

# Interjection as coordination device: Feedback Relevance Spaces

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# Overview

- 1 Background
- 2 Corpus Investigation
- 3 Feedback Relevance Spaces in Dynamic Syntax
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# Dialogue...

- A 5143 He did mashed potatoes  
J 5144 Mm.  
A 5145 cabbage, savoy cabbage, carrots <pause> and he'd cu- cut them like I always cut them cos they were only them little baby carrots so, what I do I slice them down  
J 5146 Yeah.  
A 5147 you know, down middle like  
J 5148 Yeah.  
A 5149 into quarters so I do them longer  
J 5150 Yeah.  
A 5151 and he'd done them like that in microwave for eight minutes <pause> and er, done sprouts <pause> then he'd put this meat pie in oven  
J 5152 Crikey!  
A 5153 and er, done onion gravy!  
J 5154 Mm mm!  
A 5155 I says, ooh this gravy's lovely!  
J 5156 Yeah!  
A 5157 He says er, yeah he said I did some onion, and then, I got some of them, you know  
J 5158 Granules?  
A 5159 yeah, put some of that in  
J 5160 Mm.

# Dialogue...

- is incremental
- and co-constructed (Clark, 1996; Goodwin, 1981)
- even if one person does most of the talking (Bavelas et al., 2000)
  
- listener feedback:
  - backchannels (*mmm, uh-huh*)
  - Clarification Requests (CR, e.g. *huh?, Mary?*)
  - (also non-verbal, such as nodding or looking puzzled)
  
- impacts on how the conversation unfolds

# Feedback - backchannels & CRs...

- can occur sub-sententially
- evidence suggests that there are specific places where they ought to occur
- *backchannel relevance spaces* (Heldner et al., 2013)
  - analogous to transition relevance places (Sacks et al., 1974)  
... but more common
- feedback is optional at these points

# Randomly placed feedback...

- is disruptive
- is rated as less natural
- decreases rapport
- makes a robot listener seem less attentive

(Healey et al., 2011; Poppe et al., 2011; Kawahara et al., 2016;  
Park et al., 2017)

# Backchannels as repair avoidance?

“... ‘uh huh’, nods, and the like, in passing the opportunity to do a full turn at talk, can be seen to be passing an opportunity to initiate repair on the immediately preceding talk” (Schegloff, 1982)

- Primacy of the mis-: understanding consists in not having misunderstandings  
(in line with Healey et al., 2018)
- Multiple backchannel functions – continuer, agreement, acknowledgement – unifiable
- Feedback = procedural devices for managing divergence and convergence in dialogue



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- A dialogue grammar should capture this...
- and make predictions about what happens otherwise

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# Hypotheses

- 1 Feedback should ordinarily occur at FRSs
- 2 Early feedback indicates that the speaker's truncated semantic unit was locally predictable enough to be already understood without having been fully articulated.
- 3 Late feedback is more disruptive than feedback at FRS & early feedback
- 4 Backchannels at non FRSs are less disruptive than CRs

# Materials & Annotations

- 20 dialogues from the sub-corpus of the BNC used to study Compound Contributions  
(Purver et al., 2009; Howes et al., 2012a)
- existing end-complete tags
- additional annotations of CRs & backchannels
- additional annotations of FRS, Early & Late feedback (following Duncan, 1972; Kjellmer, 2009)
- Late feedback annotated conservatively

# Positioning of Feedback: Results

	Total		at TRP		overlap	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Acknowledgements	655	13	112	17	174	27
Clarification	115	2	10	9	14	12
Total	770	16	122	16	188	24
Total utterances	4938					



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- Backchannels more likely than CRs to occur at TRP (17% vs 9%:  $\chi_1^2 = 5.181, p = 0.02$ )
- Backchannels more likely to occur in overlap than CRs (27% vs 12%:  $\chi_1^2 = 10.978, p = 0.001$ )

# Positioning of Feedback: Results

	Total	Early		At FRS		Late	
	#	#	%	#	%	#	%
Acknowledgements	655	81	12	555	85	19	3
Clarifications	115	7	6	99	86	9	8
Total	770	88	11	654	85	28	4

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- No difference at FRS (85% vs 86%)

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Total	770	88	11	654	85	28	4

- No difference at FRS (85% vs 86%)
- Backchannels more likely to be early (12% vs 6%)
- CRs more likely to be late (8% vs 3%:

$$\chi_1^2 = 10.452, p = 0.001)$$

# Late Feedback

- addresses an earlier semantic unit

D 136 Er women were also said to be polite, diffident, verbose and deferential, which

U 137 What all of those?

