

Letter shapes do not encode information as efficiently as the sounds of languages do

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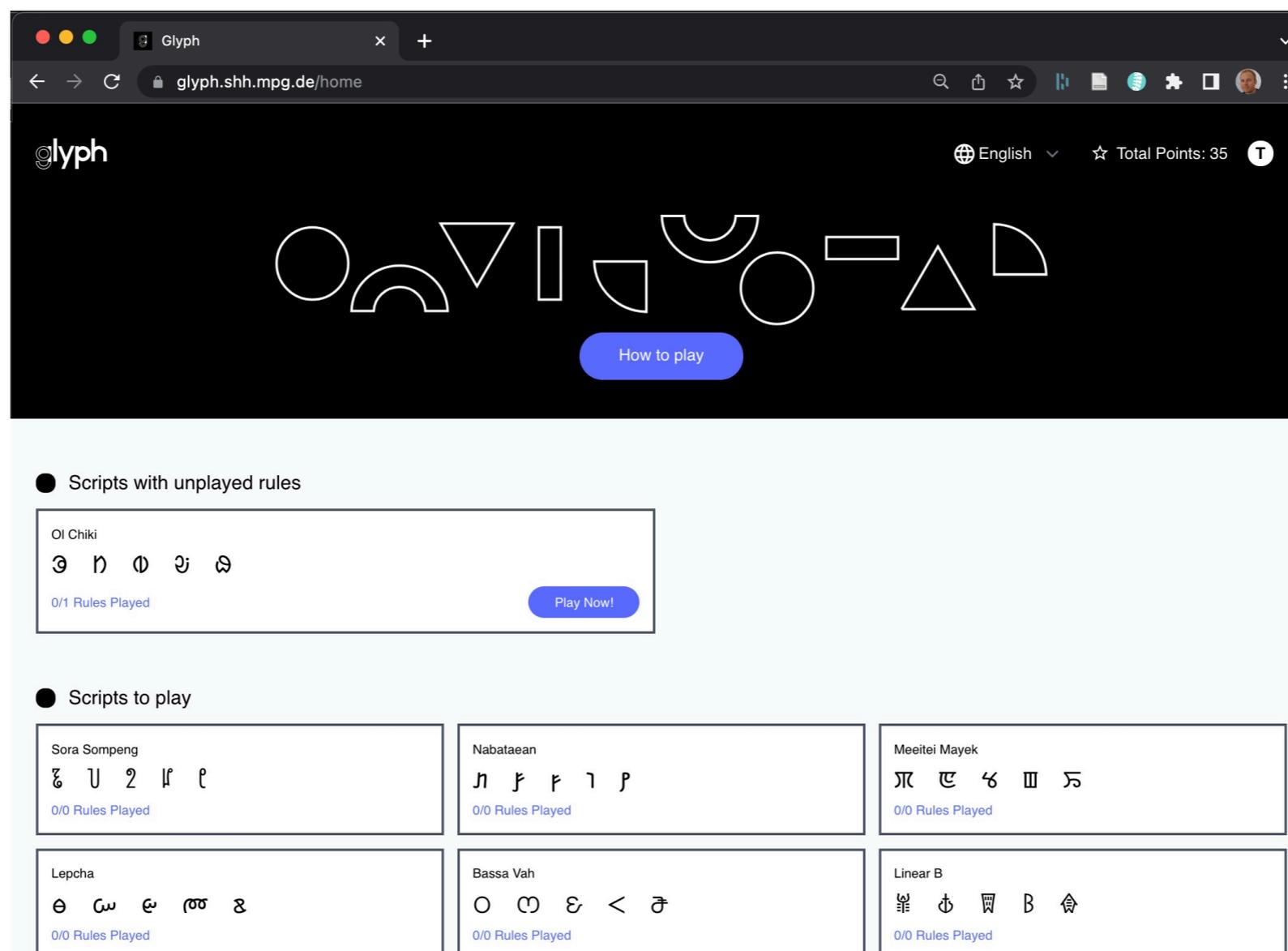
Helena Miton



Marc Allasonnière-Tang

Thanks

to the scholars, technicians, and players
behind the Glyph applet.



a small caveat

How do images encode information?



