



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Computational Approaches to the Pragmatics Problem

Citation for published version:

Cummins, C & De Ruiter, J 2014, 'Computational Approaches to the Pragmatics Problem' *Language and Linguistics Compass*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 133-143. DOI: 10.1111/lnc3.12072

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.1111/lnc3.12072](https://doi.org/10.1111/lnc3.12072)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Early version, also known as pre-print

Published In:

Language and Linguistics Compass

Publisher Rights Statement:

© Cummins, C., & De Ruiter, J. (2014). Computational Approaches to the Pragmatics Problem. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 8(4), 133-143. 10.1111/lnc3.12072

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



1 **Computational approaches to the pragmatics problem**

2 **Abstract**

3 Unlike many aspects of human language, pragmatics involves a systematic many-to-many
4 mapping between form and meaning. This renders the computational problems of encoding
5 and decoding meaning especially challenging, both for humans in normal conversation and
6 for artificial dialogue systems that need to understand their users' input. A particularly
7 striking example of this difficulty is the recognition of speech act or dialogue act types. In
8 this review, we discuss why this is a problem, and why its solution is potentially relevant both
9 for our understanding of human interaction and for the implementation of artificial systems.
10 We examine some of the theoretical and practical attempts that have been made to overcome
11 this problem, and consider how the field might develop in the near future.

12 **Introduction**

13 What constitutes human communication? One possible answer is to claim that it requires a
14 sender and a recipient, and that information is encoded by the sender, transmitted, and
15 decoded by the recipient. This concept of communication was famously formalised by
16 Shannon (1948). However, Grice (1957) argued that communication between people was
17 also characterised by the process of intention recognition. Specifically, he identified the
18 notion of "non-natural meaning", in which sense a speaker "means" something if, firstly, they
19 intend to induce a belief in the hearer as a consequence of that utterance, and secondly, they
20 intend for this to happen as a result of the hearer recognising the intention (conveyed by the
21 utterance) to bring about this belief. For instance, a speaker who says "Please sit down"
22 intends for the hearer to sit down, and for this to occur because the hearer recognises that this
23 is what the speaker wants to convey by these words. From this perspective, as Levinson
24 (1983: 15) puts it, "communication involves the notions of intention and agency".

25 Grice's view of inter-personal communication has been enormously influential in linguistic
26 pragmatics and related fields. A striking point of contrast with the Shannon model, as Grice
27 himself immediately noted (1957: 387), is that the intentional view of communication admits
28 the possibility of indeterminacy. On the Gricean view, it is possible for the same signal to
29 correspond to different intentions, in which case it is necessary to appeal to context in order
30 to understand what the speaker actually intends on this particular occasion. Shannon,
31 conversely, adopts a model in which encoding and decoding of a signal are one-to-one
32 mapping processes, and in which context and the mental state of the sender are irrelevant to
33 the recipient's understanding of the message.

34 It seems undeniable that human communication does indeed have the systematic ambiguity
35 that Grice posits, whether this is a consequence of the polysemy of words or the multi-
36 functional nature of various actions: Grice's own examples are the word 'pump' and the
37 action of putting one's hand in a pocket. So clearly some elaboration of the Shannon model
38 is called for. And intuitively, it seems credible that the goal of the hearer is to understand the
39 intention of the speaker, as Grice argues. However, given that many different intentions may
40 be realised by the same signal, the task of recovering the speaker's intention given a signal is
41 logically intractable (Levinson 1995: 231) – there is not enough information in the signal to
42 tell the hearer, precisely and unambiguously, what the intention was. In order for the
43 Gricean, intentional analysis of communication to be tenable, we therefore need to be able to
44 explain how hearers are so often successful in solving this 'pragmatics problem', and
45 understanding what intention underlies the speaker's choice of utterance. Given the
46 ramifications of this model for our understanding of human interaction, foundational
47 questions about the validity of the model are of substantial theoretical importance.

48 In this paper, we focus on a particular subcase of the pragmatics problem that has attracted
49 widespread interest from philosophers of language and builders of computational systems

50 alike: namely, the way in which we identify dialogue act types. The following section
51 discusses why this is an important issue for both human-human interactions and for artificial
52 spoken dialogue systems. We then outline some of the most productive linguistic and
53 computational attempts to address this issue. We conclude by considering how these
54 methods might usefully be synthesised into a coherent interdisciplinary approach to dialogue
55 act type recognition.

