

An Introduction to Semantics using Type Theory with Records

Lecture 4

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Grounding

- ▶ Grounding (Herb Clark and collaborators): A's dialogue move m_1 before it enters the common ground must be *grounded* by B. Grounding requires that *B understands m_1 relative to her own purposes*.
- ▶ Alwood: 'Contributions in the form of "acknowledging feedback" are not needed to constitute speech acts but rather to inform the interlocutor of the extent to which his communicative objectives are met.'
- ▶ Traum 1994: computationally explicit account; fused into Conversational Discourse Representation Theory in collaboration with Massimo Poesio (PTT).
- ▶ PTT integrates grounding into the general semantic interpretation process, uses DRT to account for anaphoric uses to previous utterances; very detailed picture of the common ground subsequent to an utterance.

Failing to ground

- ▶ How to construe the grounding criterion?
- ▶ Not so crucial to formalize *B understands m_1 relative to her own purposes*. if one concentrates on successful cases (for discussion of challenges to formalization see e.g. Traum 1999).
- ▶ More crucial if one wishes to study *What are the consequences of grounding failure?*

When grounding fails: *CRification*

- (1) Tim: Could I have one of those (unclear)? Dorothy: Can you have what? Tim: Have one of those things. Dorothy: What things? Tim: Those pink things that af after we had our lunch. Dorothy: Pink things? Tim: Yeah. Er those things in that bottle. Dorothy: Oh **I know what you mean.** For your throat?

When grounding fails: *CRification*

- ▶ Clarification Requests (CRs)—one of the most explicit pieces of evidence we have of the distribution of sources of *trouble* in interaction.
- ▶ Occur approx 5% of the time (BNC: 'eh': 1943, pardon: 768)
- ▶ More *difficult* cognitively: kids start producing only from approx. 30 months; no evidence of non-human CRs.
- ▶ Crucial tool of linguistic stability: evidence from simulations (see Macura and Ginzburg, 2008, Macura 2007 PhD thesis)

Purver et al taxonomy

- ▶ There are a wide range of forms of CRs that can follow a given utterance—their characterization is an adequacy requirement for any theory of dialogue context:
- ▶ See Purver et al 2001, Purver, 2004, for the taxonomy of CRs used here.
- ▶ This is based on a random sampling of the 10 million word dialogue subcorpus of the BNC consisting of c. 150,000 words. 4% of sentences were found to be clarification requests.

CRs: form classification

- (2) a. A: Did Bo leave?
 b. *Wot* B: Eh? / What? / Pardon?
 c. *Explicit* B: What did you say? / Did you say 'Bo' ?
 d. *Literal reprise* B: Did BO leave? / Did Bo LEAVE?
 e. *Wh-substituted Reprise* B: Did WHO leave? / Did Bo WHAT?
 f. *Reprise sluice* B: Who? / What?
 g. *Reprise fragment* (CE) B: Bo? / Leave?
 h. *Gap* B: Did Bo ... ?
 i. **Filler**: A: Did Bo ... B: Win? (Table I from Purver, 2006)

CRs: content classification

- ▶ Four classes of contents were identified: they can be exemplified in the form of Explicit CRs:
 - (3) a. **Repetition**: What did you say? Did you say 'Bo'?
 - b. **Clausal confirmation**: Are you asking if Bo left?
You're asking if who left?
 - c. **Intended Content**: What do you mean ()? Who is 'Bo'?
 - d. **Correction**: Did you mean to say 'Bro'?

CRs: content classification

- Many CR utterances are multiply ambiguous. The most extreme case is RF, which seems able to exhibit all four readings, main two being clausal and intended-content:
 - (4) a. Marsha: yeah that's it, this, she's got three rottweilers now and Sarah: three?
Marsha: yeah, one died so only got three now
Are you saying she's got **THREE** rottweilers now?
 - (5) Tim: Could I have one of those (unclear)? Dorothy: Can you have what? Tim: Have one of those things. Dorothy: What things? Tim: Those pink things that af after we had our lunch. Dorothy: Pink things? Tim: Yeah. Er those things in that bottle. Dorothy: Oh **I know what you mean.** For your throat?

