

Habitual aspect as a property of text spans

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Outline

The MelaTAMP project

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Figure 1: Subject languages of the MelaTAMP project.

The MelaTAMP project

- comparative research
- based on corpus data
- investigation of modality, aspect, tense, and polarity (TAMP) in Oceanic languages

The focus of this talk is on our study of habitual aspect.

Habituals in Oceanic

- (1)
 - a. I teach at college.
 - b. lions eat meat

- Question: How do Oceanic languages express habitual aspect?

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- (1) a. I teach at college.
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- Question: How do Oceanic languages express habitual aspect?
 - primarily through reduplication or
 - imperfective aspect marking or
 - a combination of both;
 - sometimes not at all.
- (von Prince et al., 2019)

Examples

- (2) *Ka ya=p du es-esi ngok teenem a nye*
 ASR 3PL=POT stay REDUP-see 2SG home and LSG
ka na w=i ten dóór kyun.
 ASR 1SG POT=COP assigned.to dark.bush just
 “[People] shall see you in the village and I, I will go to the
 bush.” (Daakaka: 1347)
- (3) *me ro nno me ko-lo-suruvu atano na me*
 FUT then 2SG FUT 2SG-IMPF-sleep ground but FUT
ko-lo-taua otoli na atano
 2SG-IMPF-put egg LOC ground
 “You will sleep on the ground, and you will lay eggs on the
 ground.” (Mavea 06016.060)

Data

Corpora

- Corpora of the following languages were considered in this study: Daakaka, Dalkalaen, Mavea, Nafsan, Saliba-Logea
- Texts were recorded during fieldwork sessions with speakers of the respective language.
- Annotation includes morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, part-of-speech-tags, translations into English, metadata on speakers, text genre, and the circumstances of the recording

Identifying comparable Texts

1. Translation-based searches for keywords: *used to/ would/ always/ usually/ often*
2. Genre-based searches with text-level data: “explanation nature”, “story”
3. Biographic and historic accounts as a sources for past habituals

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Result: A list of 26 similar stories, plots and tropes with significant overlap between corpora.

Overview

Language	Total		Tagged	
	#Texts	#Tok.	#Texts	#Clauses
Daakaka	119	68k	5	141
Dalkalaen	114	34k	6	658
Mavea	61	45k	3	634
Nafsan	110	65k	6	363
Saliba-Logea	214	150k*	6	157
Total	618	362k	26	1953

Table 1: Corpora included in this study; Tok: tokens; tag.: tagged; *of the 150k tokens in this corpus, about 70k are fully annotated.

Method

Segmentation

- Prioritizing of the comparable subcorpus (26 texts)
- Segmentation of the texts into annotation units, which often correspond to sentences
- Further subdivision of these units into clauses for TAMP annotation (1953 clauses in total)

Tagging

Category	Name	Tags
Clause type	clause	assertion, question, directive; embedded: proposition, conditional, e.question, temporal, adverbial, attributive
Temporal domain	time	past, future, present
Modal domain	mood	factual, counterfactual, possible
Aspectual domain	event	bounded, ongoing, repeated, stative
Polarity	polarity	positive, negative

Table 2: Tag set of the MelaTAMP project, see https://wikis.hu-berlin.de/melatamp/Main_page.

Tags in the Aspectual Domain

- For our study on habituais, the aspectual category **repeated** was especially relevant.

