Lexical, Prosodic, and Syntactic Cues for Dialog Acts

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Abstract

The structure of a discourse is reflected in many aspects of its linguistic realization, including its lexical, prosodic, syntactic, and semantic nature. Multiparty dialog contains a particular kind of discourse structure, the dialog act (DA). Like other types of structure, the dialog act sequence of a conversation is also reflected in its lexical, prosodic, and syntactic realization. This paper presents a preliminary investigation into the realization of a particular class of dialog acts which play an essential structuring role in dialog, the backchannels or acknowledgements tokens. We discuss the lexical, prosodic, and syntactic realization of these and subsumed or related dialog acts like continuers, assessments, yesanswers, agreements, and incipient-speakership. We show that lexical knowledge plays a role in distinguishing these dialog acts, despite the widespread ambiguity of words such as yeah, and that prosodic knowledge plays a role in DA identification for certain DA types, while lexical cues may be sufficient for the remainder. Finally, our investigation of the syntax of assessments suggests that at least some dialog acts have a very constrained syntactic realization, a per-dialog act 'microsyntax'.

1 Introduction

The structure of a discourse is reflected in many aspects of its linguistic realization. These include 'cue phrases', words like *now* and *well* which can indicate discourse structure, as well as other lexical, prosodic, or syntactic 'discourse markers'. Multiparty dialog contains a particular kind of discourse structure, the **dialog act**, related to the speech acts of Searle (1969), the conversational moves of Carletta et al. (1997), and the adjacency pair-parts of Schegloff (1968) Sacks et al. (1974) (see also e.g. Allen and Core (1997; Nagata and Morimoto (1994)). Like other types of structure, the dialog act sequence of a conversation is also reflected

in its lexical, prosodic, and syntactic realization. This paper presents a preliminary investigation into the realization of a particular class of dialog acts which play an essential structuring role in dialog, the **backchannels** or **acknowledgements tokens**. We discuss the importance of words like *yeah* as cue-phrases for dialog structure, the role of prosodic knowledge, and the constrained syntactic realization of certain dialog acts.

This is part of a larger project on automatically detecting discourse structure for speech recognition and understanding tasks, originally part of the 1997 Summer Workshop on Innovative Techniques in LVCSR at Johns Hopkins. See Jurafsky et al. (1997a) for a summary of the project and its relation to previous attempts to build stochastic models of dialog structure (e.g. Reithinger et al. (1996),Suhm and Waibel (1994),Taylor et al. (1998) and many others), Shriberg et al. (1998) for more details on the automatic use of prosodic features, Stolcke et al. (1998) for details on the machine learning architecture of the project, and Jurafsky et al. (1997a) on the applications to automatic speech recognition.

In this paper we focus on the realization of five particular dialog acts which are subsumed by or related to backchannel acts, utterances which give discourse-structuring feedback to the speaker. Four (continuers, assessments, incipient speakership, and to some extent agreements), are subtypes of backchannels. These four and the fifth type (yesanswers) overlap strongly in their lexical realization; many or all of them are realized with words like yeah, okay, uh-huh, or mm-hmm. Distinguishing true markers of agreements or factual answers from mere continuers is essential in understanding a dialog or modeling its structure. Knowing whether a speaker is trying to take the floor (incipient speakership) or merely passively following along (continuers) is essential for predictive models of speakers and dialog.

Tag	Example	Count	%
Statement	Me, I'm in the legal department.	72,824	36%
Continuer	Uh-huh.	37,096	19%
Opinion	I think it's great	25,197	13%
Agree/Accept	That's exactly it.	10,820	5%
Abandoned/Turn-Exit	So, -/	10,569	5%
Appreciation	I can imagine.	4,633	2%
Yes-No-Question	Do you have to have any special training	4,624	2%
Non-verbal	<laughter>,<throat_clearing></throat_clearing></laughter>	3,548	2%
Yes answers	Yes.	2,934	1%
Conventional-closing	Well, it's been nice talking to you.	2,486	1%
Uninterpretable	But, uh, veah	2,158	1%
Wh-Question	Well, how old are you?	1,911	1%
No answers	No.	1,340	1%
Response Ack	Oh, okay.	1.277	1%
Hedge	I don't know if I'm making any sense	1,182	1%
Declarative Question	So you can afford to get a house?	1.174	1%
Other	Well give me a break, you know.	1,074	1%
Backchannel-Question	Is that right?	1,019	1%