56 **Dialogue act recognition in interaction**

57 As pointed out by Austin (1962), our use of language does not just consist of asserting
58 propositions. More broadly, we perform “speech acts”. That is to say, we “do things with
59 words” – we use utterances to achieve particular effects. We may request an action,
60 acknowledge a request, ask for information, and so on. From this perspective, we can see
61 language as a tool that we can use in order to accomplish things that we would not be able to
62 accomplish by other forms of physical action. We can also analyse individual instances of
63 language use as social actions that are performed in order to elicit specific responses, which
64 might involve obtaining information or causing interlocutors to act upon the physical world
65 in particular ways.

66 The usefulness of linguistic acts in enabling specific social accomplishments cannot easily be
67 treated in terms of truth conditions: it doesn’t generally make sense to describe a request as
68 “true” or “false”, for instance. Austin introduced the notion of “illocutionary act” to describe
69 this kind of function, a notion which was later elaborated by Searle (1975). Although this
70 research tradition is referred to as speech act theory, here we will use the term “dialogue act”
71 rather than “speech act” to emphasise that the relevant actions may be achieved by other
72 means than through speech (for instance, gesture, eye-gaze, and so on). There is little
73 consensus as to what constitutes an appropriate typology of dialogue acts, but we might

74 distinguish dialogue act types by appeal to a notion like “what kind of response is
75 appropriate”.

76 In order for the speaker’s dialogue act to be effective, it is generally necessary (under the
77 Gricean assumptions discussed above) for the hearer correctly to identify it, as without doing
78 so, it is impossible for the hearer to respond in such a way as to satisfy the speaker’s goals.
79 However, as has long been observed, this is not a straightforward matter. Consider for
80 example the potential dialogue act of ‘asking a question’. Nearly all human languages
81 possess the interrogative sentence-type, which is usually distinguished from the declarative
82 by some complex of morphosyntactic and intonational factors. It is tempting to assume that
83 the task of recognising the dialogue act ‘asking a question’ is reducible to that of recognising
84 an interrogative sentence. But this is simply not true: a formally declarative sentence may
85 perform a questioning function (“You’ll let me know”), and a formally interrogative sentence
86 may function as a request (“Could you close the window?”) Indeed, interrogative forms can
87 easily be ambiguous between various dialogue act types depending on context (“Can you
88 come?” could be a question, a request or an invitation). Moreover, the notion of ‘asking a
89 question’ might not even constitute a single coherent dialogue act type: it might include such
90 distinct dialogue acts as ‘asking a polar question’, ‘asking a wh- question’, ‘asking a check
91 question’, and so on. If these need to be distinguished, that clearly cannot rely on appeal to
92 the sentence-type alone, which is typically the same (interrogative) in all cases.

93 The recognition of dialogue act types can thus be seen as a specific case of intention
94 recognition, and one that succumbs to the pragmatics problem: given that several different
95 intentions may be expressed by the same form, how can the hearer locate the right one? And
96 just as we ask this question for human interactors, so we can ask it for artificial systems, and
97 in particular spoken dialogue systems – that is, systems that are designed to converse with
98 humans. To get computers to understand one another, we can program them to communicate

99 unambiguously: but the ultimate goal for a spoken dialogue system is to be able to
100 accommodate all the ambiguity and uncertainty of normal human discourse. (In practice,
101 humans tend to adjust their choice of words to match the abilities of artificial systems (see
102 Branigan et al. 2011), but ideally this would not be necessary.) Moreover, the system must
103 understand what the speaker is actually trying to achieve, rather than merely formalising the
104 content of the speaker's utterance in some way. This kind of understanding also proves
105 useful in enabling the system correctly to identify individual words that would otherwise not
106 have been correctly parsed (Stolcke et al. 2000, Taylor et al. 2000). In order to allow systems
107 of this kind to approach human performance levels, it would be helpful to have a fuller and
108 clearer account of how humans actually recognise dialogue act types.

109 A growing body of evidence underscores the impressive nature of human performance in this
110 particular domain. Our own experience suggests that competent language users are able
111 correctly to identify the intended dialogue act in the vast majority of cases, as shown by the
112 appropriateness of their responses. For instance, a hearer asked "Could you pass the salt?"
113 will usually do so, unless they deliberately choose to misinterpret the speaker's intention and
114 merely say "Yes". In cases such as this, the formal ambiguity of the utterance is not
115 necessarily noticed by the dialogue participants, unless it is pointed out by a response that is
116 inappropriate to the speaker's actual intention.