Pavlek et al. 2019



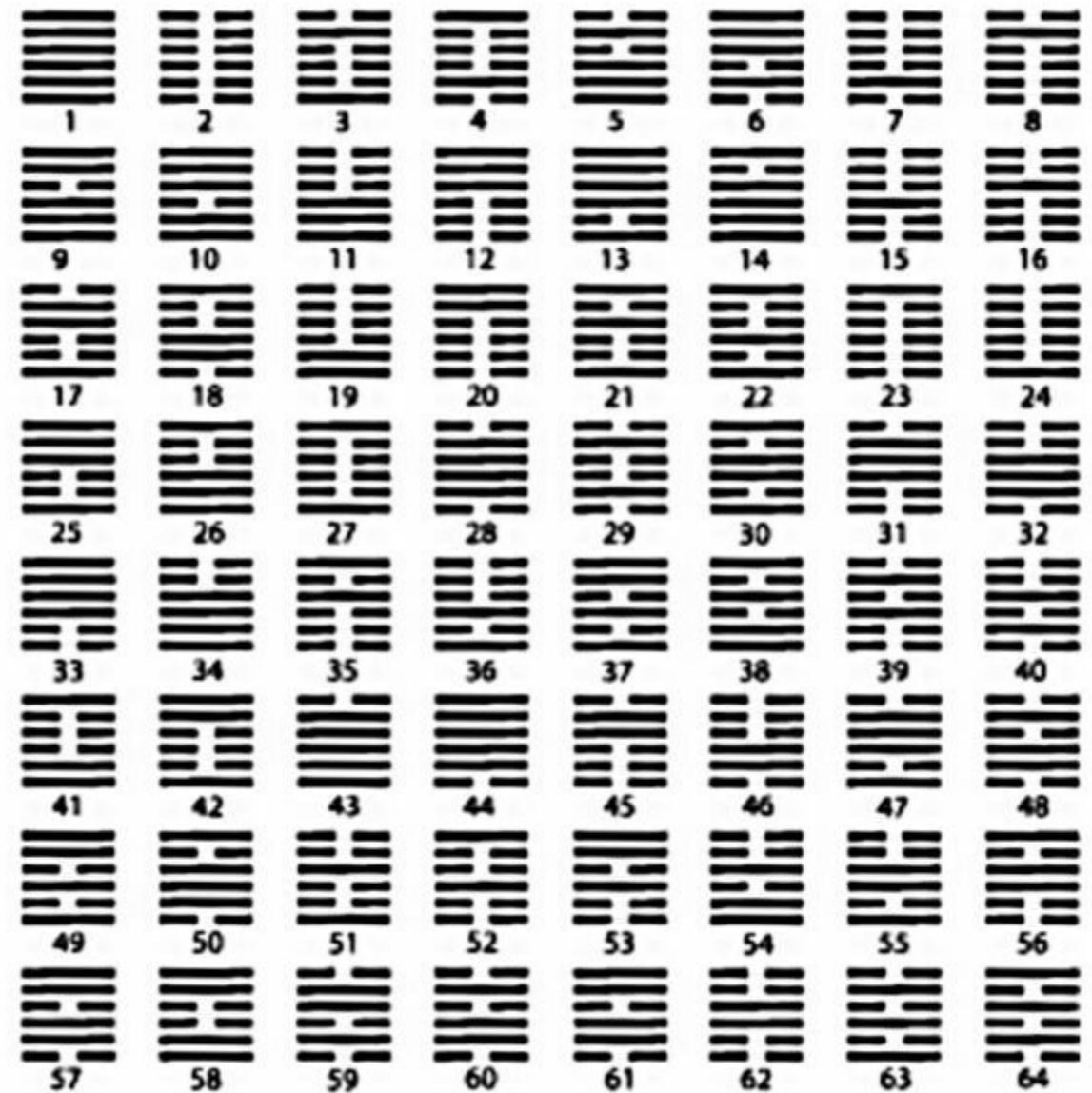
Morin & Miton 2018



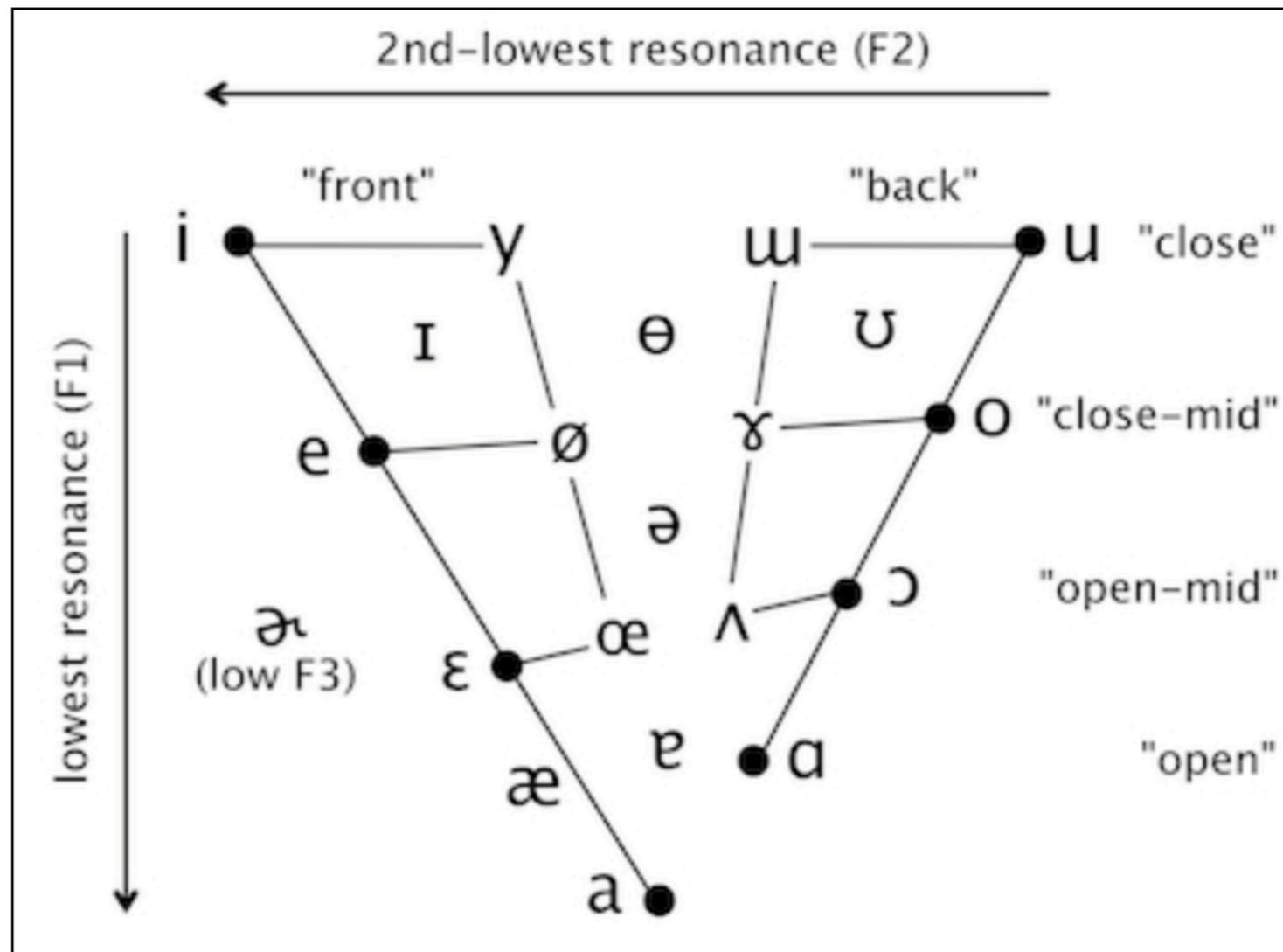
Youngblood Miton & Morin 2023

Combinatorially:

using a few dimensions of variation
to create many diverse forms



Speech sounds are combinatorial

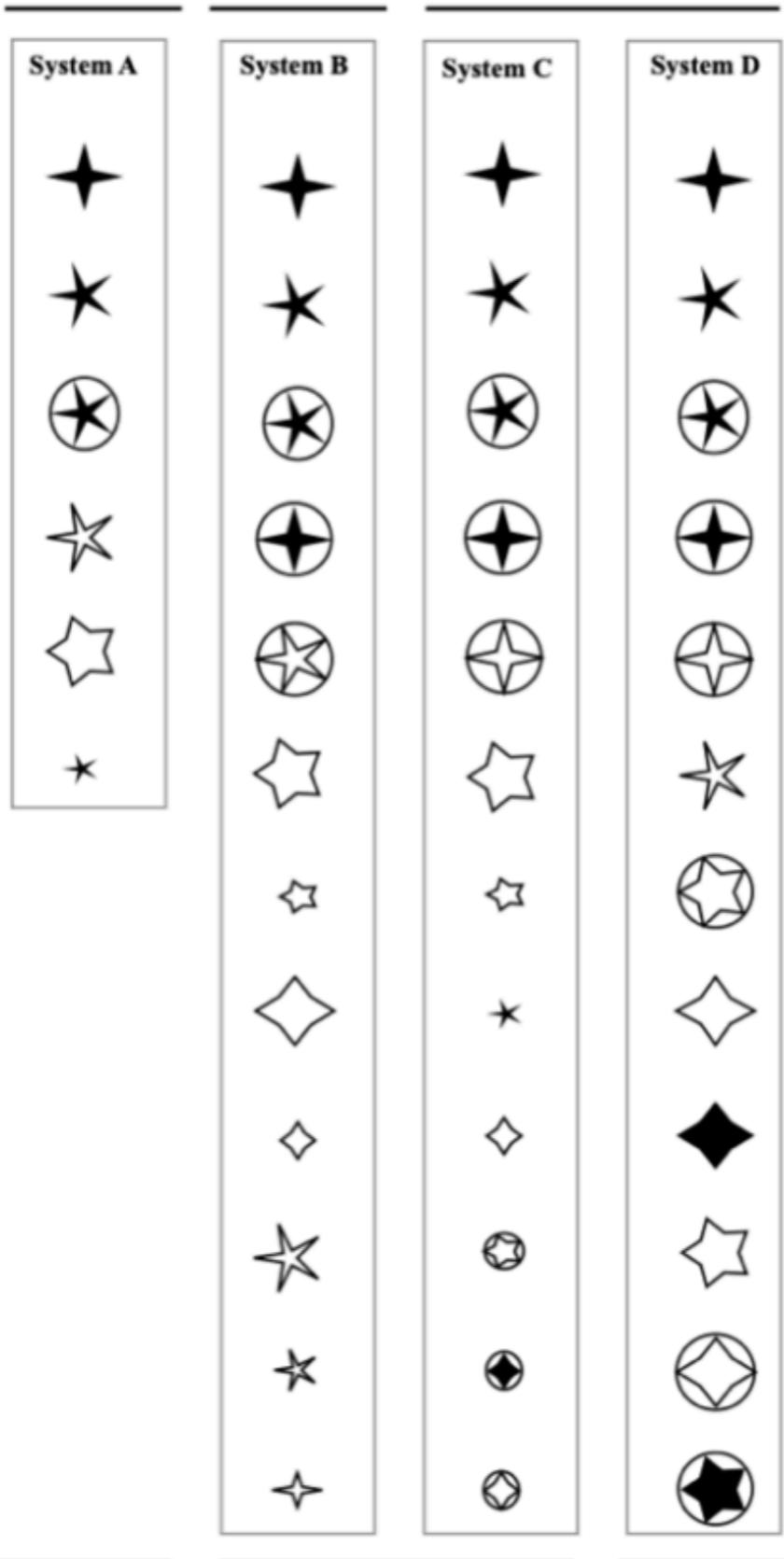


Informativeness

0.7

0.91

1



0

0.62

1

Efficiency

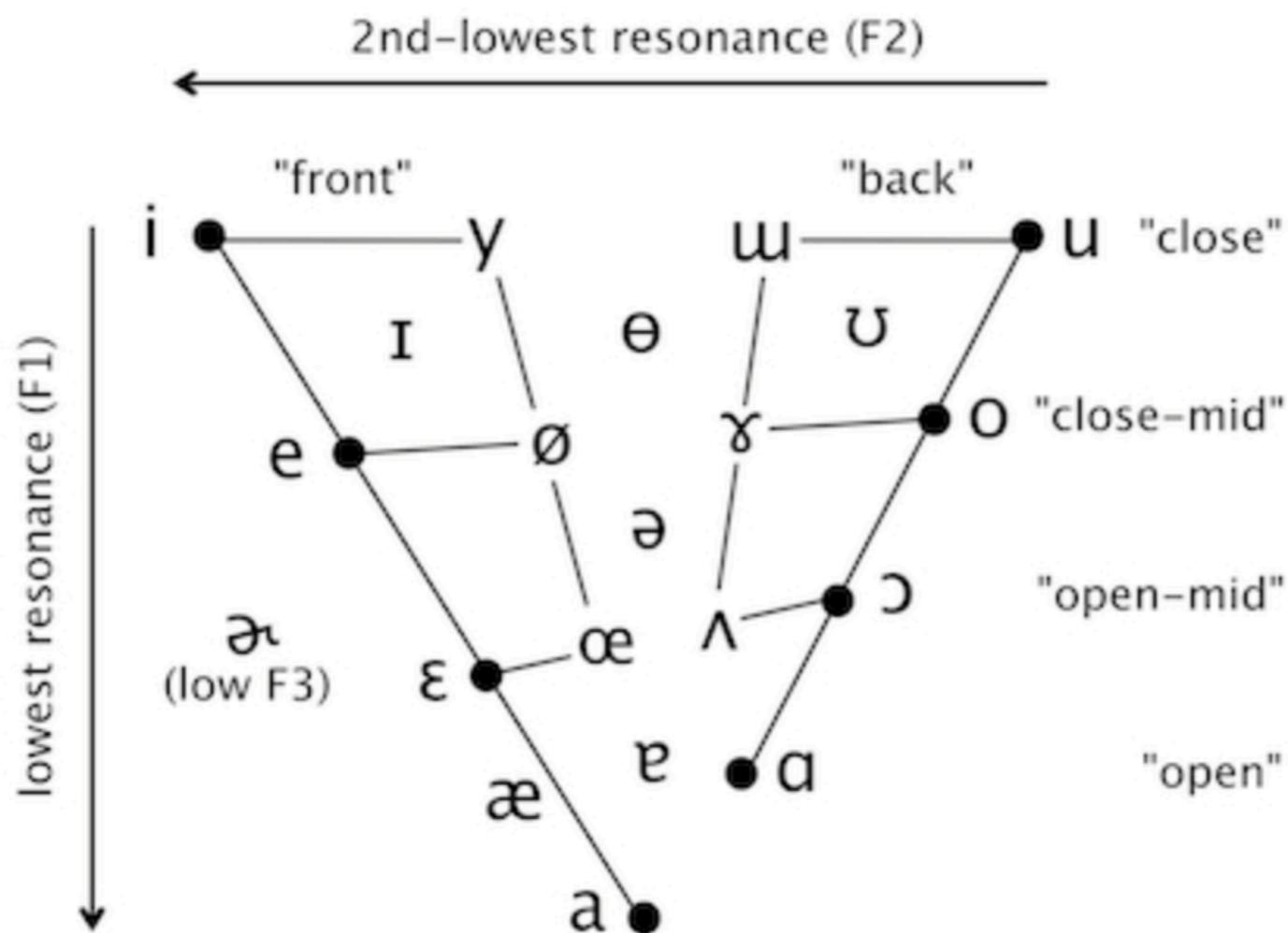
Two dimensions of combinatoriality

Feature informativeness: What are the odds that two random symbols differ on a given feature? For binary features, maximally high if 50% of symbols have one value and the other symbols have the other value for this feature.