Table 1: 18 most frequent tags (of 42)

2 The Tag Set and Manual Tagging

The SWBD-DAMSL dialog act tagset (Jurafsky et al., 1997b) was adapted from the DAMSL tag-set (Core and Allen, 1997), and consists of approximately 60 labels in orthogonal dimensions (so labels from different dimensions could be combined). Seven CU-Boulder linguistic graduate students labeled 1155 conversations from the Switchboard (SWBD) database (Godfrey et al., 1992) of human-to-human telephone conversations with these tags, resulting in 220 unique tags for the 205,000 SWBD utterances.

The SWBD conversations had already been handsegmented into utterances by the Linguistic Data Consortium (Meteer and others, 1995; an utterance roughly corresponds to a sentence). Each utterance received exactly one of these 220 tags. For practical reasons, the first labeling pass was done only from text transcriptions without listening to the speech.

The average conversation consisted of 144 turns, 271 utterances, and took 28 minutes to label. The labeling agreement was 84% ($\kappa = .80$; (Carletta, 1996)). The resulting 220 tags included many which were extremely rare, making statistical analysis impossible. We thus clustered the 220 tags into 42 final tags. The 18 most frequent of these 42 tags are shown in Table 1. In the rest of this section we give longer examples of the 4 types which play a role in the rest of the paper.

A continuer is a short utterance which plays discourse-structuring roles like indicating that the

other speaker should go on talking (Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 1982; Yngve, 1970). Because continuers are the most common kind of backchannel, our group and others have used the term 'backchannel' as a shorthand for 'continuer-backchannels'. For clarity in this paper we will use the term **continuer**, in order to avoid any ambiguity with the larger class of utterances which give discourse-structuring feedback to the speaker. Table 2 shows examples of continuers in the context of a Switchboard conversation.

Jefferson (1984) (see also Jefferson (1993)) noted that continuers vary along the dimension of incipient speakership; continuers which acknowledge that the other speaker still has the floor reflect 'passive recipiency', and those which indicate an intention to take the floor reflect 'preparedness to shift from recipiency to speakership'. She noted that tokens of passive recipiency are often realized as mm-hmm, while tokens of incipient speakership are often realized as yeah, or sometimes as yes. The example in Table 2 is one of Passive Recipiency. Table 3 shows an example of a continuer that marks incipient speakership. In our original coding, these were not labeled differently (tokens of passive recipiency and incipient speakership were both marked as 'backchannels'). Afterwards, we took all continuers which the speaker followed by further talk and coded them as **incipient speakership**.¹.

¹This simple coding unfortunately misses more complex cases of incipiency, such as the speaker's next turns beginning

Spkr	Dialog Act	Dialog Act Utterance				
B	Statement	but, uh, we're to the point now where our financial income is enough that we can consider putting some away –				
Α	Continuer	Uh-huh. /				
B	Statement	– for college, /				
В	Statement	so we are going to be starting a regular payroll deduction -				
Α	Continuer	Um. /				
В	Statement	in the fall /				
B	Statement	and then the money that I will be making this summer we'll be putting away for the college fund.				
Α	Appreciation	Um. Sounds good.				

Table 2: Examples: Continuers

Table 3: Examples: Incipient Speakership.

Spkr	Dialog Act	Utterance
B	Wh-Question	Now, how long does it take
Į		for your contribution to vest?
A	Statement	God, I don't know /
A	Statement	<a>laughter> It's probably a long time <laughter>.</laughter>
Α	Statement	I'm sure it's not till
A	Statement	like twenty-five years, thirty years.
В	Incipient	Yeah, /
B	Statement	the place I work at's, health insurance is kind of expensive./

The yes-answer DA (Table 4) is a subtype of the answer category, which includes any sort of answers to questions. yes-answer includes yes, yeah, yep, uh-huh, and such other variations on yes, when they are acting as an answer to a Yes-No-Question.

The various **agreements** (accept, reject, partial accept etc.) all mark the degree to which speaker accepts some previous proposal, plan, opinion, or statement. Because SWBD consists of free conversation and not task-oriented dialog, the majority of our tokens were **agree/accepts**, which for convenience we will refer to as **agreements**. These are used to indicate the speaker's agreement with a statement or opinion expressed by another speaker, or the acceptance of a proposal. Table 5 shows an example.