117 The success of dialogic communication speaks to the accuracy of the conclusions arrived at
118 by hearers about the speakers' intentions. Experimental work suggests that hearers are not
119 only accurate but also remarkably fast in identifying the speaker's intention in ongoing
120 utterances. Relevant evidence here comes from turn-taking. De Ruiter, Mitterer and Enfield
121 (2006) demonstrated that, in spontaneous Dutch conversation, almost half of the new
122 conversational turns started within 250ms (either way) of the end of the current turn. Stivers
123 et al. (2009) generalised this result to a typologically mixed sample of 10 languages: for each

124 language, the mean duration of the gap between turns was less than half a second, the
125 “fastest” being Japanese with a mean gap of just 7ms. This supports the observation by
126 Levinson (1995: 237) that a half-second delay in responding can (in English) be interpreted
127 as conveying some pragmatic effect (in that case, the impossibility of the hearer responding
128 ‘yes’ to a question).

129 Recent work on dialogue act recognition (Gisladottir et al. 2012) demonstrates directly that
130 hearers are able accurately to identify dialogue acts off-line. Hence, given the content of a
131 speaker’s turn (and awareness of the contrast), it should not be a problem for the hearer to
132 identify the speaker’s dialogue act type. However, it seems profoundly implausible that this
133 could happen in the gaps between turns documented by Stivers et al. (2009). In the first
134 place, many of the languages they test exhibit frequent overlap in turn transitions, which
135 indicates that hearers cannot be waiting for the speaker’s turn to be complete before they start
136 planning their own conversational response. In the second place, research on utterance
137 planning (for instance, Brown-Schmidt and Tanenhaus 2006) appears to indicate that even a
138 latency of 500ms would not be enough for the hearer even to formulate a response *ab initio*.
139 Given that the responses are usually faster than this, usually pertinent, and usually conform to
140 the dialogic strictures laid down by the speaker (for instance, a question will be met with an
141 answer), this strongly suggests that the hearer must often be aware of the nature of the
142 speaker’s dialogue act before it is complete.

143 In a similar vein, we might interpret the nature of back-channel responses (Yngve 1970) as
144 evidence that the hearer can identify aspects of the speaker’s communicative intention
145 incrementally and on-line. Back-channel responses are utterances by the hearer that are not
146 attempts to initiate a turn. Schegloff (1982) refers to a subset of these as “continuers”, on the
147 basis that they serve to assure the speaker of the hearer’s attention and indicate that the turn
148 can continue. Various utterances can fulfil this function, among them “uh-huh” and “yeah”.

149 However, it appears likely that the appropriate choice of back-channel response depends to a
150 certain extent upon the dialogue act being performed by the speaker – for instance, “yeah”
151 would not be an appropriate back-channel if the speaker is formulating a request, unless the
152 hearer intends to comply (cf. Schegloff 1993: 107). If this intuition is correct, it further
153 suggests that hearers may be able to access information about the speaker’s dialogue act type
154 from relatively early in the utterance.

155 In sum, there appears to be quite convincing evidence that human dialogue participants are
156 able to draw rich inferences about dialogue act types from very early on in a dialogue turn.
157 In the following section, we examine some approaches to explaining how this process might
158 take place.

159 **Approaches to dialogue act recognition**

160 A linguistic approach to dialogue act recognition was offered by Gazdar (1981), who
161 formulated the Literal Meaning Hypothesis. According to this account, every utterance
162 possesses some kind of illocutionary force that is built into its surface form. Declaratives are
163 used to make statements, interrogatives to question, imperatives to order or request, and verbs
164 such as “promise”, “deny” and so on (performatives, in Austin’s terms) are used to
165 accomplish whichever function their verb specifies. However, as discussed earlier, utterances
166 are frequently used to accomplish other discourse functions than their surface form would
167 suggest, and the same utterance may be used for multiple functions. So at the very least we
168 need to supplement the Literal Meaning Hypothesis with some mechanism that enables
169 hearers to calculate the alternative non-literal or “indirect” meanings that may arise.

170 One possibility is to appeal to traditional pragmatic notions of cooperativity and, in
171 particular, relevance. Gordon and Lakoff (1971) suggest that reanalysis occurs when the
172 hearer realises that the surface meaning of the utterance is inappropriate given the context.

173 For instance, a speaker asking “Could you pass the salt?” typically knows that the hearer is
174 able to do so, and the hearer can infer from this that the purpose of the utterance is not to
175 enquire as to their salt-passing capabilities. For the utterance not to be a waste of effort,
176 therefore, there must be some other purpose to it. Searle (1975) tells a slightly different
177 story: on his account, the ‘natural’ answer to the question “Could you pass the salt?” (namely:
178 yes, the hearer could do so) must be relevant to the speaker. A possible reason for this is that
179 the speaker wants the salt; and the hearer, being cooperative, should therefore pass the salt to
180 the speaker, without an explicit request being necessary.