CR form and type as percentage of CRs – demographic portion

	expl	lit	sub	slu	rf	gap	fil	wot	oth	Total
cla	4.1	4.7	1.0	11.3	24.8	0	0	0	0.5	46.5
int	6.2	0	0	0	1.8	0	0	5.7	0	13.6
rep	0.8	0	2.6	2.3	0.3	0.5	3.1	26.3	0	35.9
cor	1.0	0.5	0	0	1.0	0	0	0	0	2.6
oth	0	0	0	0	0.8	0	0	0.5	0	1.3
Total	12.1	5.2	3.6	13.6	28.6	0.5	3.1	32.5	0.5	100.0

CR form and type as percentage of CRs – demographic portion

- ▶ CRs were found to make up just under 4% of sentences when calculated over the demographic portion, or just under 3% when calculated over all domains.
- ▶ Forms: Commonest: *wot* and *reprise fragment* forms, with each making up over 25% of CRs. Explicit CRs and reprise sluices also common, each contributing over 10% of CRs. Other forms are all around 5% or less.
- ▶ Readings: nearly 50% of CRs— clausal-conf with the repetition (about 35%) and int-content (about 15%) non-trivial.

CE: parallelism conditions

- ▶ The clausal-conf and intended-content readings involve distinct syntactic and phonological parallelism conditions.
- ▶ Clausal readings do not require phonological identity between target and source:
 - (6) a. A: Did Bo leave? B: My cousin?
 b. A: Did she annoy Bo? B: Sue?
- ▶ syntactic parallelism: an XP used to clarify an antecedent sub-utterance u_1 must match u_1 categorially:
 - (7) a. A: I phoned him. B: him? / #he?
 b. A: Did he phone you? B: he? / #him?
 c. A: Did he adore the book. B: adore? / #adored?
 d. A: Were you cycling yesterday? B: Cycling?/biking?/#biked?

CE: parallelism conditions

- ▶ Int-cont readings of CE do seem to involve (segmental) phonological identity with their source.
- (8) (i) A: Did Bo leave? B: Max? (cannot mean: int-cont reading: **who are you referring to?**)

Non-existent CRs

- ▶ Two of the most highly researched areas in formal and computational grammar are syntactic ambiguity (e.g. prepositional attachment) and scopal ambiguity.
- ▶ **not a single CR concerned with syntactic or scopal ambiguity has been found**, suggesting that either these are not domains that involve much uncertainty for interlocuters in human conversation, or that there is some factor that prevents their production.
- ▶ See Ginzburg, 2012 for discussion of constructed scope disambiguation CRs such as:

(9)

A(1): The boys kept a cat.

B(2): A cat? One cat for all the boys or different ones?

A(3): They each kept a cat.

Empirical Conclusions

- ▶ Schegloff's claim: (applied to CRs, not self-repair) 'Because anything in talk can be a source of trouble, everything in conversation is, in principle, "repairable".' use
- ▶ Evidence from three corpus studies Purver *et al.* (2001); Rodriguez and Schlangen (2004); Rieser and Moore (2005) (two concern English conversations, one German; two involve task oriented conversations, the most comprehensive involves a wide range of primarily free unrestricted conversation types.)

Empirical Conclusions

- ▶ **Restricted range of contents:** the function of CRs seems, to a very large extent, to consist of either (a) confirming or querying intended content or (b) requesting repetition of a misheard (sub)-utterance. use
- ▶ **Syntactic and phonological parallelism:** CRs frequently exhibit (segmental) phonological parallelism with their source, indeed for certain form/content combinations this is a grammatical requirement; this requirement is weakened to syntactic parallelisms for other constructions.

GRCR conditions

- ▶ The ability to characterize for any utterance type the update that emerges in the aftermath of successful mutual understanding (*grounding*), and the full range of possible clarification requests (Clarification interaction = CRification) otherwise.

What entity delivers GRCR conditions? I

- ▶ Need entity which (a) both CPs have interest in preserving,
- ▶ from which range of CRs is derivable,
- ▶ and which allows original speaker (Ariadne) to interpret and recognize the coherence of a class of possible clarification queries that original addressee (Barabas) might make.
- ▶ allows utterance presuppositions to be derived:

(10) A(1): Did Mark send you a love letter?