3 Lexical Cues to Dialog Act Identity

Perhaps the most studied cue for discourse structure are lexical cues, also called 'cue phrases', which are defined as follows by Hirschberg and Litman (1993): "Cue phrases are linguistic expressions such as NOW and WELL that function as explicit indicators of the structure of a discourse". This section examines the role of lexical cues in distinguishing four common DAs with considerable overlap in lexical realizations. These are continuers, agreements, yes-answers, and incipient-speakership.

What makes these four types so difficult to distinguish is that they all can be realized by common words like *uh-huh*, *yeah*, *right*, *yes*, *okay*.

But while some tokens (like yeah) are highly ambiguous, others, (like uh-huh or okay) are somewhat less ambiguous, occurring with different likelihoods in different DAs. This suggests a generalization of the 'cue word' hypothesis: while some utterances may be ambiguous, in general the lexical form of a DA places strong constraints on which DA the utterance can realize. Indeed, we and our colleagues as well as many other researchers working on automatic DA recognition, have found that the words and phrases in a DA were the strongest cue to its identity.

Examining the individual realization of our four DAs, we see that although the word *yeah* is highly ambiguous, in general the distribution of possible

a telling (Drummond and Hopper, 1993b)

Table 4: Examples: yes-answer.

Spkr	Dialog Act	Utterance
A	Declarative-Question	So you can afford to get a house?
В	Yes-Answer	Yeah, /
B	Statement-Elaboration	we'd like to do that some day. /

Table 5: Example: Agreement

Spkr	Dialog Act	Utterance
A	Opinion	So, I, I think, if anything, it would have to be /
A	Opinion	a very close to unanimous decision. /
B	Agreement	Yeah, /
В	Agreement	I'd agree with that. /

realizations is quite different across DAs. Table 6 shows the most common realizations.

As Table 6 shows, the Switchboard data supports Jefferson's (1984) hypothesis that uh-huh tends to be used for passive recipiency, while yeah tends to be used for incipient speakership. (Note that the transcriptions do not distinguish mm-hm from uh-huh; we refer to both of these as uh-huh). In fact uh-huh is twice as likely as yeah to be used as a continuer, while yeah is three times as likely as uh-huh to be used to take the floor.

Our results differ somewhat from earlier statistical investigation of incipient speakership. In their analysis of 750 acknowledge tokens from telephone conversations, Drummond and Hopper (1993a) found that yeah was used to initiate a turn about half the time, while uh huh and mm-hm were only used to take the floor 4% - 5% of the time. Note that in Table 6, uh-huh is used to take the floor 1402 times. The corpus contains a total of 15,818 tokens of uh-huh, of which 13,106 (11,704+1402) are used as backchannels. Thus 11% of the backchannel tokens of uh-huh (or alternatively 9% of the total tokens of uh-huh) are used to take the floor, about twice as many as in Drummond and Hopper's study. This difference could be caused by differences between SWBD and their corpora, and bears further investigation.

Drummond and Hopper (1993b) were not able to separately code yes-answers and agreements, which suggests that their study might be extended in this way. Since we did code these separately, we also checked to see what percentage of just the backchannel uses of yeah marked incipient speakership. We found that 41% of the backchannel uses of *yeah* were used to take the floor (4773/(4773+6961)) similar to their finding of 46%.

While yeah is the most common token for continuer, agreement, and yes-answer, the rest of the distribution is quite different. Uh-huh is much less common as an yes-answer than tokens of yeah or yes – in fact 86% of the yes-answer tokens contained the words yes, yeah, or yep, while only 14% contained uh-huh.

Note also that *uh-huh* is also not a good cue for agreements, only occurring 4% of the time. Tokens like *exactly* and *that's right*, on the other hand, uniquely specify agreements (among these four types). The word *no*, while not unique (it also marks incipient speakership), is a generally good discriminative cue for agreement (it is very commonly used to agree with negative statements).

We are currently investigating speakerdependencies in the realization of these four DAs. Anecdotally we have noticed that some speakers used characteristic intonation on a particular lexical item to differentiate between its use as a **continuer** and an **agreement**, while others seemed to use one lexical item exclusively for backchannels and others for agreements.