181 Can we, however, reconcile this kind of account with the data on turn-taking discussed
182 above? Timing presents a serious problem. Both versions of the pragmatic account take as
183 their starting point the realisation that the literal meaning of the utterance is in some way
184 inadequate given the conversational context, and has to be enriched. However, if the
185 reasoning in the previous section is correct, this process has to begin before the utterance is
186 complete. The problem is, how can the hearer determine that the literal meaning of the
187 utterance is inadequate before knowing what the utterance is? A sentence beginning “Could
188 you...”, or even “Could you pass...”, could certainly be a genuine question that was not a
189 request (“Could you pass for 21?”). More generally, we might observe that almost any
190 sentence beginning “Could you...” might conceivably be used either as a question or as a
191 request, and for many such cases, it is easy to imagine contexts in which either use might be
192 intended (“Could you teach a course in psycholinguistics?”) In order to know that “Could
193 you pass the salt?” cannot (normally) be intended as a question about the hearer’s
194 capabilities, the hearer must identify the meaning of the sentence and realise that the speaker
195 knows the answer to the question that is ostensibly being posed. This is completely
196 reasonable *post hoc*, but as an account of online reasoning it doesn’t appear to give the hearer
197 enough time to formulate their response.

198 One conceivable way of rescuing this account is to propose that the hearer in fact guesses
199 how the sentence will end, and reasons on the basis of that guess, thus being able to draw the
200 inferences discussed above before the end of the speaker's turn. After all, Sacks, Schegloff
201 and Jefferson (1974) proposed that hearers anticipate the end of speakers' turns in order to
202 achieve smooth transitions; and Magyari and De Ruiter (2012) provide evidence that the
203 accuracy of this anticipation is correlated with the rapidity of turn transition. However, as an
204 account of dialogue act type recognition, this explanation is in danger of becoming circular: a
205 hearer may well guess that the sentence "Could you pass..." concludes with the words "the
206 salt", but this continuation only makes sense if the utterance is a request, whereas by
207 hypothesis the hearer currently takes the utterance to be a question. To put it another way:
208 intuitively, we might expect the words "the salt" because we guess that the speaker wants the
209 salt passed to them. But how did we guess that the speaker wanted something passed to
210 them? Presumably because "Could you pass..." tends to signal that this is the case,
211 notwithstanding that it is formally part of an interrogative sentence-form.

212 An alternative approach, foreshadowed by Levinson (1983), is to dispense with the Literal
213 Meaning Hypothesis, and instead treat the identification of dialogue act type as a puzzle to be
214 solved by any means available. That is not to propose that the hearer ignores the sentence-
215 type: that might be a valuable clue to the dialogue act type. However, according to Levinson,
216 most speech acts are indirect, in the sense that they do not correspond to the surface form of
217 the sentence. Fortunately, there are many other forms of information that might be helpful to
218 the hearer. Within the speech signal itself, other indications of the likely dialogue act type
219 are present. These include the prosody, as discussed by Bolinger (1964) and extensively
220 explored by Shriberg et al. (1998) among many others. It is also likely that specific lexical
221 choices are strongly associated with particular dialogue acts. For instance, "I want you to..."
222 strongly suggests that the current sentence has the character of a request, even though the

223 sentence-type is purely declarative. Even more generally, the use of “please” seems typically
224 to mark a request whether it is appended to a declarative (“The door should be closed,
225 please”), imperative (“Close the door, please”) or interrogative (“Could you close the door,
226 please?”) sentence-type.

227 At a higher level, there are considerations deriving from the structure of dialogue, as studied
228 within the research tradition of conversation analysis: for instance, the idea of adjacency pairs
229 (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). If the preceding dialogue turn was a question, the current turn is
230 likely to be an answer, even if its form suggests otherwise. If the previous turn was an offer,
231 the current turn is likely to involve accepting or declining that offer. Thus, when we
232 encounter the first turn of an adjacency pair, we might (with some degree of confidence)
233 expect that the second turn of that pair will follow. Adjacency pairs can also have non-
234 linguistic constituents, as argued by Schegloff (1968). Clark (2004) originates the notion of
235 ‘projective pair’ to cover cases where a non-linguistic communicative act such as a gesture
236 serves to trigger a particular kind of communicative act in response. He later argues (Clark
237 2012) that we can identify wordless exchanges that are analysable as question-answer
238 sequences. At a still higher level of discourse organisation, an awareness of the overarching
239 purpose of the dialogue and of the participants’ roles in it might help a hearer disambiguate
240 dialogue act types. In a restaurant, for instance, if a customer states the names of dishes, this
241 is likely to be a request; if a waiter does so, it is more likely to be an offer (or effectively a
242 multiple-choice question).

