor participants, we downweight the influence of those participants' responses in constructing the normalized acceptability for each verb-frame pair. Our approach amounts to using the ordinal modelbased normalization described in Section 3, but weighting the likelihood of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This reasoning is supported by an additional validation experiment we conducted investigating the 30 verbs discussed in White et al. 2018 in a majority of the frames used in MegaAcceptability. We find that agreement among participants was similar to that in the validation experiment reported in Section 3 ( $\rho = 0.56$ ; 95% CI = [0.53, 0.59]). The two authors additionally annotated all the items in this validation themselves. Computing agreement by list, we agree with participants at  $\rho = 0.55$  (95% CI = [0.52, 0.58]), averaging across lists, and with each other at 0.70 (95% CI = [0.62, 0.78]), averaging across lists.



**Figure 2:** Relationship between mean ordinal responses (viewed as interval data) and normalized ratings produced by ordinal mixed model for particular verb-frame pairs (left) and relationship between mean of responses *z*-scored by participant and normalized ratings produced by ordinal mixed model for particular verb-frame pairs (right). Each point corresponds to a verb-frame pair.

the ordinal model by participant quality scores on [0, 1] deri\_\_\_\_ed from pairwise agreement between participants.<sup>3</sup>

One simple way of deriving such a score would be to take the mean interannotator agreement for all pairs an participant occurs in and then normalize those means to lie on [0, 1]. This simple approach is problematic, however, since most participants only rate one list and so, if a good participant rates a list rated by mostly bad participants, that participant will be assigned a low quality score.

To address this issue, we derive a participant quality score by first fitting a linear mixed effects model with random intercepts for participant and list to the Spearman rank correlations—using lme4 (Bates et al. 2015)—then extracting the Best Linear Unbiased Predictors for the participant intercepts. We then *z*-score these scores and squash them to [0, 1] using the normal cumulative distribution function. This participant quality score is thus high

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This procedure differs from the procedure used by White & Rawlins (2016) for the same dataset in that they filter participants with agreement under a particular threshold. Our approach can be seen as a soft version of their thresholding approach, wherein the influence of participants' responses drops off smoothly as a function of their overall agreement with other participants.

when an participant tends to show high agreement with other participants, adjusting for the effect of the particular list.

We combine these log-likelihoods into single variability score by computing their mean, weighted by the participant quality score of the participant who provided the rating.

Figure 1 shows the marginal distribution of ratings using the above method as well as two other common methods: (i) taking the mean of the ordinal responses (viewed as interval data) for each verb-frame pair (*mean ordinal rating*); and (ii) taking the mean of the ratings *z*-scored by participant for each verb-frame pair.

Figure 2 plots the corresponding joint distributions—i.e. the relationship between the resulting normalized value for each verb-frame pair and the mean of the ordinal responses for that pair (left) as well as the mean of the responses *z*-scored by participant (right). The Pearson correlation between the normalized value for each verb-frame pair and the mean of the ordinal responses (viewed as interval data) for that pair is 0.92, and the correlation between the normalized value for each verb-frame pair and the mean of the responses *z*-scored by participant is 0.95.

#### D Method for adding verbs

Seven verbs—*manage, fail, neglect, refuse, help, opt, deserve*—were unintentionally excluded from our large-scale experiment due to a coding error. We do not include these verbs in the analyses presented in the body of the paper because it is nontrivial, within the method described above, to build lists that include them without reconducting a large portion of the study.

Because we would like to have data about these verbs for future work, we instead evaluate an alternative method for adding missing verbs to our dataset. In this method, we test a single verb in all of the frames of interest within the same list.

To evaluate how this method compares to to a method wherein verbs are intermixed, we constructed a list for each of the 30 pilot verbs from Section 3 paired with each of the 50 frames from the MegaAcceptability data (Section 4). We find that the average pairwise agreement by list is actually higher in this experiment than in our original replication, with a median Spearman rank correlation of 0.65 (95% CI = [0.63, 0.67]). This higher agreement is due to a few annotators who did many lists showing high agreement with each other, since when we fit the linear mixed effects model described in Appendix C to these correlations, we find an expected correlation of 0.54,



**Figure 3:** Correlation by verb between mean normalized verb-frame acceptability in MegaAcceptability and one-verb-per-list dataset. The dashed line shows mean interannotator agreement.

which is very close to the correlation found in our validation experiments (Section 3).

To compare the agreement between the normalized ratings from the MegaAcceptability dataset to those from this one-verb-per-list dataset, we applied the normalization used for the MegaAcceptability dataset (Appendix C) to these data and then computed the correlation by verb. Figure 3 shows this agreement which is extremely high across all verbs.

We take this as an indicator that testing one verb per list—at least in this set of frames—produces results that are just as valid as intermixing verbs. We thus tested the seven verbs above using this method. The resulting dataset is available on megaattitude.io.

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