4 Prosodic Cues to Dialog Act Identity

While lexical information is a strong cue to DA identity, prosody also clearly plays an important role. For example Hirschberg and Litman (1993) found that intonational phrasing and pitch accent play a role in disambiguating cue phrases, and hence in helping determine discourse structure.

Agree	ements		Cont	inuer		Incipier	nt Speak	er	Yes-A	nswer	
yeah	3304	36%	uh-huh	11704	45%	yeah	4773	59%	yeah	1596	56%
right	1074	11%	yeah	6961	27%	uh-huh	1402	17%	yes	497	17%
yes	613	6%	right	2437	9%	right	603	7%	uh-huh	401	14%
that's right	553	6%	oh	974	3%	okay	243	3%	oh yeah	125	4%
no	489	5%	yes	365	1%	oh yeah	199	2%	uh yeah	50	1%
ub-huh	443	4%	oh yeah	357	1%	yes	162	2%	oh yes	31	1%
that's true	352	3%	okay	274	1%	(LAUGH) yea	ıh 88	1%	well yeah	29	1%
exactly	299	3%	um	256	1%	oh	79	<1%	uh yes	25	<1%
oh yeah	227	2%	sure	246	<1%	sure	58	<1%	yeah (LAUGH)	24	<1%
i know	198	2%	huh-uh	241	<1%	no	49	<1%	um yeah	18	<1%
sure	95	1%	huh	217	<1%	well yeah	47	<1%	yep	18	<1%
it is	95	1%	huh	137	<1%	really	41	<1%	yes (LAUGH)	11	<1%
okay	94	1%	uh	131	<1%	huh	34	<1%			
absolutely	90	<1%	really	114	<1%	oh really	31	<1%	1		
i agree	73	<1%	yeah (LAUGH)	110	<1%	oh okay	31	<1%			
(LAUGH) yea	h 66	<1%	oh uh-huh	102	<1%	huh-uh	27	<1%	[
oh yes	58	<1%	oh okay	92	<1%	allright	25	<1%			

Table 6: Most common lexical realizations for the four DAs

Hirschberg and Litman also looked at the difference in cues between text transcriptions and complete speech.

We followed a similar line of research to examine the effect of prosody on DA identification, by studying how DA labeling is affected when labelers are able to listen to the soundfiles. As mentioned earlier, labeling had been done only from transcripts for practical reasons, since listening would have added time and resource requirements beyond what we could handle for the JHU workshop. The fourth author (an original labeler) listened to and relabeled 44 randomly selected conversations that she had previously labeled only from text. In order not to bias changes in the labeling, she was not informed of the purpose of the relabeling, other than that she should label after listening to each utterance. As in the previous labeling, the transcript and full context was available; this time, however, her originallycoded labels were also present on the transcripts. Also as previously, segmentations were not allowed to be changed; this made it feasible to match up previous and new labels. The relabeling by listening took approximately 30 minutes per conversation.

For this set of 44 conversations, 114 of the 5757 originally labeled Dialog Acts (2%) were changed, The fact that 98% of the DAs were unchanged suggests that DA labeling from text transcriptions was probably a good idea for our purposes overall. However, there were some frequent changes which were significant for certain DAs. Table 7 shows the DAs that were most affected by relabeling, and hence

were presumably most ambiguous from text-alone:

Changed DA	Count	7/0
continuers \rightarrow agreements	43/114	38%
opinions \rightarrow statements	22/114	19%
statements \rightarrow opinions	17/114	15%
other	32	(< 3 % each)

Table 7:	DA	changes	in	44	conversations
1010 11					

The most prominent change was clearly the conversion of continuers to agreements. This accounted for 38% of the 114 changes made. While there were also a number of changes to statements and opinions, the changes to continuers were primary for two reasons. First, statements have a much higher prior probability than continuers or agreements. After normalizing the number of changes by DA prior, continuer \rightarrow agreement changes occur for over 4% of original continuer labelers. In contrast, the normalized rate for the second and third most frequent types of changes were 22/989 (2%) for opinions \rightarrow statements and 17/2147 (1%) for statements \rightarrow opinions. Second, continuer \rightarrow agreement changes often played a causal role in the other changes: a continuer which changed to an agreement often caused a preceding statement to be relabeled as an opinion.