(4) *ya=t du tiye barar tevy-an na*
3P=DIST stay kill pig side.of-3S.POSS COMP
ya=t du se tóó
3P=DIST stay hook wild.cane
“They used to kill a pig for the occasion of
spear-throwing.” (Daakaka: 5210)

- The same tag also covers iterative contexts (*The children were bouncing up and down on.*)

Tagging Example

- (5) *ya=t du tiye barar tevy-an na*
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“They used to kill a pig for the occasion of spear-throwing.”
(Daakaka: 5210)

- clause: assertion
- time: past
- mood: factual
- event: repeated
- polarity: positive

Results of Inter-Annotator Agreement

Results in each Category

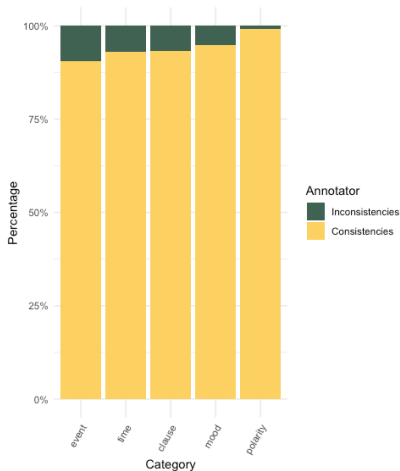


Figure 2: Percentages of total inter-annotator consistencies (yellow) and inconsistencies (green) in each TAM category of the tag set.

Inter-Annotator Agreement Score for each Category

- Polarity: $\kappa = 0.91$
- Mood: $\kappa = 0.86$
- Clause: $\kappa = 0.85$
- Time: $\kappa = 0.85$
- Event: $\kappa = \mathbf{0.79}$

Results in the Event Category

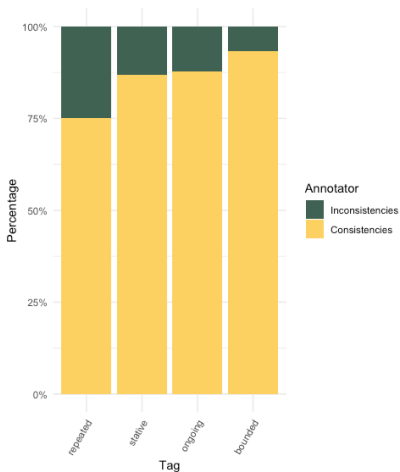


Figure 3: Percentages of total inter-annotator consistencies (yellow) and inconsistencies (green) in each tag of the event category.

Results in the Event Category

- Inter-annotator consistency was particularly low for the repeated aspectual tag.
- The main reason for this is that habituality can be a property of **passages**, which combines with a variety of clause-level aspects.

Habituality

Observations

- A habitual narrative is described in consecutive sentences.
- Individual clauses within the passage differ with respect to their local aspectual values.

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- (6) a. *hinage ta dup-paisowa*
also 1INCL.SBJ DUP-work
“we work hard too” (Saliba: Tautolowaiya_01AG_0048)
- b. *kamna-da te se yababa*
feeling-1INCL.POSS near.SP 3PL.SBJ bad
“and we feel tired” (Saliba: Tautolowaiya_01AG_0049)

Habituality as a Property of Text Passages

- (7)
- a. My grandmother used to bake the most wonderful pies every Saturday.
 - b. She went to the orchard on Shady Lane early in the morning.
 - b'. The alarm clock would **have gone** off at 6 a.m.
 - c. She then would pick a basket each of apples and peaches.
 - c'. Cows would be in the orchard **mooring** at her.

(Carlson and Spejewski, 1997)

Theoretical Implications

- Habitual passages might just be one special case of a much more general situation:
 - modal subordination,
 - sequence of tense,
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- Habitual passages might just be one special case of a much more general situation:
 - modal subordination,
 - sequence of tense,
 - reported speech,
 - and present-in-the-past.
- Our experiences highlight that tense, aspect, and mood are properties that apply at clause-level, but also, to some extent, to larger passages, and that passage-level TAM values are partially independent from clause-level TAM values.

Implications for Tagging Aspect Categories

- Passage-wide properties need to be considered depending on the intended scope and degree of granularity.

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- Habituality can span over sequences of several clauses.

Conclusion

- Tagging TAM categories gives insights into the use of aspectual categories for specific text genres.
- Difference between passage-level aspect and clause-level aspect can be found by comparing the annotation of comparable texts.
- Habituality can span over sequences of several clauses.

Thank you!

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