Feature efficiency: What is the smallest number of features needed to describe all the symbols in a system? And how many symbols does the system generate from these features?

Phonological features are **efficient** and **informative**.

A few features suffice to describe many different phonemes, within and across languages ("feature economy"—Clements 2003).



The vowel space in three features
(from Wikipedia, not including nasal vowels)

What about writing systems?

Letters in writing systems play a very similar role to phonemes in spoken language, and obey similar constraints (they need to be easily learnt, stored, processed).

And some writing systems seem clearly combinatorial...



... but relevant empirical work is scarce.

Our prediction:

Writing is not as combinatorial as speech,
because movements of the hand
are less constrained than movements of the tongue.

(Sandler 2008: a similar point for sign language.)

Glyph: Crowdsourcing a typology of letter shapes

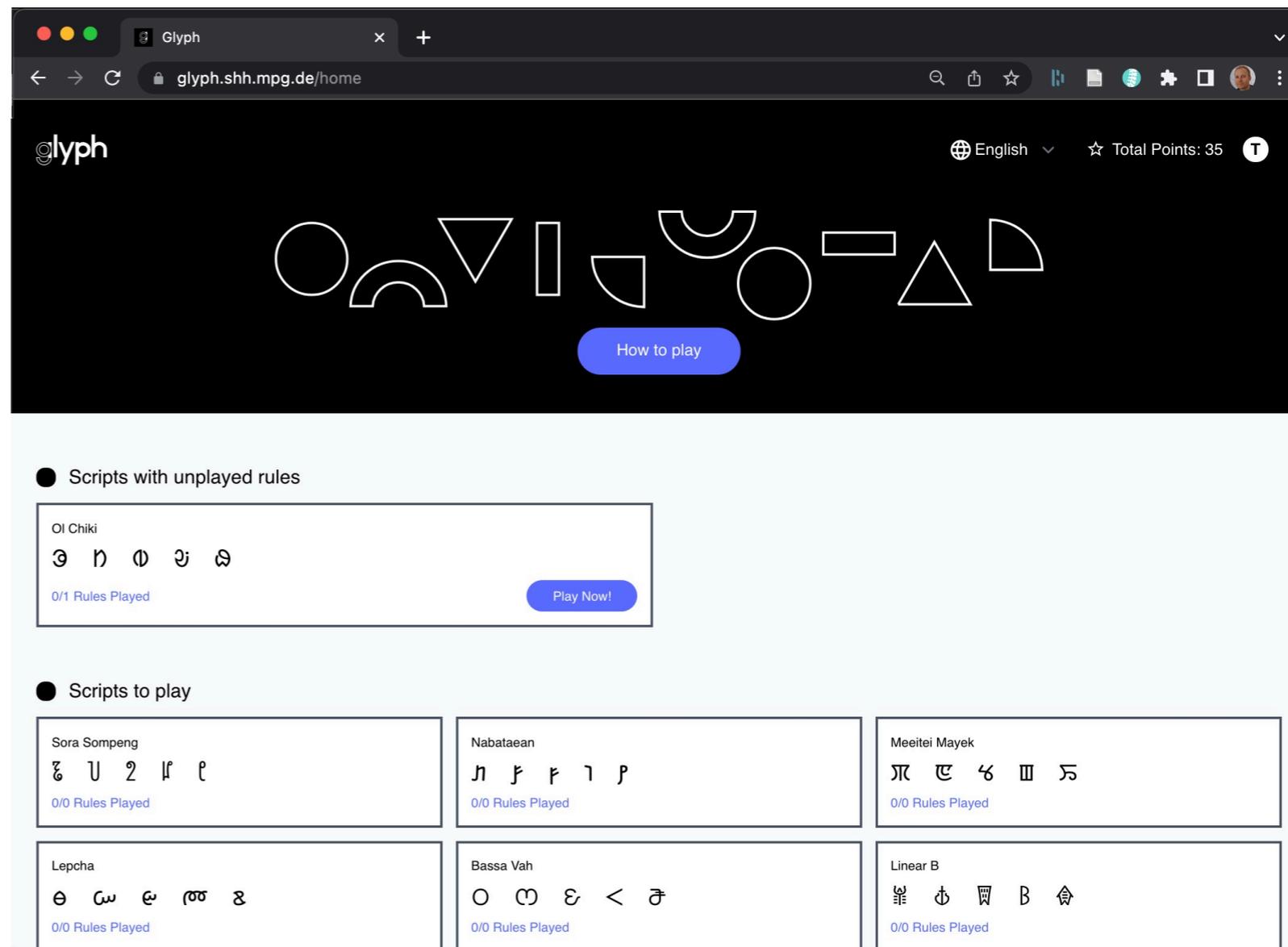
glyph.shh.mpg.de

Linguists have the IPA, but our field lacks a *systematic* classification of letter shapes, allowing for rigorous comparative and diachronic studies.

Glyph, a citizen science project, aims to build this.

> 4,500 participants

~ 70,000 classifications proposed





How to play

📌 Congratulations, you have now unlocked new scripts! ✕

● Scripts to play

Sora Sompeng

ᮘ ᮙ ᮚ ᮛ ᮜ

[Create a rule](#)

Syloti Nagri

𑆀 𑆁 𑆂 𑆃 𑆄

[Create a rule](#)

Mandaic

Ⲙ ⲙ Ⲏ ⲏ Ⲑ

[Create a rule](#)

Kayah Li

ꨀ ꨁ ꨂ ꨃ ꨄ

[Create a rule](#)

Ogham

ᚠ ᚡ ᚢ ᚣ ᚤ

[Create a rule](#)

Gothic

𐍂 𐍃 𐍄 𐍅 𐍆

[Create a rule](#)

Tagbanwa

ᜀ ᜁ ᜂ ᜃ ᜄ

[Create a rule](#)

Osmanya

ᲀ ᲁ ᲂ ᲃ ᲄ

[Create a rule](#)

Nabataean

Ⲁ ⲁ Ⲃ ⲃ Ⲅ

[Create a rule](#)

Buginese

ᨆ ᨇ ᨈ ᨉ ᨊ

[Create a rule](#)

Psalter Pahlavi

𐭀 𐭁 𐭂 𐭃 𐭄

[Create a rule](#)