243 Computational implementations of dialogue act recognition have predominantly adopted this
244 kind of permissive, inclusive approach, in which all available forms of information are used
245 to make the relevant decisions. This cue-based approach essentially dispenses with the
246 assumption of literal meaning elaborated by the kind of stepwise inference discussed earlier,
247 although that approach has also been explored computationally (from Perrault and Allen 1980

248 to Allen et al. 2007). The role of the cue-based model is simply to identify which dialogue
249 act is instantiated by a given utterance, appealing as necessary to lexical, syntactic, prosodic
250 and conversational-structural factors, among others.

251 It would perhaps be fair to say that cue-based implementations are primarily focused on
252 improving the performance of systems, rather than necessarily providing insights into the
253 process of dialogue act recognition *per se*. However, the models are linguistically informed,
254 in important respects. They are trained on labelled corpora, from which they can learn the
255 strengths of association between specific signals and specific dialogue acts. The choice of
256 signals may, and typically does, reflect empirically-determined findings as to which aspects
257 of the utterance are likely to constitute informative cues. Identifying potentially useful
258 signals is a non-trivial problem in domains such as prosody, where it is unclear precisely
259 what properties of the acoustic pattern have informational value (see for example Rangarajan
260 Sridhar, Bangalore and Narayanan 2009).

261 Although traditional linguistics and computational modelling approaches find common cause
262 when it comes to identifying signals, the customary meaning of ‘dialogue act’ varies
263 significantly between the two traditions. As Thomson (2010: 10) puts it, “In the traditional
264 definitions of both speech and dialogue acts, the semantic information is completely
265 separated from the act”. That is to say, the utterance “Could you pass the salt?” is an instance
266 of a dialogue act type like REQUEST rather than one like REQUEST-SALT. From a linguistic
267 point of view, the motivation for this is fairly clear: the notion of dialogue act type captures
268 the idea that there are commonalities between all forms of REQUEST, regardless of what is
269 being requested. However, from a dialogue systems standpoint, this is not necessarily an
270 advantage. If the goal of the system is to fulfil the user’s request, then merely identifying the
271 utterance as ‘some kind of request’ is not helpful: it does not enable the system to formulate a
272 response, as this response will depend upon what is being requested. Unless the system has

273 an abstract understanding of how to fulfil generic requests, the ‘type’ level of dialogue acts is
274 not useful here.

275 Moreover, by dispensing with the ‘type’ level, it may be possible for a system to identify
276 dialogue acts more efficiently than a human could. Consider the case of a robot receptionist
277 (as implemented, for example, by Paek and Horvitz 2000). Suppose that John Smith is an
278 employee at the company and that the robot is programmed with only one action that relates
279 to John Smith, namely putting a call through to him. Confronted with the input “Could you
280 call John Smith?”, the robot can use the words “John Smith” as a cue to the action it should
281 take, and thus use the name as evidence that it should put a call through. A more capable
282 robot, just like a human, would be disadvantaged here, because if it could take various
283 different actions with respect to John Smith, recognising the name would not suffice to
284 identify which one should be performed. Of course, the simple robot may misidentify
285 dialogue acts that are outside its knowledge base (“My name is John Smith”), but it has no
286 problem using lexical cues to choose among its limited repertoire of abilities.

287 The question arises of whether the traditional notion of dialogue act type is at all helpful for
288 implementations of spoken dialogue systems. Traum (1999) considers this point, coming to
289 the conclusion that dialogue act types may not be strictly necessary but are potentially useful
290 as an intermediate step in communication planning. The practice of identifying dialogue acts
291 at a finer level of granularity (REQUEST-SALT, CALL-JOHN-SMITH) certainly has implications
292 for the scalability of dialogue systems, as the number of distinct dialogue acts increases
293 drastically as the coverage of the system expands to multiple conversational domains
294 (whereas, by hypothesis, the number of dialogue act types is relatively small even for the
295 whole of human interaction). This becomes especially pertinent when we consider
296 statistically-driven dialogue systems of the kind surveyed by Young et al. (2013). These
297 models use the approach named POMDP (partially observable Markov decision processes)

298 and treat dialogue as a Markov process, in which transitions between dialogue states are
299 modelled probabilistically. Even within a small domain, it is impractical to track dialogue
300 state fully in such a model; for a general spoken dialogue system, the resulting state space
301 would be intractably large (Young et al. 2010: 152).