D 138 Mhm.

U 139 <unclear> polite and deferential.

# Late Feedback

- more CRs than backchannels are late
- more disruptive than feedback at FRS?
  - restarts more common following late feedback than feedback at an FRS (25% vs 10%  
 $\chi_1^2 = 6.244, p = 0.012$ )
  - restarts maybe more common following late feedback than early feedback (25% vs 11%  
 $\chi_1^2 = 3.158, p = 0.076$ )

# Early Feedback

- Predictability of speaker's utterance



# Early Feedback

- Predictability of speaker's utterance:  
interpreted as if complete

M 180 I can't stand the seaside.  
181 Couldn't we go to the North York  
[Moors]  
L 182 [Mm.]  
M 183 instead.  
184 Right so . . .

# Early Feedback

- CR produced as a completion

J 109 How does it generate?

M 110 It's generated with a handle and

J 111 **Wound round?**

M 112 Yes, wind them round and this should, should generate a charge . . .

# Early Feedback

- 14% of early vs. 5% of late backchannel antecedents are abandoned
- for CRs, the opposite: 14% of early vs. 67% of late CR antecedents are abandoned
- Early CRs are often produced as completions (~60%)
- results in line with Healey et al. (2011); Howes et al. (2012b)

# Early Feedback

- Abandoned antecedent

S 66 Yeah ⟨pause⟩ Well it's it's it's a it's a bit of a weighty subject that.

67 **I think we ought to er**

B 68 Yeah okay

S 69 Why don't you and I talk about it separately then

B 70 Yeah alright

# Late backchannel

- backchannel leads to restart

D 144 I'm not saying that the same person  
thought of these two things at once,  
but

U 145 Okay.

D 146 these are these are things which were  
all said.

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# Dynamic Syntax and Type Theory with Records (DS-TTR)

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- Word-by-word construction of semantic (and contextual) representations in Type Theory with Records (TTR Cooper, 2012)
- syntax = **constraints** on incremental semantic construction
- grammar = set of **conditional actions** for incremental, semantic processing

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- Word-by-word construction of semantic (and contextual) representations in Type Theory with Records (TTR Cooper, 2012)
- syntax = **constraints** on incremental semantic construction
- grammar = set of **conditional actions** for incremental, semantic processing
- Bidirectional (generation as parsing)

# Parsing “John Fainted” with DS-TTR

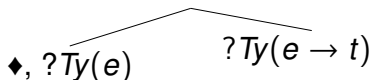
- Words:

? $Ty(t)$ , ◆

# Parsing “John Fainted” with DS-TTR

- Words:

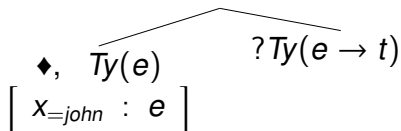
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# Parsing “John Fainted” with DS-TTR

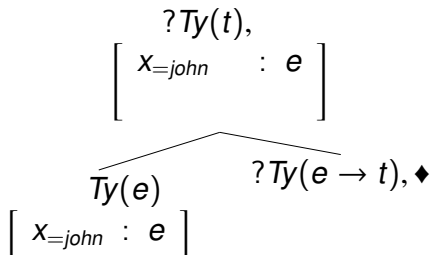
- Words: John

?Ty(t),



# Parsing “John Fainted” with DS-TTR

- Words: John



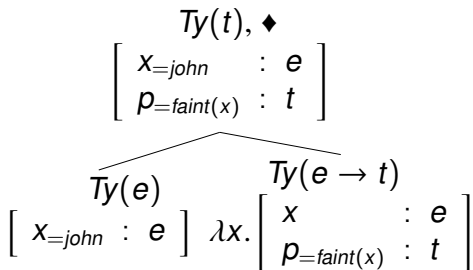
# Parsing “John Fainted” with DS-TTR

- Words: John fainted

$$\begin{array}{c} ?Ty(t), \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} x_{=john} \\ : e \end{array} \right] \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \begin{array}{c} Ty(e) \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} x_{=john} \\ : e \end{array} \right] \end{array} \quad \lambda x. \begin{array}{c} ?Ty(e \rightarrow t), \blacklozenge \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} x \\ \rho_{=faint(x)} \\ : t \end{array} \right] \end{array} \end{array}$$