Meroitic Cursive

𐎎 𐎏 𐎐 𐎑 𐎒

[Create a rule](#)

Select at least 2 characters but no more than 34 to make a rule:

ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠋ	ꠌ	ꠍ	ꠎ	ꠏ	ꠐ	ꠑ	ꠒ	ꠓ	ꠔ	ꠕ
ꠖ	ꠗ	ꠘ	ꠙ	ꠚ	ꠛ	ꠜ	ꠝ	ꠞ	ꠟ	ꠠ	ꠡ	ꠢ
ꠣ	ꠤ	ꠥ	ꠦ	ꠧ	꠨	꠩	꠪	꠫	꠬	꠭	꠮	꠯
꠰	꠱	꠲	꠳	꠴	꠵	꠶	꠷	꠸	꠹	꠺	꠻	꠼
꠽	꠾	꠿	ꡀ	ꡁ	ꡂ	ꡃ	ꡄ	ꡅ	ꡆ	ꡇ	ꡈ	ꡉ
ꡊ	ꡋ	ꡌ	ꡍ	ꡎ	ꡏ	ꡐ	ꡑ	ꡒ	ꡓ	ꡔ	ꡕ	ꡖ
ꡗ	ꡘ	ꡙ	ꡚ	ꡛ								

This rule is worth 0 points

Back Clear selection Next

Select at least 2 characters but no more than 34 to make a rule:

ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ
ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ
ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ
ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ
ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊꠊ							
ꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊꠊ	ꠊ	ꠊ								

This rule is worth 13 points

Back

Clear selection

Next

Text description of rule

closed shape at the bottom

Characters: 26/150

Selected characters [Edit](#)

Selected characters are displayed in blue boxes:

ၵ	ၶ	ၷ	ၸ	ၹ	ၺ	ၻ	ၼ	ၽ	ၾ	ၿ	ၻ	ၼ
ၽ												

This rule is worth 14 points

Finish Rule

3 minutes



Home > ပုဂံသ္မာဠိ (New Tai Lue) >

Select at least 2 characters but no more than 34 to make a rule:

ဒွ	ဒွံ	ဒ	ဒွ	ဒွ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂွ	စ	သ	ဗ	ဒ	ဂ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒွ	ဒွ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	စ	သ	ဒွ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဝ	ဂ	ဒ	ဝ	ဒ	ဒံ	ဒံ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ

This rule is worth 13 points

Back Clear selection Next

Home > ပုဂံသ္မာဠိ (New Tai Lue) >

Rule description: closed shape at the bottom

Attempts Left: 3

ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဝ	ဂ	စ	သ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဝ	ဂ	ဒ	ဝ	ဒ	ဒံ	ဒံ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ
ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဝ	ဂ	ဂ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ	ဒ

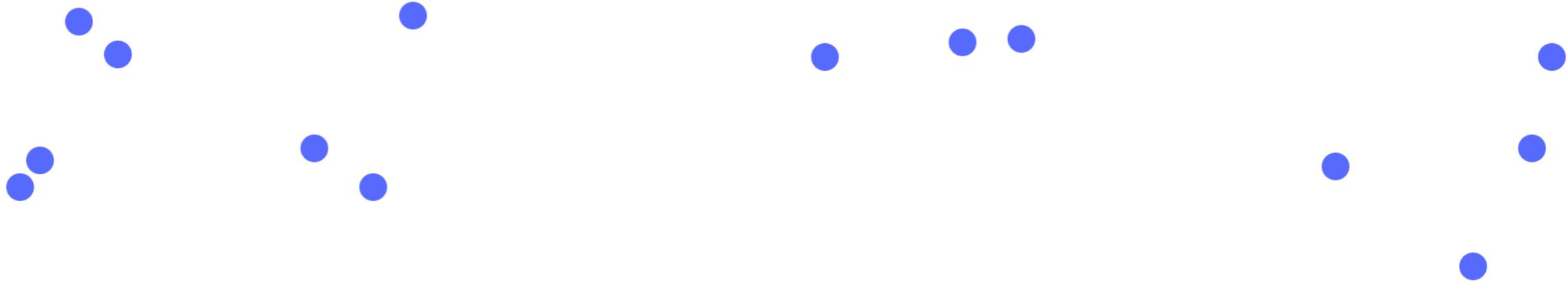
14/14 characters selected

Back Clear selection Submit

You passed!

You earned 14 points!

Continue



Selecting the best set of classifications for each script

V-shape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
open at the top	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2 strokes, incl. a complex curve	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
broad V-shape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
squiggle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1 single stroke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vertical line/squiggle	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
end hook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
closed shape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Tagbanwa (Philippino script)

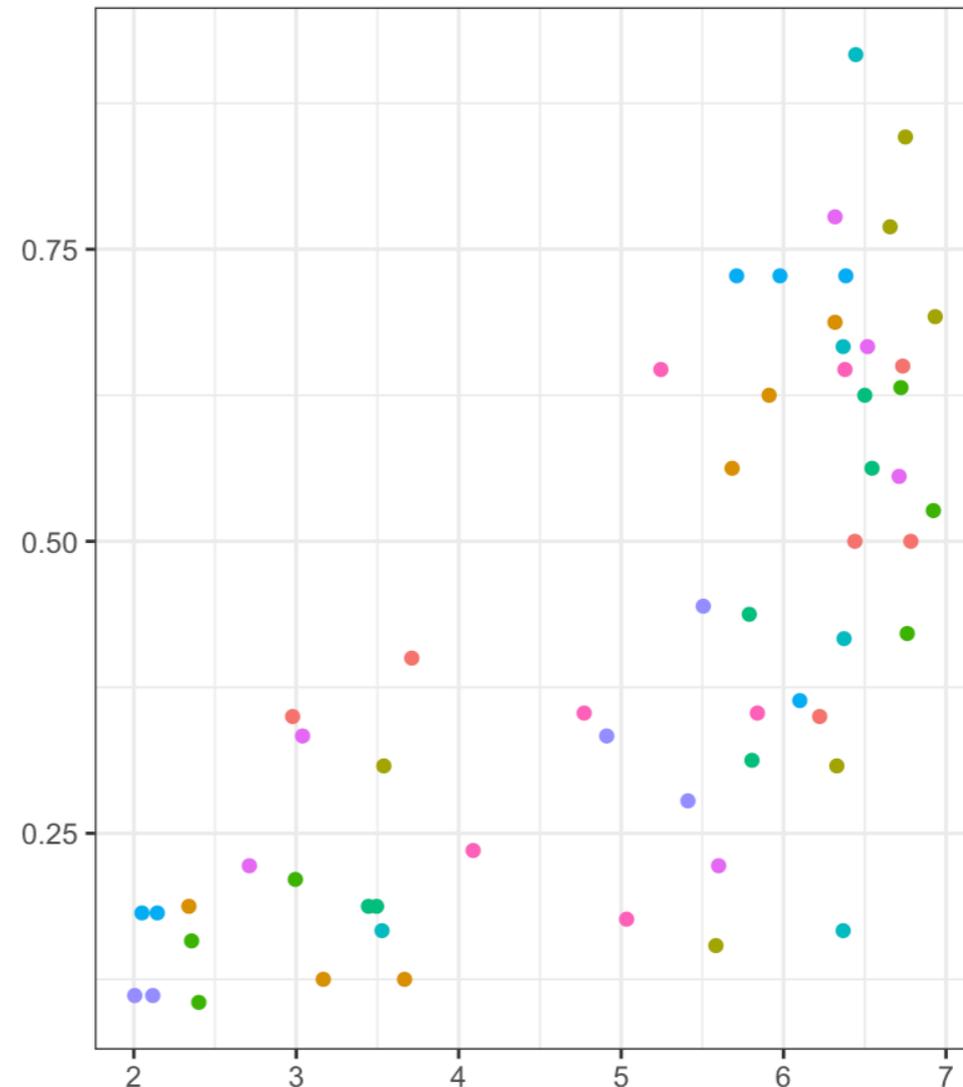
A decision tree classification algorithm selects, among all classifications produced by Glyph users, the smallest number of classifications capable of identifying the largest number of letters.