302 In particular, a domain-general system that identified highly specific dialogue acts would
303 necessarily have to incorporate thousands of distinct dialogue acts. Consider the receptionist
304 scenario: a person entering the building might request the receptionist to make a call to any
305 individual in the building, using the form of words “Could you call X?” A system that treats
306 every such request completely separately, depending on the identity of X, could not make
307 useful generalisations across this set of requests. For instance, if the name of X is mumbled
308 or unfamiliar, it will not be able to respond “Sorry, who?” unless it identifies the utterance as
309 a request: it could only announce its inability to respond to the request as a whole, which
310 might prompt futile reformulations (“I would like to talk to X”). That is, although such a
311 system might be very efficient at learning the mappings between specific strings and specific
312 tasks, it will struggle to generalise these mappings in any remotely human-like way.

313 Similarly, if it is possible to make generalisations about dialogue act sequences (e.g.
314 question-answer, apology-acceptance, check-confirmation, and so on), these generalisations
315 will not be as evident when the coarse-grained dialogue act types are broken down into fine-
316 grained ones.¹ If each particular kind of apology must be separately associated with a kind of
317 acceptance, a large volume of data may be required for the pattern to be learnt by the system
318 across all pertinent occasions.

319 However, this observation, like Traum’s (1999) discussion, relates primarily to the operation
320 of relatively complex dialogue agents with sophisticated ‘mental’ states. For simpler
321 systems, dialogue act type recognition in the traditional sense is clearly less useful: in the
322 limiting case, if a system does nothing but (attempt to) satisfy requests, coding a module to

323 identify every input as a REQUEST is clearly not going to add anything to the system's
324 efficacy. What the system needs to do is to identify what is being requested: only then can it
325 initiate the appropriate response behaviour. Unless the system has a generic handling
326 procedure for requests, it cannot benefit from the inclusion of this additional level of analysis.
327 By contrast, systems that actually attempt to emulate human behaviour have the potential to
328 benefit from including a dialogue act level. A recent example of such a system the virtual
329 agent implemented by DeVault, Sagae and Traum (2011), designed to help soldiers practice
330 negotiation skills. The agent uses a natural language understanding module to convert the
331 content of the human user's utterance into a semantic frame representation. One of the
332 attributes within this semantic frame is 'speech act type', so the artificial agent could be said
333 to be calculating and exploiting information about the human speaker's purpose. Moreover,
334 the agent can be configured to guess the content of the semantic frame based on partial
335 utterances, thus effectively engaging in incremental identification of dialogue act type.

336 The catch, however, is that semantic frames are treated as atomic within DeVault et al.'s
337 model, even though they are decomposable in principle. That is, their model postulates a
338 finite set of semantic frames and aims to identify, based on the user's utterance, which one is
339 currently being instantiated by the speaker. Each semantic frame happens to have an attribute
340 that is called 'speech act type', but this specific attribute is not exploited in any way:
341 responses are selected based upon the entire semantic frame that is identified. There is, in
342 effect, no commonality between semantic frames that contain the same speech act type. The
343 decision to treat semantic frames as atomic reflects a deliberate simplification, justified on the
344 basis that it does not impair performance on the constrained domain in which the model
345 operates. However, for the model to be scalable, some form of non-atomic approach would
346 be necessary, which might involve the exploitation of dialogue act types in a more traditional
347 way.

348 **Towards an interdisciplinary perspective on dialogue act recognition**

349 As the above discussion indicates, insights from theoretical linguistics have already been
350 brought to bear productively upon the implementation of artificial spoken dialogue systems.
351 However, our psycholinguistic questions about the process of dialogue act recognition and
352 behaviours such as turn-taking are not directly addressed by this practical computational
353 work. Most of the computational work has so far taken place in highly constrained domains,
354 while we are interested in the full sweep of human communicative interaction. Moreover,
355 computational approaches have predominantly attempted to achieve effective behaviour by
356 any means necessary, but this may involve means that are not available to, or not exploited
357 by, human interactors. For instance, computational models do not have the working memory
358 limitations of humans, and can in principle use probabilistic cues that are outside of humans'
359 knowledge (for instance, because they involve relations over too long a distance, or patterns
360 that humans are not disposed to spot). They do not have the experiential limitations of
361 humans: they can be trained on larger corpora than a human would ever experience. And
362 they typically do not operate under the same time pressure as humans, assuming that they can
363 initiate responses faster than humans can program their own motor functions.

