

LexEco: exploring how derivational morphology contributes to the semantics of French nouns

Lucie Barque

Université Sorbonne Paris Nord & LLF

DeriMo

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Introduction

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- Most word meanings are created by speakers either through morphological processes (1-a) or through polysemous extensions (1-b)
 - (1) a. *to unfriend* 'remove someone from a list of contacts'
 - b. *troll* 'a person who provokes others online' (from 'the ugly mythical creature')
- What is the respective contribution of these two mechanisms to the overall economy of meaning production?
- Addressing this question, among others, requires a morpho-semantic description of a representative sample of the lexicon

Introduction

- Comparison between simplex and complex words

	Artifact	Person	Cognition	state	Attribute	Action
Simplex N	<i>table</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>idea</i>	<i>joy</i>	<i>charisma</i>	<i>embargo</i>
Complex N	<i>trawler</i>	<i>violinist</i>	<i>thought</i>	<i>pleasure</i>	<i>politeness</i>	<i>exhibition</i>

- Some theoretical studies suggest that morphology plays a complementary role (Croft, 1991)
- Previous empirical studies on French nouns revealed, however, more nuanced patterns (e.g., Tribout et al., 2014; Huyghe et al., 2017; Salvadori, 2024)

LexEco

- LexEco is a lexical resource designed to provide a representative sample of the French nominal lexicon (cf. *Echantinom*, Bonami and Tribout (2021)), focusing on the core vocabulary
- Its development is based primarily on existing resources
- Each entry is annotated with morphological, semantic, and both corpus-based frequency and familiarity information

LexEco: Noun selection

- To ensure the ecological validity of the lexicon, nouns were selected from *Lexique 3* (New et al., 2004, 2007), based on familiarity ratings rather than corpus frequency

N	Freq	Fam	N	Freq	Fam
bétel 'betel'	1.54	30%	tendinite 'tendinitis'	0.12	100%
gandin 'dandy'	0.92	25%	peaufinage 'refinement'	0.1	100%
trèpe 'huddle'	0.74	19%	physionomiste 'face reader'	0.1	100%
vertex 'vertex'	0.61	17%	luxembourgeois 'Luxembourger'	0.1	100%
boutéon 'mess tin'	0.57	3%	fluor 'fluoride'	0.06	100%
voussure 'arch'	0.41	19%	déforestation 'deforestation'	0.02	100%

- Nouns with a minimum familiarity of 50% and attested as nouns in the French Wiktionary were retained, resulting in 18,979 nominal lemmas, each associated with textual frequency data ($M=16.5$, $SD=77.7$) and familiarity ratings ($M=88.5$, $SD=13.2$)

LexEco: Morphological information

- Information on the morphological structure of nouns comes primarily (78%) from four existing morphological resources
 - 2 351 nouns from *Le lexique des noms simples* (Tribout et al., 2014)
 - 3 274 nouns from *Échantinom* (Bonami and Tribout, 2021)
 - 1 513 nouns from *Sonde* (Huyghe et al., sub)
 - 7 760 nouns from *Démonette-2* (Namer et al., 2023)
- The morphological descriptions of the remaining 22% of nouns were produced semi-automatically and partially revised manually
 - Hyphenated nouns in this subset have been automatically classified as compounds
 - Nouns having an adjectival counterpart according to *Lexique-3* have been automatically classified as convert

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LexEco: Morphological information

- Morphological information associated with nouns in *LexEco* adhered to the guidelines established for the construction of *Échantinom* (Bonami and Tribout, 2021)

noun ¹	cstr	suff	suff_norm	pref	conv	conv_pos	aff_base	aff_pos
<i>cou</i>	simplex	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>embrassade</i>	suffixed	ade	ade	0	0	0	embrasser	V
<i>irrespect</i>	prefixed	0	0	in	0	0	respect	N
<i>réveil</i>	convert	0	0	0	réveiller	V	0	0
<i>cerf-volant</i>	compound	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>resto</i>	non-concat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>boudeuse</i>	suffixed	euse	eurM	0	boudeur	A	bouder	V
<i>malchanceux</i>	convert	eux	eux	mal	malchanceux	A	chance	N

