This presentation will focus on the methodology used to build a reference dataset of nouns and verbs that have undergone a semantic evolution between 1800 and today in modern and contemporary French. This work is the first step of a project aiming at developing an interpretable automatic detection system of semantic innovations in corpora combining the most promising current computational approach, *Contextual Embeddings* - which manages to encode fine-grained linguistic characteristics of lexemes in context but remains a black box that cannot be directly interpreted by linguistic expertise -, with a more transparent method, inspired by the *behavorial profile* (Gries, 2010) and the *dynamic behavioral profile* concepts (Jensergers and Gries, 2017), which aim at spotting the lexico-syntactic prototypical uses of lexemes synchronically and diachronically in order to induce semantic evolutions.

In NLP, reference datasets allow the evaluation of automatic systems acccording to specific tasks. In lexical semantics, within the framework of the yearly SemEval competition, several tasks and gold standard datasets have been setup around Word Sense Disambiguation (see Raganato et al. 2017 for a review) with more recently a task devoted to Lexical Semantic Change (Schlechtweg et al., 2020). To build the datasets, different methods have been used, with different levels of granularity and various goals. The most intuitive method consists in establishing, for a given lexeme, the list of its meanings and then in annotating the meaning in different contexts. This method, notably used in projects such as SemCor3.0 (Miller et al., 1993) or BabelNet (Navigli and Ponzetto, 2012), has a few drawbacks : a low inter-annotator agreement, the inherent subjectivity of the initial meaning categorisation, the lack of consideration of the gradual nature of the senses in contexts, and a time-consuming annotation work. To alleviate these difficulties, another method proposes not to make any hypothesis on the meanings, but to present to the annotators pairs of contexts including the lexeme and to ask them to evaluate the similarity of meaning between the contexts, allowing on the one hand a better inter-annotator agreement, and then to generate from the evaluation results clusters of meanings. This method has been used for semantic disambiguation tasks (Erk et al, 2013; Pilehvar et Camacho-Collados, 2019) and for semantic innovations (Schlechtweg et al., 2018; Schlechtweg et al., 2020), by adding a temporal feature to each context. These manual methods remain expensive to implement, and do not allow the identification of prototypical meanings. Automatic methods have also been proposed to automatically generate reference sets from resources including both meanings and illustrative contexts, such as WordNet and Wiktionary, for example the X-WIC (Raganato et al., 2021) reference datasets. A limitation of this approach is that the degree of similarity between senses cannot be automatically inferred, leading to binary judgments that do not account for the semantic links and graded between senses.

The reference dataset combines the similarity-based and the meaning-based approaches by providing : 1/ a list of words with their meaning and prototypical contexts of use; 2/ a list of 200 contexts for each word, their date of occurrence and the similarity of usage with one of the defined meanings.
The identification of lexemes having undergone an evolution is not an easy task: the semantic evolution is generally progressive, the existing dictionaries do not immediately allow the identification of clearly distinct meanings and they adopt various definition granularity strategies. In this work, we used the French Wiktionary, known to import and simplify the TLFi data, the most detailed dictionary of contemporary French. Assuming that a polysemous lexeme (i.e. having at least two meanings) has a great chance to have undergone a semantic evolution, we extracted all the nouns and verbs from this database, to obtain a first list including both the different meanings and the associated illustrative examples. We also filtered the lexemes having for at least one of their meanings a 'dated' or 'obsolete' mark. A manual pre-processing allowed us to remove irrelevant lexemes (proper nouns, meanings too close, etc.). For the nearly 30,000 lexemes retained, the contexts were automatically extracted from a diachronic press corpus consisting of the newspress part of Gallica (period 1800-1940) and the JSI corpus (2014-2021). Then, starting from the senses identified by the Wiktionary, and for a sample of 30 nouns and 30 verbs, a team of linguists sought

to identify exemplars of each sense in each corpus. This method made it possible to validate or not the meanings identified by the Wiktionary, to obtain a certain number of prototypical contexts for each meaning and to infer words for which meanings disappeared or appeared through time.

At the end of this manual process, for exploratory and validation purposes, two automatic methods were carried out: on the one hand, contextual embeddings were generated for each context of each retained lexeme and a clustering allowed to represent the meaning clusters, as well as the anchor points represented by the contextual representations of the prototypical contexts; on the other hand, a Behavioral Profile - inspired approach, focusing on typical lexical-syntactic patterns of nouns and verbs, allowed to obtain for each word the most representative patterns and to plot their evolution over the period.
We will report the results obtained so far, from a sample of 30 nouns and 30 verbs, by pointing out various recurrent phenomena, in particular the semantic relations between meanings (extension/restiction of meaning, metonymy and metaphor), the existence of many ambiguous contexts, the continuum denoted by clustering through Contextual Embeddings and the joint contribution of the Embeddings and behavioral profiles approaches in the identification of meanings and their evolution. the reference dataset, the automatic

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TLFi : Trésor de la langue Française informatisé, http://www.atilf.fr/tlfi, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine. http://atilf.atilf.fr/