364 Nevertheless, the application of these methods already gives us a useful insight into what
365 might work, and which theoretical ideas add value in a practical context. For instance,
366 Young et al. (2010) use a bigram model of dialogue act type, which is informed by the work
367 of Schegloff and Sacks (1973) on adjacency pairs, to help identify the user's response to their
368 artificial agent's questions. DeVault, Sagae and Traum (2011) use a rich array of lexical cues
369 from the input string to support the semantic classification of the user's utterances. As
370 discussed earlier, this latter model can also be made to operate incrementally, while the
371 bigram approach of Young et al. also informs us about the likely nature of the current
372 dialogue act before it is complete. It would seem quite conceivable to take these

373 mechanisms, and others like them, equip them with a notion of dialogue act type, and use
374 them to classify utterances in natural human-human interactions.

375 Furthermore, if we are interested in learning about how humans treat dialogue acts, we can
376 calibrate such a model against experimentally verified human behaviour. That is, we can
377 eliminate factors that do not appear to influence human performance, just as we can introduce
378 additional factors that are posited to play a role in humans' classification of dialogue act
379 types. And we can similarly adjust the candidate set of dialogue act types, in accordance with
380 competing theoretical proposals. The ultimate goal of such a programme might be to
381 establish a set of dialogue acts that are descriptively adequate as a characterisation of the
382 components of human dialogic interaction, and which are identifiable sufficiently quickly by
383 appeal only to utterance and contextual properties that humans are known to respond to.

384 Working in the opposite direction, it is also conceivable that a fully adequate theory of
385 dialogue acts could be very useful in the development of domain-general spoken dialogue
386 systems. It is, of course, clear that this is not a substitute for a comprehensive system of
387 semantics – a system that reliably gives 'answers' that don't relate to the question will not
388 survive scrutiny – but it may turn out to be a necessary component if dialogue systems are to
389 behave in a credibly human-like fashion (and thus to allow their human users to behave
390 normally with them). It may also transpire that the use of dialogue acts results in systems
391 being more compact and efficient than would otherwise be the case, just as the analysis of
392 dialogue reveals order in what might otherwise be the limitless variety of human-human
393 interaction.

394 **Endnotes**

395 ¹ The potential to draw useful generalisations will depend not only on defining dialogue act types at
396 the right level of granularity, but actually choosing an appropriate set of specific dialogue act types

397 with which to populate the model. For reasons of space we cannot substantively address this issue
398 here. See Král and Cerisara (2010) for a discussion of some specific candidate ‘tag-sets’ for dialogue
399 acts.

400 **References**

401 Allen, J. F., Chambers, N., Ferguson, G., Galescu, L., Jung, H., Swift, M., & Taysom, W.
402 (2007). PLOW: A collaborative task learning agent. National Conference on Artificial
403 Intelligence (AAAI), Vancouver, BC.

404 Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

405 Bolinger, D. L. (1964). Intonation across languages. In J. P. Greenberg, C. A. Ferguson & E.
406 A. Moravcsik (eds.), *Universals of Human Language Phonology, vol. 2*. Stanford: Stanford
407 University Press. 471-524.

408 Branigan, H. P., Pickering, M. J., Pearson, J., McLean, J. F., and Brown, A. (2011). The role
409 of beliefs in lexical alignment: evidence from dialogs with humans and computers.
410 *Cognition*, 121: 41-57.

411 Brown-Schmidt, S., & Tanenhaus, M. K. (2006). Watching the eyes when talking about size:
412 an investigation of message formulation and utterance planning. *Journal of Memory and*
413 *Language*, 54: 592-609.

414 Clark, H. H. (2004). Pragmatics of language performance. In L. R. Horn & G. Ward (eds.),
415 *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 365-382.

416 Clark, H. H. (2012). Wordless questions, wordless answers. In J. P. de Ruiter (ed.),
417 *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge
418 University Press. 81-100.

419 De Ruiter, J. P., Mitterer, H., & Enfield, N. J. (2006). Predicting the end of a speaker's turn: a
420 cognitive cornerstone of conversation. *Language*, 82: 515-535.

421 DeVault, D., Sagae, K., & Traum, D. (2011). Incremental interpretation and prediction of
422 utterance meaning for interactive dialogue. *Dialogue and Discourse 2*: 143-170.

423 Gazdar, G. (1981). Speech act assignment. In A. K. Joshi, B. L. Webber & I. A. Sag (eds.),
424 *Elements of Discourse Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 64-83.