B(2b): No, though it's interesting **that you refer to Mark/my brother/our friend**

B(2d): No, though it's interesting **that you ask about Mark's epistolary habits**

B(2e): No, though it's interesting **that the final two words you just uttered start with 'I'**

What entity delivers GRCR conditions?

- ▶ Content: pro: in Ariadne's DGB post-utterancely; con: not necessarily in Barabas'; too coarse grained.
- ▶ Meanings (Montague/Kaplan sense): pro: range of contextual parameters offers a possible characterization of the contextually variable and hence potentially problematic constituents of utterance content.
- ▶ if we conceive of meanings as entities which characterize potential sources of misunderstanding, then at a minimum all open class words will also need to be assumed to project parameters which requiring instantiation in context.

What entity delivers GRCR conditions?

► Con 1: coarse grained

- (11) a. Ariadne: Jo is a lawyer. Barabas: A lawyer?/What do you mean a lawyer?/#What do you mean an advocate?/#What do you mean an attorney?
 b. Ariadne: Jo is an advocate. Barabas: #What do you mean a lawyer?/An advocate?/What do you mean an advocate?/#What do you mean an attorney?

Con 2: need syn/phon data to ensure potential for syntactic and phonological parallelism (e.g. for CE).

Sub-utterance potential for CRs

- ▶ *a priori* ANY sub-utterance is clarifiable (but significant caveats qualitatively and quantitatively):
 - (12) a. Who rearranged the plug behind the table?
 - b. Who? / rearranged? / the plug? / behind? / the table?
 - c. A: Is that the shark? B: The? B: Well OK, A. (based on an example in the film *Jaws*.)
- ▶ The consequences this has for utterance representation is that we need to ensure that for a given utterance each *sub*-utterance is accessible as an antecedent.

An utterance type

$$\left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{PHON : is georges here} \\
 \text{CAT} = \text{V}[+\text{fin}] : \text{syncat} \\
 \text{constits} = \{ \text{is, georges, here, is georges here} \} : \text{set}(\text{sign}) \\
 \\
 \text{C-PARAMS : } \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{spkr: IND} \\
 \text{addr: IND} \\
 \text{c1 : address(s,a)} \\
 \text{s0: SIT} \\
 \text{l: LOC} \\
 \text{g: IND} \\
 \text{c3: Named(g, 'georges')}
 \end{array} \right] \\
 \\
 \text{cont} = \text{Ask}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}, ? \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{sit} = \text{s0} \\
 \text{sit-type} = \text{In}(\text{l}, \text{g})
 \end{array} \right]) : \text{IllocProp}
 \end{array} \right]$$

What entity delivers GRCR conditions?

- ▶ The locutionary proposition defined by u , T_u is a grammatical type that classifies u is the proposition $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = u \\ \text{sit-type} = T_u \end{array} \right]$. This will deliver GRCR conditions.
- ▶ Why the grammatical type:
 - ▶ Finer grain than content, meaning
 - ▶ syn/phon parallelism with source utterance
- ▶ Why the utterance token:
 - ▶ Need instantiated content, not merely meaning
 - ▶ Reference to sub-utterances tokens figure in CRs ('Bo?' = Who referring to in that utterance of 'Bo'.)

A locutionary proposition

$$\begin{aligned}
 (13) \quad & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{phon} = \text{di.jo.liv} \\ \text{cat} = V[+fin, +root] \\ \text{constits} = \{ \text{di.jow, liv} \} \\ \text{dgb-params} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{s0} = \text{sit0} \\ \text{t0} = \text{time0} \\ \text{j} = \text{j0} \\ \text{c3} = \text{c30} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{cont} = ([\] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = \text{s0} \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{Leave(j, t0)} \end{array} \right]) \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \text{sit-type} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} : \text{did jo leave} \\ \text{CAT} = V[+fin, +root] : \text{syncat} \\ \text{constits} = \{ \text{did, jo, leave} \} : \text{set(sign)} \\ \text{DGB-PARAMS} : \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{s0: SIT} \\ \text{t0: TIME} \\ \text{j: IND} \\ \text{c3: Named(j, jo)} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{cont} = ([\] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = \text{s0} \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{Leave(j, t0)} \end{array} \right]) : \text{Questn} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]
 \end{aligned}$$