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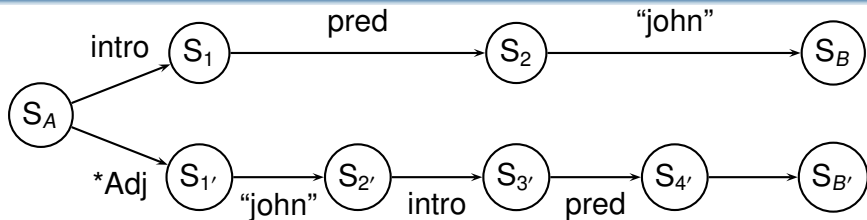




# Modelling feedback in DS

- Dynamic Syntax can provide a formal model of where feedback should be licensed. . .  
(Howes and Eshghi, 2017)
- . . . and how it should be integrated  
(Eshghi et al., 2015)

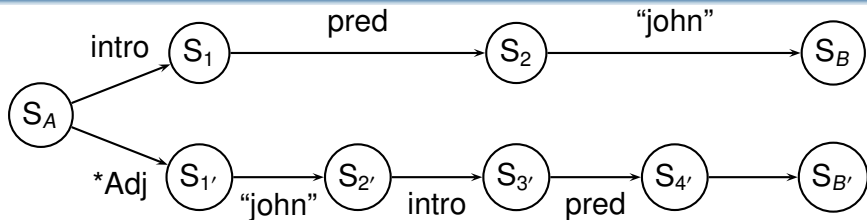
# Context in Dynamic Syntax



**Nodes** = Semantic Trees

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**Edges** = Lexical or Computational actions

- Parsing/generation modelled on Directed Acyclic Graph (DAG)
- Parsing = incremental search/construction of this DAG (Sato, 2011)
- Context in DS is this DAG (Eshghi et al., 2013; Purver et al., 2011)
- Model of CRs, short answers, self-repair, etc. (Hough and Purver, 2012; Hough, 2015; Kempson et al., 2016, among many others)

# The context model as such...

- Enables modelling of contextual updates arising from CRs, short answers, rejections, split utterances, self-repair, and other uses of context dependency. (Hough and Purver, 2012; Hough, 2015; Kempson et al., 2016, among many others)
- . . . purely in terms of processing: No recourse to dialogue acts, intentions, or higher order reasoning (Eshghi et al., 2015; Howes and Eshghi, 2017)

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  - The *self-pointer*,  $\blacklozenge$ , and
  - The *other-pointer*,  $\diamond$
- The intersection of self-pointer-to-root and other-pointer-to-root path is *grounded*
- Discursive potential (Ginzburg, 2012) or discourse obligations (Matheson et al., 2000) as pointer divergence
- Recently dubbed: **Interaction Control State (ICS)**



# Interpreting backchannels

**Dialogue**  
**A:** The

**Context-final semantics**

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \quad : \left[ \begin{array}{l} x \quad : e \end{array} \right] \\ x_{=t(r,x,r)} \quad : e \end{array} \right]$$



# Interpreting backchannels

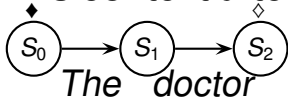
## Dialogue

**A:** The doctor

## Context-final semantics

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \\ x_{=t(r,x,r)} \end{array} : \left[ \begin{array}{l} x : e \\ p_{=doctor(x)} : t \end{array} \right] \right]$$

## A's context after dialogue



# Interpreting backchannels

## Dialogue

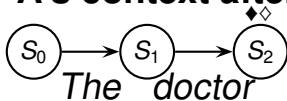
**A:** The doctor

**B:** mhm

## Context-final semantics

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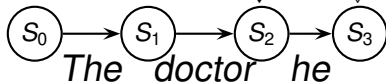
**B:** mhm

**A:** he

## Context-final semantics

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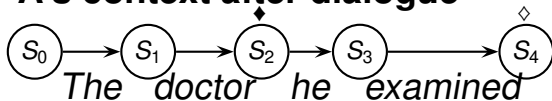
**B:** mhm

**A:** he examined

## Context-final semantics

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \quad : \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} x \quad : e \\ p_{=doctor(x)} : t \end{array} \right] \\ x_{=t(r,x,r)} \quad : e \\ ev_{=examine} \quad : es \\ p_{=subj(ev,x)} \quad : t \end{array} \right]$$

## A's context after dialogue



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## Dialogue

**A:** The doctor

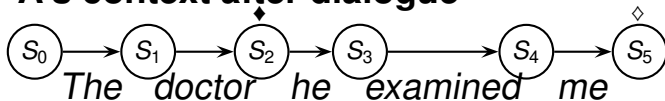
**B:** mhm

**A:** he examined  
me

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## A's context after dialogue