Glyph classifications are meaningful: They predict people's judgements for similarity between letters

V-shape	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
open at the top	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
2 strokes, incl. a complex curve	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
broad V-shape	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
squiggle	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
1 single stroke	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
vertical line/squiggle	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \top	<input type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
end hook	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}
closed shape	<input type="checkbox"/> \top	<input type="checkbox"/> \mathcal{U}

Hamming distance
between \top and \mathcal{U} : 5.
Normalised Hamming
distance: $5/9 = 0.555\dots$

Hamming distance between 2 letters



Perceptual dissimilarity score
(average of 180 participants)

One point = one pair of letters

Pearson's $r = 0.75$

Feature economy:

Mackie & Mielke's 'relative efficiency'

Compares the number of features used by a system to the minimal and the maximal number of features needed to distinguish all symbols.

$$(1) RE = \sqrt{\frac{F - F_{min}}{F_{max} - F_{min}}}$$

$$(2) F_{min} = \lceil \log_2(S) \rceil$$

$$(3) F_{max} = S - 1$$

Clement's feature economy (F/S) is simpler but yields artifacts (e.g. two perfectly economical inventories differing in size will vary in Clement's FE). FE is robust to variation in the absolute magnitude of S .

Feature informativeness

We compute the informativeness of each feature using Shannon entropy:

$$(1) H(p) = -p \cdot \log(p) - (1-p) \cdot \log(1-p)$$

where p is the proportion of the least frequent value (1 or 0) relative to the most frequent, or 50% if both values are equally frequent.

then average this over all features in a script / language.

Tagbanwa

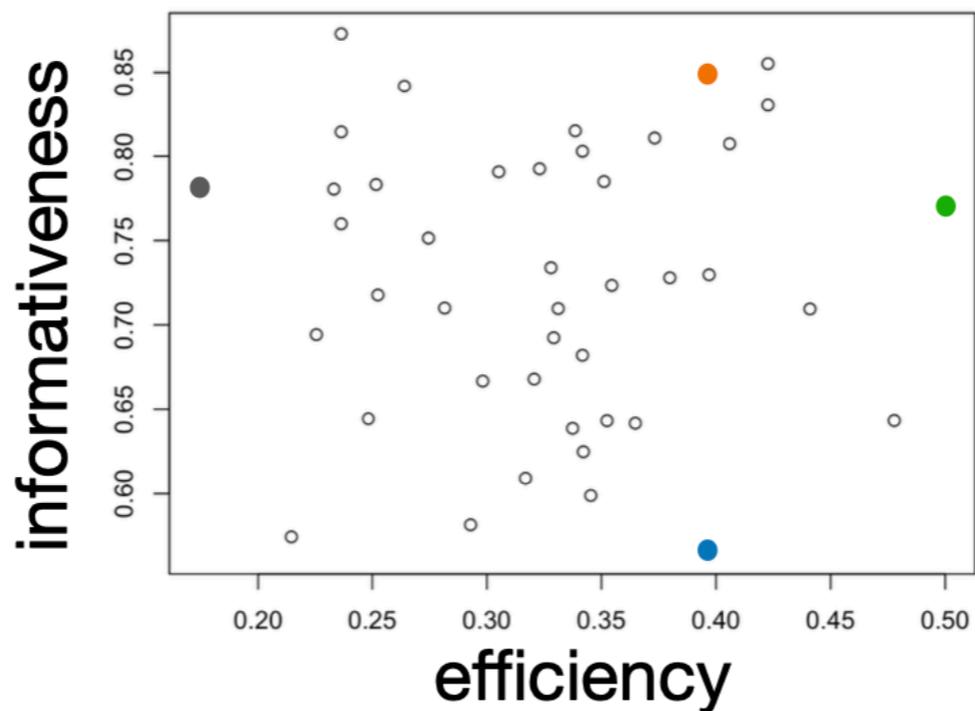
𐄂	𐄃	𐄄	𐄅	𐄆	𐄇	𐄈	𐄉	𐄊	𐄋	𐄌	𐄍	𐄎
𐄏	𐄐	𐄑										

Kayah Li

𐄂	𐄃	𐄄	𐄅	𐄆	𐄇
𐄈	𐄉	𐄊	𐄋	𐄌	𐄍
𐄎	𐄏	𐄐	𐄑	𐄒	𐄓
𐄔	𐄕	𐄖	𐄗	𐄘	𐄙
𐄚	𐄛	𐄜	𐄝		

Ogham

𐌀	𐌁	𐌂	𐌃	𐌄	𐌅
𐌆	𐌇	𐌈	𐌉	𐌊	𐌋
𐌌	𐌍	𐌎	𐌏	𐌐	𐌑
𐌒	𐌓	𐌔	𐌕	𐌖	𐌗
𐌘	𐌙	𐌚	𐌛	𐌜	𐌝
𐌞	𐌟				



D	R	T	𐄂	𐄃	i	𐄄	𐄅	𐄆	Y	A	J	E
𐄇	P	A	𐄈	𐄉	𐄊	W	𐄋	𐄌	G	M	𐄍	𐄎
𐄏	H	𐄐	Y	𐄑	𐄒	G	𐄓	h	Z	𐄔	𐄕	𐄖
𐄗	𐄘	𐄙	𐄚	𐄛	𐄜	𐄝	4	𐄞	𐄟	𐄠	R	𐄡
W	S	𐄢	𐄣	𐄤	V	S	𐄦	𐄧	𐄨	L	C	𐄩
𐄪	P	G	𐄬	𐄭	K	𐄯	𐄰	𐄱	𐄲	𐄳	𐄴	𐄵
6	𐄷	𐄸	𐄹	𐄺	G	B						