There are a number of potential causes for the high rate of continuer \rightarrow agreement changes. First, because continuers were more frequent and less marked than agreements, labelers were originally instructed to code ambiguous cases as contin-

uers. Second, the two codes often shared identical lexical form: as was mentioned above, while some speakers used lexical form to distinguish **agreements** from **continuers**, many others used prosody.

We did find some distinctive prosodic indicators when a continuer was relabeled as an agreement. In general, continuers are shorter in duration, less intonationally marked (lower F0, flatter, lower energy (less loud)) than agreements. There are exceptions, however. A continuer can be higher in F0, with considerable energy and duration, if it ends in a continuation rise. This has the effect of inviting the other speaker to continue, resembling question intonation for English. A high fall, on the other hand, sounds more like an agreement than a continuer.

Another important prosodic factor not reflected in the text is the latency between DAs, since pauses were not marked in the SWBD transcripts. One mark of a dispreferred response is a significant pause before speaking. Thus when listening, a DA which was marked as an agreement in the text could be easily heard as a continuer if it began with a particularly long pause. Lack of a pause, conversely, contributes to an opposite change, from continuer \rightarrow agreement. The SWBD segmentation conventions placed veah and uh-huh in separate units from the subsequent utterances. Listening, however, sometimes indicated that these veahs or uh-huhs were followed by no discernible pause or delay, in effect "latched" onto the subsequent utterance. Taken as a single utterance, the combination of the affirmative lexical items and the other material actually indicated agreement. In the following example there is no pause between A.1 and A.2, which led to relabeling of A.1 as an agreement, based mainly on this latching effect and to a lesser extent on the intonation (which is probably colored by the latching, since both utterances are part of one intonation contour).

Spk	Dialog Act	Utterance
B A A	Opinion Agree Opinion	I don't think they even realize what's out there and to what extent. <lipsmack> Yeah, / I'm sure a lot of them are missing those household items <laugh></laugh></lipsmack>
		items <laugh>.</laugh>

5 Syntactic Cues

As part of our exploratory study, we have also begun to examine the syntactic realization of certain dialog acts. In particular, we have been interested in the syntactic formats found in evaluations and assessments.

Evaluations and assessments represent a subtype of what Lyons (1972) calls "ascriptive sentences" (471). Ascriptive sentences "are used...to ascribe to the referent of the subject-expression a certain property" (471). In the case of evaluations and assessments, the property being ascribed is part of the semantic field of positive-negative, good-bad. Common examples of evaluations and assessments are:

- 1. That's good.
- 2. Oh that's nice.
- 3. It's great.

The study of evaluations and assessments has attracted quite a bit of work in the area of Conversation Analysis. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) provide an early description of evaluations/ assessments. Goodwin (1996:391) found that assessments often display the following format:

Pro Term + Copula + (Intensifier) + Assessment Adjective

In examining evaluations and assessments in the SWBD data, we found that this format does occur extremely frequently. But perhaps more interestingly, at least in these data we find a very strong tendency with regard to the exact lexical identity of the Pro Term (the first grammatical item in the format): that is, we found that the Pro Term is overwhelmingly "that" in the Switchboard data (out of 1150 instances with an overt subject. 922 (80%) had that as the subject). Moreover, in the 1150 utterances included in this study (those displaying an overt subject), intensifiers (like very, so) were extremely rare, occurring in only 27 instances (2%), and all involved the same two intensifiers - really and pretty. Of the 1150 utterances used as the database for this exploratory study, those utterances that showed an assessment adjective displayed a very small range of such adjectives. The entire list follows: great, good, nice, wonderful, cool, fun, terrible, exciting, interesting, wild, scary, hilarious, neat, funny, amazing, tough, incredible, awful.

The very strong patterning of these utterances suggests a much more restricted notion of grammatical production than linguistic theories typically propose. This result lends itself to the notion of "micro-syntax" — that is, the possibility that particular dialog acts show their own syntactic patterning and may, in fact, be the site of syntactic patterning.

6 Conclusion

This work is still preliminary, but we have some tentative conclusions. First, lexical knowledge clearly plays a role in distinguishing these five dialog acts, despite the wide-spread ambiguity of words such as *yeah*. Second, prosodic knowledge plays a role in DA identification for certain DA types, while lexical cues may be sufficient for the remainder. Finally, our investigation of the syntax of assessments suggests that at least some dialog acts have a very constrained syntactic realization, a per-dialog act 'microsyntax'.

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