Incorporating metacommunicative interaction

- ▶ Add resource: Pending—incompletely processed utterances.
- ▶ In light of need for fine grainedness and non-semantic parallelism:
Change type of resource Moves, Pending keep track of $\langle \text{utt. token, utt. type} \rangle$ pair (*locutionary propositions*)
- ▶ New defn of DGBType:

```

[
  spkr: Ind
  addr: Ind
  utt-time: Time
  c-utt : addressing(spkr,addr,utt-time)
  Facts : Set(Prop)
  Pending : list(LocProp)
  Moves : list(LocProp)
  QUD : poset(Question)
]

```

Incorporating metacommunicative interaction

- ▶ Grounding: utterance type fully classifies utterance token
- ▶ CRification: utterance type calculated is weak (e.g. incomplete word recognition); need further information to spell out token (e.g. incomplete contextual resolution).

Pending: composition

- ▶ Utterances are kept track of in a contextual attribute `PENDING` in the immediate aftermath of the speech event.
- ▶ Given a presupposition that u is the most recent speech event and that T_u is a grammatical type that classifies u , a record of the form $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = u \\ \text{sit-type} = T_u \end{array} \right]$ (of type `LocProp` (*locutionary proposition*))), gets added to `PENDING`.

Contextual extension

- Contextual instantiation will of course occur as soon as an utterance has taken place, but it can also take place subsequently, as when more information is provided as a consequence of CRification

(14) **Contextual extension**

given the MaxPending locutionary proposition $p =$

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = u \\ \text{sit-type} = T_u \end{array} \right]$ and a record w that (a) contextually extends u

and such that (b) $w.c - \text{params}$ is a subrecord of the c-param anchoring intended by u 's speaker, integrate w into p .

CRification

- ▶ Failure to fully instantiate contextual parameters or recognize phonological types triggers CRification.
- ▶ This involves accommodation of questions into context by means of a particular class of conversational rules—Clarification Context Update Rules (CCURs).
- ▶ We can do this given the highly restricted nature of potential CRs, given our corpus results.

CRification I

- ▶ Each CCUR specifies an accommodated MaxQUD built up from sub-utterance u_1 of the target utterance *MaxPending*.
- ▶ Common to all CCURs is a license to follow up *MaxPending* with an utterance which is *co-propositional* with MaxQud
- ▶ We can define *CoPropositionality* as follows:
 - ▶ Two utterances u_0 and u_1 are *co-propositional* iff the questions q_0 and q_1 they contribute to QUD are co-propositional.
 - ▶ q_0 and q_1 are co-propositional if there exists a record r such that $q_0(r) = q_1(r)$.
- ▶ In practice: *co-propositional* here: either a CR which differs from MaxQud at most in terms of its domain, or a correction—a proposition that instantiates MaxQud.

CRification II

- ▶ Example: 'Whether Bo left', 'Who left', and 'Which student left' (assuming Bo is a student.)

CRification

- Parameter identification:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{pre : } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Spkr : Ind} \\ \text{MaxPending : LocProp} \\ u0 \in \text{MaxPending.sit.constits} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{effects : } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MaxQUD} = \lambda x (\text{Mean}(\text{pre.spkr}, u0, x) : \text{Question}) \\ \text{LatestMove : LocProp} \\ c1 : \text{CoProp}(\text{LatestMove.cont}, \text{MaxQUD}) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Parameter Identification

- ▶ Underpins CRs such as:

- (15) A: Is Bo here?
- a. Who do you mean 'Bo'?
 - b. WHO?
 - c. Bo? (= Who is 'Bo'?)

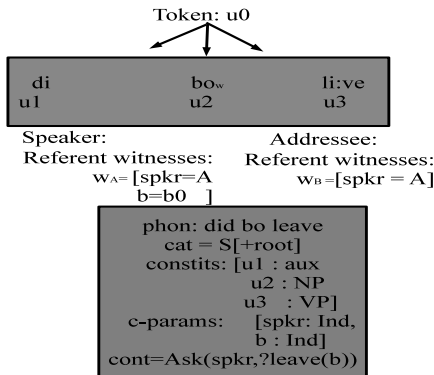
- ▶ Example shortly; NSU cases tomorrow.
- ▶ We can also deal with corrections, as in (16). B's corrective utterance is co-propositional with $\lambda x \text{Mean}(A, u2, x)$, and hence allowed in by the specification.