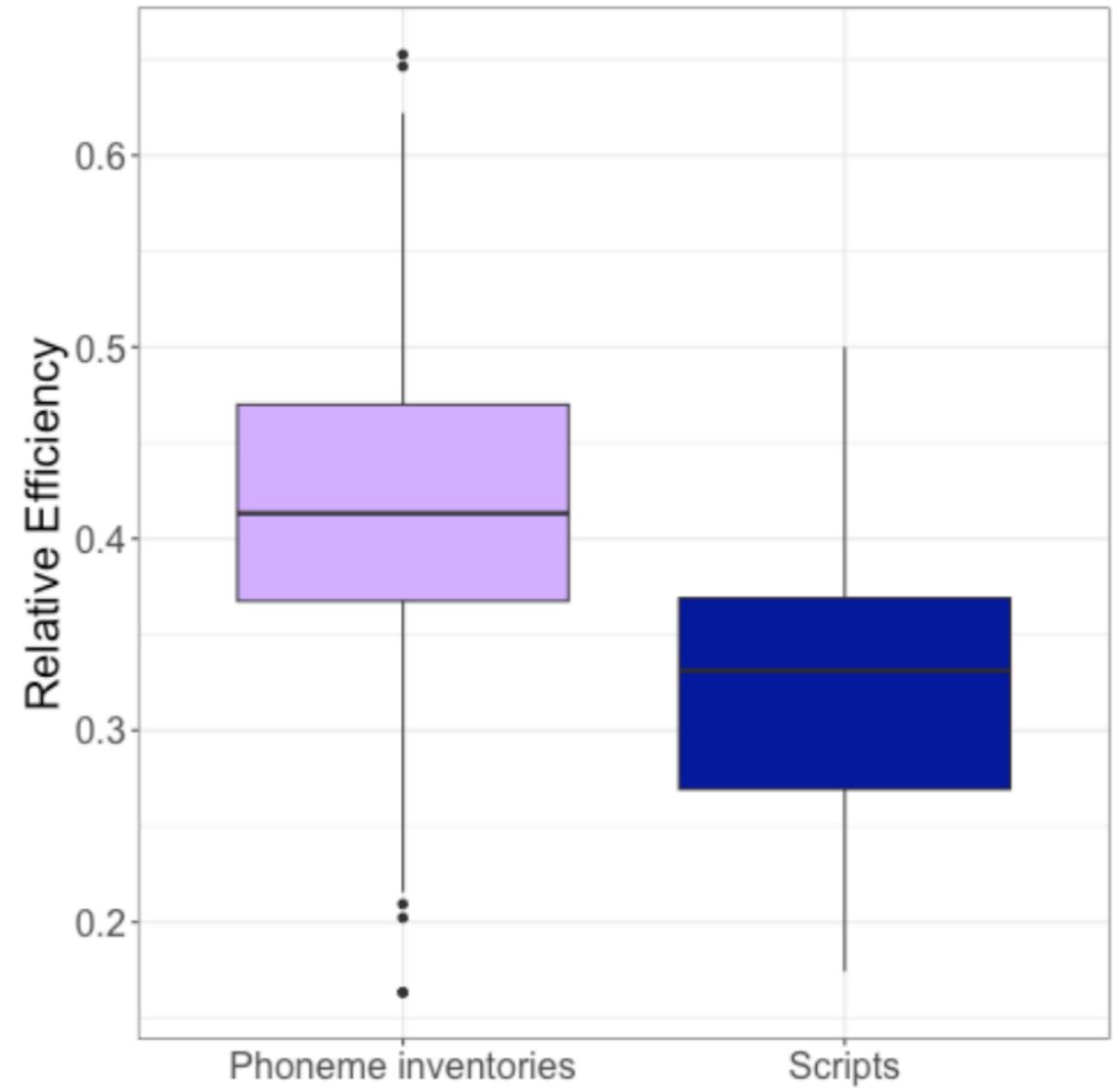
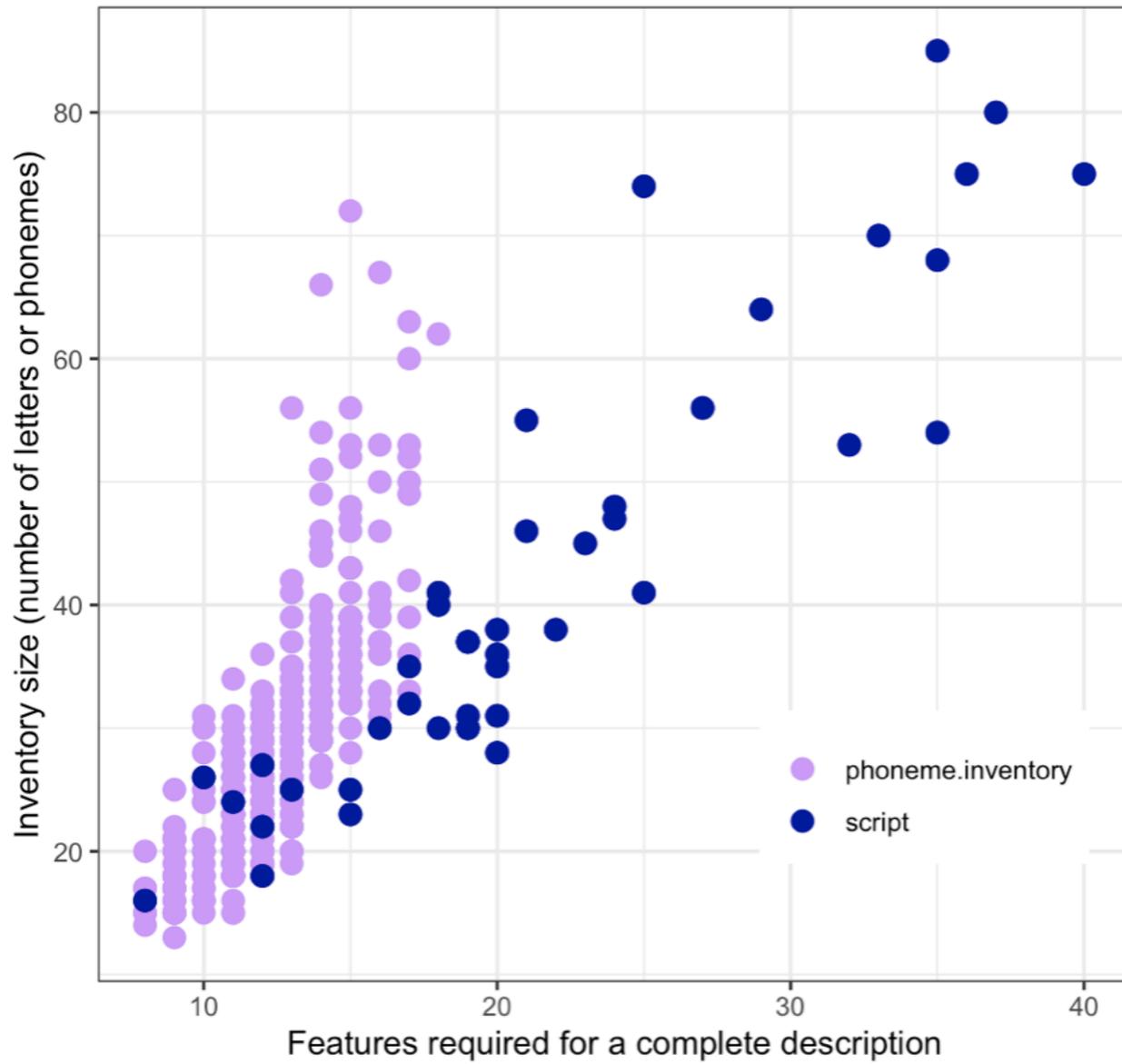
Cherokee