¹*cou* 'neck', *embrassade* 'kissing', *irrespect* 'disrespect', *réveil* 'wake-up/alarm clock', *cerf-volant* 'kite', *resto* 'restaurant', *boudeuse* 'a sulky girl/sulky', 'insufficiency'

LexEco: Morphological information

- The reliability of the morphological information is still to be assessed
 - For most primary resources, internal consistency of the encoding—reflected by inter-annotator agreement—is not available
 - Diverging approaches to the treatment of complex morphological phenomena, such as
 - Distinction between prefixation and compounding (e.g., *épiphénomène* ‘epiphenomenon’)
 - Suffixation on non-autonomous base (e.g., ablation ‘ablation’)

LexEco: Semantic information

- The semantic information in LexEco is drawn from *SuperWik-fr* (Angleraud et al., 2025), a version of the French Wiktionary in which the senses of $\sim 230,000$ nouns have been automatically annotated with semantic labels
 - Word senses are semantically described at two levels of granularity
 - **Supersenses** (23 classes, e.g., Person, Artifact, Act)
 - **Hypersenses** (9 classes, e.g., Animate_entity, Inanimate_entity, Dynamic_situation)
- (2) LAVE-GLACE ('windshield washer')
- a. (Automobile) Dispositif qui envoie du liquide nettoyant sur le pare-brise. '(Automotive) Device that sprays cleaning fluid onto the windshield.' **Artifact** - **Inanimate_entity**
- b. (Par métonymie) Liquide lave-glace. ex. *Notre antigivre permet de réduire le gel du lave-glace sur le pare-brise, en hiver.* '(By metonymy) Windshield washer fluid. e.g., *Our antifreeze reduces the freezing of the windshield washer on the windshield during winter.*' **Substance** - **Inanimate_entity**

LexEco: Semantic information

- The semantic annotation was performed using supervised classifiers trained and evaluated on a large set of manually curated data
 - Achieved a mean precision of nearly 85% at the supersense level and nearly 92% at the hypersense level
 - Performances vary across semantic categories (F-scores)

Person	Artifact	Act	...	Attribute	Cognition	State
96.2	86.3	85.9	...	70.4	65.8	62.2

- Distribution of nouns by types of morphological processes in *LexEco*

	Nb of lemmas	%
Suffixation	8,801	46,3
Simplex	5,147	27,1
Conversion	3,645	19,3
Coumpounding	784	4,1
Prefixation	303	1,6
Nonconcat.	304	1,6
	18,984	100

- Distribution of nominal senses by hypersenses in the dataset²

	Nb of senses	%
Inanimate_entity	18,945	34
Animate_entity	10,825	19
Dynamic_situation	10,816	19
Stative_situation	5,470	10
Informational_object	5,422	10
Other	5,112	8
	56,590	100

²Hypersenses with a representation of less than 3% are grouped under the label other.

Case study

Case study: dataset

- Statistics of the dataset reduced to clear-cut³ cases of simplex and suffixed nouns

	Total N	Mono. N	Ambig. N	Senses	Mean Ambiguity	Freq
Simplex N	3,971	1,202	2,769	12,802	3.2	28.3
Suffixed N	8,007	2,887	5,120	21,380	2.6	7.1
Total	11,978	4,089	7,889	34,182	2.8	14.1

- 1 Semantic tendencies among *monosemous* simplex vs suffixed nouns only, as not all senses of ambiguous nouns are morphologically derived⁴
- 2 Ambiguity profiles of simplex and suffix nouns

³Possible cases of conversion were discarded. The number of excluded nouns is higher in the simplex group (956/4,927, 19%) than in the suffixed group (932/8,939, 10%).

⁴(Rainer, 2014; Bauer, 2017; Salvadori, 2024)

Case study: monosemous nouns

Supersense	Hypersense	Simplex		Suffix	
Animal Person	Animate	8.7 12.6	21.3	1.2 28.1	29.3
Artifact Body Food Object Plant Substance	Inanimate	16.5 5.1 13.1 4.7 4.8 4.5	48.6	6.4 0.7 1.1 1.1 1.0 1.9	12.2
Cognition Communic.	Information	4.7 0.8	5.6	4.3 0.2	4.5
Act Event Phenom.	Dynamic_sit.	7.2 1.7 1.2	10.1	26.6 4.5 1.0	32.1
Attribute Feeling State	Stative_sit.	1.4 0.8 2.2	4.4	10.1 1.7 6.3	18.1
Other (6)	Other (6)	10.1		3.8	