# Interpreting backchannels

## Dialogue

**A:** The doctor

**B:** mhm

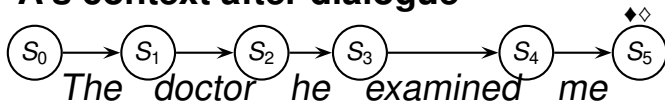
**A:** he examined  
me

**B:** okay

## Context-final semantics

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## A's context after dialogue



- Repairs (and CRs) lead to branching in graph, see Eshghi et al. (2015)

# Licensing Backchannels: placement

Lexical Entry for a backchannel:

mhm	IF	$?Ty(X)$	
	THEN	abort	
	ELSE	IF	$\langle \uparrow_0 \downarrow_1 \rangle \exists x. Tn(x)$
			$\langle \uparrow_0 \downarrow_1 \rangle \neg \exists x. ?x$
			$\neg \exists x. ?x$
		THEN	abort
	ELSE	do-nothing	

Precludes “**A**: John arrived with ... **B**: mhm”

- For details see Howes and Eshghi (2017)



# Processing Clarification Requests

- Local and non-local CRs
- Extend a semantic tree in context

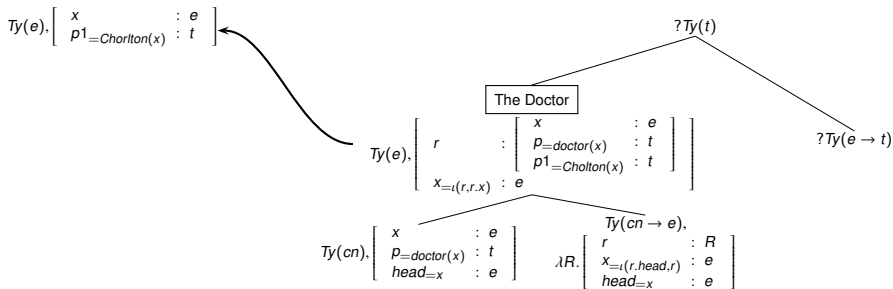
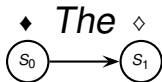


Figure: Processing *Chorlton?* in “A: the doctor B: Chorlton?”

# Clarification Interaction in DS

## Dialogue

A: The



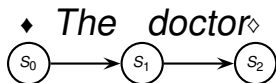
## Context-Final Semantics

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \quad : \left[ \begin{array}{l} x \quad : e \end{array} \right] \\ x = t(r, x, r) \quad : e \end{array} \right]$$

# Clarification Interaction in DS

## Dialogue

A: The doctor



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# Clarification Interaction in DS

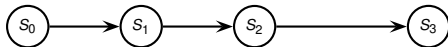
## Dialogue

**A:** The doctor  
examined

## Context-Final Semantics

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◆ *The doctor examined* ◆



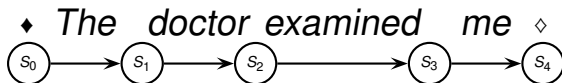
# Clarification Interaction in DS

## Dialogue

**A:** The doctor  
examined me

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# Clarification Interaction in DS

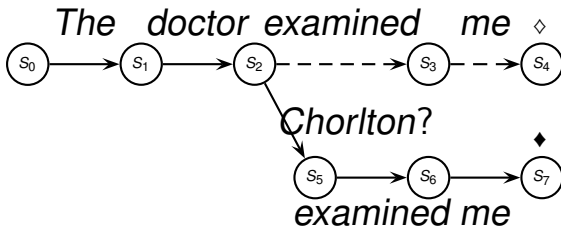
## Dialogue

**A:** The doctor examined me

**B:** Chorlton?

## Context-Final Semantics

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \quad \quad \quad : \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} x \quad \quad \quad : e \\ p = \text{doctor}(x) : t \\ p1 = \text{Chorl}(x) : t \end{array} \right] \\ x =_t(r,x,r) \quad : e \\ ev = \text{examine} \quad : es \\ p = \text{subj}(ev,x) \quad : t \\ x1 = \text{spkr} \quad \quad : e \\ p1 = \text{obj}(ev,x1) \quad : t \end{array} \right]$$



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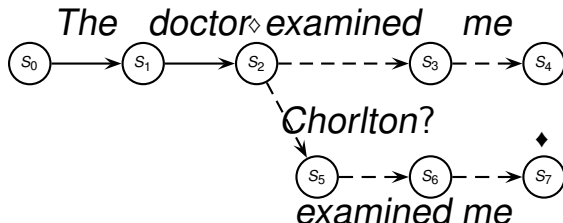
**A:** The doctor examined me