- (16) a. A: Is Bo here?
- b. B: You mean Jo.

Incorporating metacommunicative interaction

- ▶ Single (public) input leads to distinct outputs on ‘public level’.

The Turn Taking Puzzle



Grounding:

Moves := $\langle u_0 + w_A, T_{u_0} \rangle$
MaxQUD := ?leave(b)

Crification:

Pending := $\langle u_0 + w_B, T_{u_0} \rangle$
MaxQUD := ?x.Intend(A, u_2, x)

An example

- (17) A(1): Is Georges here?
 B(2): WHO do you mean?
 A(3): George Sand.
 B:(4) Ah,(5) no.

Example

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} T_u = \text{IGH} \\ u = u0 \\ \text{dgb0} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = A \\ \text{addr} = B \\ \text{Pending} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{Moves} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{qud} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{facts} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots \text{In}(I, \{A, B\}), \\ \text{MostRecentSpeechEvent}(u0), \\ \text{Classify}(\text{IGH}, u0), \dots \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Example

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{dgb2}' = & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = A \\ \text{addr} = B \\ \\ \text{sit} = w0' \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{phon} = \text{izjorjhiya} \\ \text{cat} = V[+\text{fin}, +\text{root}] \\ \text{constits} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} v1(\text{iz}), v2(\text{jorj}), \\ v3(\text{hiya}), v4(\text{izjorjhiya}) \end{array} \right\} \\ \\ \text{dgb-params} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = A \\ \text{addr} = B \\ \text{time} = t0 \\ s0 = \text{sit1} \\ l = l0 \\ c3 = \text{pr1} \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \text{cont} = \text{Ask}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}, ? \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = s0 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{In}(l, g) \end{array} \right]) \\ \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right]
 \end{aligned}$$

aud = dgb0 aud

Example

$$\left[\begin{array}{l}
 \text{spkr} = B \\
 \text{addr} = A \\
 T_u = \text{WDYM} \\
 u = u1 \\
 \text{pending} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0' \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\
 c3 = \text{pr3} \\
 q1 = \lambda x \text{ Mean}(\text{pre.spkr}, \text{pre.v2}, x) : \text{Questn} \\
 \text{qud} = \langle q1 \rangle \\
 \text{facts} = \text{facts1}' = \text{dgb0.facts} \cup \left\{ \text{MostRecentSpeechEvent}(u1) \right\} \\
 \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w1 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{WDYM} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle
 \end{array} \right]$$

Example

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0' \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{qud} = \left\langle \lambda x \text{Mean}(A, v2, x) \right\rangle \\ \text{facts} = \text{facts1}' \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \text{Ask}(B, A, \lambda x \text{Mean}(A, v2, x)) \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

An example

$$(18) \quad a. \quad A.dgb7 = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w1 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{WDYM} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{qud} = \langle p1? \rangle \\ \text{facts} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{In}(I, \{A, B\}) \\ \text{Named}('Georges', g), \\ \text{2ndMostRecentSpeechEvent}(u0), \\ \text{Classify}(\text{IGH}, u0) \\ \text{MostRecentSpeechEvent}(u1), \\ \text{Classify}(\text{WDYM}, u1) \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

An example

$$(19) \quad B.dgb7' = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0' \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{qud} = \left\langle \lambda x \text{Ask}(A, B, ?\text{In}(I, x)) \right\rangle \\ \text{facts} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{In}(I, \{A, B\}) \\ \text{Named}('Georges', g), \\ \text{2ndMostRecentSpeechEvent}(u0), \\ \text{Classify}(\text{IGH}, u0) \\ \text{MostRecentSpeechEvent}(u1), \\ \text{Classify}(\text{WDYM}, u1) \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w1 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{WDYM} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

The TTP revisited

- ▶ A has the question of *whether Georges is here* as the sole member of QUD, whereas the utterance 'WHO do you mean?' remains pending;
- ▶ remains pending because no applicable LatestMoveUR.