- Simplex nouns mainly denote concrete entities (70%) while suffixed nouns mainly denote abstract entities (58%)
- Within the set of concrete nouns, the balance between animate and inanimate entities is reversed across the two groups
- Within the set of nouns denoting inanimate entities, the balance between artifact and natural objects is reversed across the two groups
- The two groups exhibit significantly distinct semantic distributions ($\chi^2(5, N = 4,089) = 845.9, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = 0.45$)

Case study: noun ambiguity

- Simplex nouns are significantly more ambiguous⁵ ($M=3.2$) than suffixed nouns ($M=2.6$), as revealed by a Mann–Whitney U test ($Z = 9.7$, $p < .001$)
- Main, non-exclusive hypotheses
 1. Lexicographic practices, which tend to minimize the number of entries for suffixed N
 2. Frequency: simplex nouns are significantly more frequent than suffixed nouns
However, the causal relationship between these two collinear variables remains unclear⁶
 3. Semantic specificities of simplex nouns, which mainly denote concrete entities
 4. Lexical longevity, if simplex nouns tend to be older in the lexicon than suffixed forms

⁵Ambiguity is measured by the number of senses attributed to a noun in the French *Wiktionnaire*

⁶(Zipf, 1945; Piantadosi et al., 2012; Koshevoy et al., 2023)

Case study: noun ambiguity

- Poisson regression
 - Dependant variable : number of meanings of N
 - Predictors : log-transformed frequency of N, concreteness of its source meaning

	Estimate	Std Error	z value	Pr(< z)
(Intercept)	0.584326	0.010071	58.023	< 2e-16
Concreteness-concrete	0.029294	0.010830	2.705	0.00683
Log_Freq	0.642598	0.007921	81.125	< 2e-16

Case study: ambiguity profile

- The two groups are also expected to show different ambiguity profiles due to:
 1. Their respective semantic tendencies, as observed among monosemous nouns
Eg. metaphors such as Body→Artifact (e.g., *bouche* 'mouth/entry') and metonymies like Body→Person (e.g., *tête* 'head/intelligent person') are more typical of simplex Ns
 2. Their respective possible sources of ambiguity
 - For simplex N, ambiguity only results from sense extension
 - For suffixed N, ambiguity results from both sense extension and morphological derivation
- Two broad subtypes of ambiguous words, used as a proxy for their semantic diversity

	Simplex ambiguous Ns	Complex ambiguous Ns
Monocategorical	TSUNAMI a. <i>tsunami</i> Event b. <i>massive influx</i> Event	SUFFRAGETTE a. <i>suffragette</i> Person b. <i>feminist</i> Person
Polycategorical	KEBAB a. hand-held dish Food b. restaurant Institution	CUISINIÈRE a. <i>female cook</i> Person b. <i>kitchen stove</i> Artifact

Case study: ambiguity profile

- Statistics for the subset of ambiguous nouns

	Lemmas	Senses	Ambiguity	Freq
Simplex-monocat	957	2,717	2.8	29.4
Simplex-polycat	1,812	8,883	4.9	42.9
Suffixed-monocat	2,236	6,107	2.7	7.0
Suffixed-polycat	2,884	12,386	4.2	12.1
Total	7,889	30,093	3.81	19.8

- Monocategorical nouns
 - are significantly more frequent among suffixed than simplex N (43% vs 34%)
 - show no further differences in lexical ambiguity between simplex and suffixed forms, despite displaying comparable differences in frequency
 - Possible effect of morphological derivation

Conclusion

Conclusion

- We presented *LexEco*, a new morpho-semantic lexicon whose key contribution is to provide a representative sample of French nouns known by most adult speakers
- The comparison between suffixed and simplex nouns revealed:
 - A partially complementary distribution of semantic types between the two groups
 - Clear distinctions in ambiguity profiles: simplex nouns are more ambiguous and appear more semantically diverse than suffixed nouns
- Further research:
 - Enhancing the coherence of morphological information in future database releases
 - Conducting more fine-grained semantic analyses of the complementary roles of morphological derivation and polysemy in the construction of nominal meaning

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