425 Gisladdottir, R. S., Chwilla, D. J., Schriefers, H., & Levinson, S. C. (2012). Speech act
426 recognition in conversation: experimental evidence. In N. Miyake, D. Peebles, & R. P.
427 Cooper (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 34th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*.
428 Austin, TX: Cognitive Science Society. 1596-1601.

429 Gordon, D., & Lakoff, G. (1971). Conversational postulates. *Papers from the Seventh*
430 *Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 63-84.

431 Grice, H. P. (1957). Meaning. *Philosophical Review*, 67: 377-388.

432 Král, P., & Cerisara, C. (2010). Dialogue act recognition approaches. *Computing and*
433 *Informatics*, 29: 227-250.

434 Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

435 Levinson, S. C. (1995). Interactional biases in human thinking. In E. N. Goody (ed.), *Social*
436 *intelligence and interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 221-260.

437 Magyari, L., & De Ruiter, J. P. (2012). Prediction of turn-ends based on anticipation of
438 upcoming words. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 3: 376.

439 Paek, T., & Horvitz, E. (2000). Conversation as action under uncertainty. *Proceedings of the*
440 *Sixteenth Conference on Uncertainty in Artificial Intelligence*. San Francisco: Morgan
441 Kaufmann. 455-464.

442 Perrault, C. R., & Allen, J. F. (1980). A plan-based analysis of indirect speech acts.
443 *Computational Linguistics*, 6: 167-182.

444 Rangarajan Sridhar, V. K., Bangalore, S., & Narayanan, S. (2009). Combining lexical,
445 syntactic and prosodic cues for improved online dialog act tagging. *Computer Speech and*
446 *Language*, 23: 407-422.

447 Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the
448 organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50: 696-735.

449 Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist*,
450 70: 1075-1095.

451 Schegloff, E. A. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: some uses of 'uh huh'
452 and other things that come between sentences. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Georgetown University*
453 *Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
454 71-92.

455 Schegloff, E. A. (1993). Reflections on quantification in the study of conversation. *Research*
456 *on Language and Social Interaction*, 26: 99-128.

457 Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica* VIII, 4: 289-327.

458 Searle, J. R. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and*
459 *Semantics, Vol. 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press. 59-82.

460 Shannon, C. E. (1948). A mathematical theory of communication. *Bell System Technical*
461 *Journal*, 27: 379-423.

462 Shriberg, E., Bates, R., Stolcke, A., Taylor, P., Jurafsky, D., Ries, K., Coccaro, N., Martin,
463 R., Meteer, M., & Van Ess-Dykema, C. (1998). Can prosody aid the automatic classification
464 of dialog acts in conversational speech? *Language and Speech*, 41: 439-487.

465 Stivers, T., Enfield, N. J., Brown, P., Englert, C., Hayashi, M., Heinemann, T., Hoymann, G.,
466 Rossano, F., De Ruiter, J. P., Yoon, K. E., & Levinson, S. C. (2009). Universals and cultural
467 variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of*
468 *the United States of America*, 106: 10587-10592.

469 Stolcke, A., Ries, K., Coccaro, N., Shriberg, E., Bates, R., Jurafsky, D., Taylor, P., Martin,
470 R., Van Ess-Dykema, C., & Meteer, M. (2000). Dialogue act modelling for automatic tagging
471 and recognition of conversational speech. *Computational Linguistics*, 26: 339-373.

472 Taylor, P., King, S., Isard, S., & Wright, H. (2000). Intonation and dialogue context as
473 constraints for speech recognition. *Language and Speech*, 41: 493-512.

474 Thomson, B. (2010). Statistical methods for spoken dialogue management. PhD thesis,
475 University of Cambridge.

476 Traum, D. R. (1999). Speech acts for dialogue agents. In M. Wooldridge & A. Rao (eds.),
477 *Foundations of Rational Agency*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 169-201.

478 Yngve, V. (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. In M. A. Campbell (ed.), *Papers from the*
479 *Sixth Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistics Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
480 567-578.

481 Young, S., Gasic, M., Keizer, S., Mairesse, F., Schatzmann, J., Thomson, B., & Yu, K.
482 (2010). The Hidden Information State Model: a practical framework for POMDP-based
483 spoken dialogue management. *Computer Speech and Language*, 24: 150-174.

484 Young, S., Gasic, M., Thomson, B., & Williams, J. (2013). POMDP-based statistical spoken
485 dialogue systems: a review. To appear in *Proceedings of the IEEE*.