**B:** Chorlton?

**A:** no,

## Context-Final Semantics

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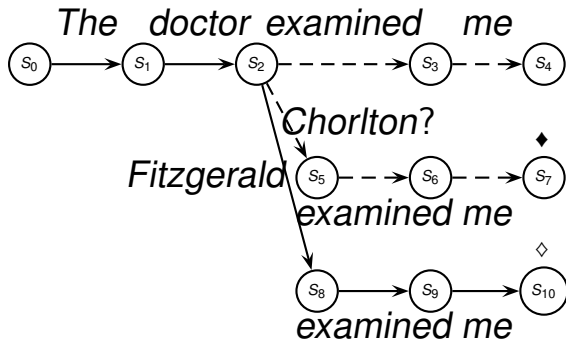
**A:** The doctor examined me

**B:** Chorlton?

**A:** no, Fitzgerald

## Context-Final Semantics

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \quad : \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} x \quad : \quad e \\ p = \text{doctor}(x) \quad : \quad t \\ p^1 = \text{Fitz}(x) \quad : \quad t \end{array} \right] \\ x = \iota(r.x.r) \quad : \quad e \\ \text{ev} = \text{examine} \quad : \quad \text{es} \\ p = \text{subj}(\text{ev}.x) \quad : \quad t \\ x^1 = \text{spkr} \quad : \quad e \\ p^1 = \text{obj}(\text{ev}.x^1) \quad : \quad t \end{array} \right]$$





# Clarification Interaction in DS

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**A:** The doctor examined me

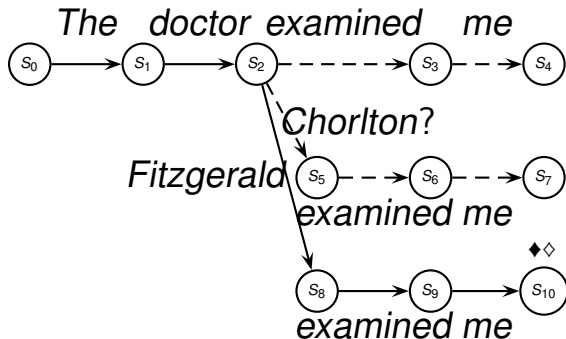
**B:** Chorlton?

**A:** no, Fitzgerald

**B:** uh-huh

## Context-Final Semantics

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} r \quad : \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} x \quad : \quad e \\ p = \text{doctor}(x) \quad : \quad t \\ p^1 = \text{Fitz}(x) \quad : \quad t \end{array} \right] \\ x = \iota(r.x, r) \quad : \quad e \\ \text{ev} = \text{examine} \quad : \quad \text{es} \\ p = \text{subj}(\text{ev}, x) \quad : \quad t \\ x^1 = \text{spkr} \quad : \quad e \\ p^1 = \text{obj}(\text{ev}, x^1) \quad : \quad t \end{array} \right]$$



# 'Late' feedback

- the listener may be lagging slightly behind the speaker
- 'Late' feedback can be interpreted as grounding the most recent increment
- i.e. move *other-pointer* to most recent DAG position at which COMPLETION was possible
- this search is computationally expensive, so should lead to disruption

# 'Early' feedback

- not licensed. . .
- but is expected where the (content) completion is predictable, given the machinery of DS
- Consistent with experimental results (Howes et al., 2012b)
- Early feedback only looks early? i.e. it is parsed/produced after covert prediction of node content for the hearer? -  
computationally inexpensive

# Overview

- 1 Background
- 2 Corpus Investigation
- 3 Feedback Relevance Spaces in Dynamic Syntax
- 4 Discussion**

# Discussion

- Model of feedback at FRSs and non-FRSs
  - Corpus evidence broadly consistent with model predictions
  - Backchannels serve to align processing contexts
  - .. and reduce ambiguity/complexity
  - Other context-dependent forms align interpretation pathways
- Context-dependency at the centre of participant coordination and feedback in dialogue
- clipping alternative interpretation paths
  - pervasiveness not coincidental. . .
  - . . . and not just about least effort

# Future directions

- Feedback in multi-party dialogue?
- Results are correlational: need an experimental study
- ... including non-verbal feedback
- incorporate fully into DS implementation & working dialogue system

# Thanks!

Questions... especially comments please!

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