The TTP revisited

- ▶ In contrast, B's QUD consists of the question *who do you mean*, whereas the utterance 'Is Georges here' is pending.

The TTP revisited

- ▶ However, TTP-type mismatches are exhibited intrinsically on the level of production, but need not arise at the level of comprehension.
- ▶ That is, in the current example—and more generally—it is rarely the case that the author of an utterance u fails to understand CRs relating to u , let alone to recognize their coherence.

(20) A: Who does Bo admire? b: Bo?

- ▶ In order to enable this possibility, we offer a rule that *inter alia* allows the integration of CRs concerning u by the author of u .

CR Accommodation

- ▶ $\text{CCUR.qud}(u1)$ —question accommodated by applying a CCUR to $u1$.
- ▶ *CR accom rule*: if the speaker of LatestMove is the current addressee, p is pending, and $u1$ is a constituent of LatestMove, one can update moves with p and QUD with $\text{CCUR.qud}(u1)$, so long as p is co-propositional with $\text{CCUR.qud}(u1)$.

An example

$$A.dgb8 = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{qud} = \langle \lambda x \text{Ask}(A, B,), p1? \rangle \\ \text{facts} = \text{dgb7.facts} \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w1 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{WDYM} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

An example

(21) a. A(3): (I'm asking about) George Sand. B:(4) Ah,(5) no.

An example

$$B.dgb8' = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = A \\ \text{addr} = B \\ \text{pending} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0' \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{qud} = \left\langle ?\text{Mean}(A, v2, gs)_j, \lambda x \text{Ask}(A, B, \lambda x \text{Mean}(A, v2, x)) \right\rangle \\ \text{facts} = \text{dgb7'}. \text{facts} \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w3 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{GS} \end{array} \right]', \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w1 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IWH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

An example

$$B.dgb9' = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0' \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{qud} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{facts} = \left\{ \text{Ask}(A, B, \text{Mean}(A, v2, \text{gs})) \right\} \\ \cup \text{dgb7'}. \text{facts} \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w4 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{Ah} \end{array} \right], \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w3 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{GS} \end{array} \right], \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w1 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IWH} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

An example

B.dgb10' =

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \\ \text{pending} = \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0 = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{dgb-params} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = A \\ \text{addr} = B \\ \text{time} = t0 \\ \text{s0} = \text{sit1} \\ l = l0 \\ g = \text{gs} \\ c3 = \text{pr1} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{cont} = \text{Ask}(\text{spkr}, \text{addr}, ? \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = \text{s0} \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{In}(l, g) \end{array} \right]) \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right\rangle \\ \\ \text{qud} = \text{dgb9'}. \text{qud} \\ \text{facts} = \text{dgb9'}. \text{facts} \\ \text{moves} = \text{dgb9'}. \text{moves} \end{array} \right]$$

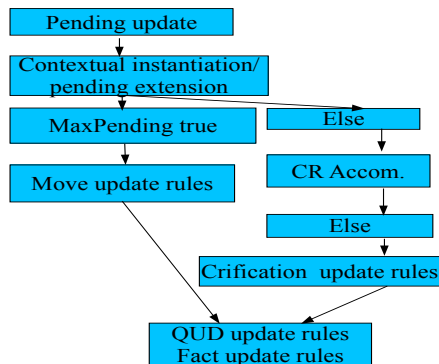
An example

$$B.dgb11' = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{qud} = dgb9'.qud \\ \text{facts} = dgb9'.facts \\ \text{moves} = \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sit} = w0 \\ \text{sit-type} = \text{IGH} \end{array} \right], dgb10'.moves \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

An example

$$B.dgb12' = \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spkr} = B \\ \text{addr} = A \\ \text{pending} = \langle \rangle \\ \text{qud} = \langle ?\text{In}(\text{lo}, \text{gs}) \rangle \\ \text{facts} = \text{dgb9'}. \text{facts} \\ \text{moves} = \text{dgb11'}. \text{moves} \end{array} \right]$$

Summary



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