Datasets:

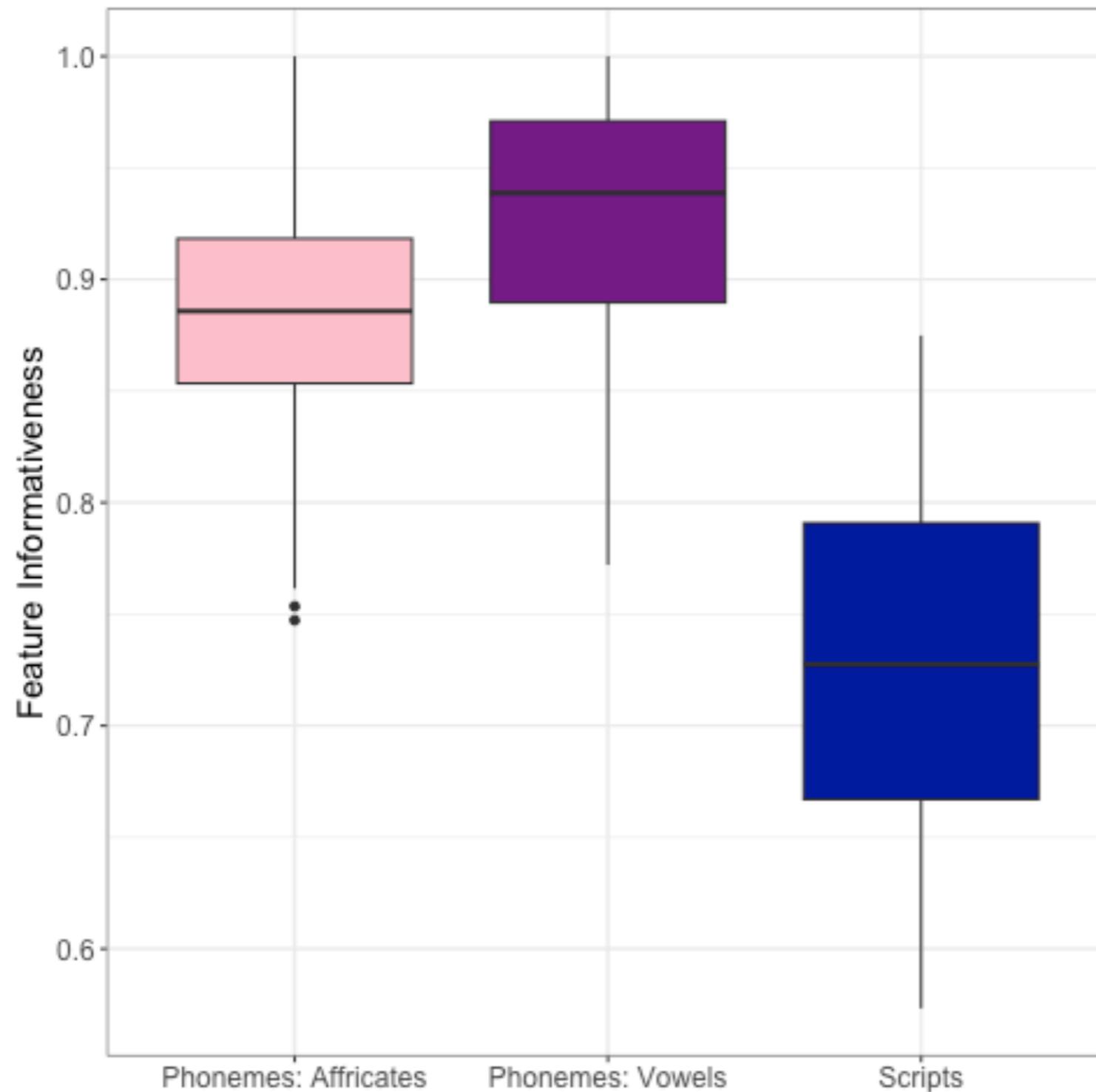
43 Glyph scripts (chosen to be a representative sample of the typological, areal & semiotic diversity of scripts).

500+ phoneme inventories from Mielke's P-base dataset, each phoneme being coded as 24 binary phonemic features.

Prediction 1: Feature economy is lower in scripts



Prediction 2: Feature informativeness is lower in scripts



Null model: Predicting distinctiveness with family

Test model: Predicting distinctiveness with family + type (script or language)

$\Delta AIC = 104$

(Also works when controlling for number of letters/phonemes)

Letter shapes are only weakly combinatorial, compared to sounds.

Spoken languages have many unique distinctive sounds because they combine a few phonological features very informatively.

Written languages have many distinctive letters because they combine many visual features, less informatively.

Thanks!

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slides↑

Generalist features

Feature economy and informativeness in phonemes: the nitty-gritty details

To keep the comparison between scripts and phonemes equal, we applied our Best Set algorithm to both phoneme inventories and scripts: we considered only the features necessary to give a complete description of the script / inventory (= a unique combination of feature values for each letter / phoneme).

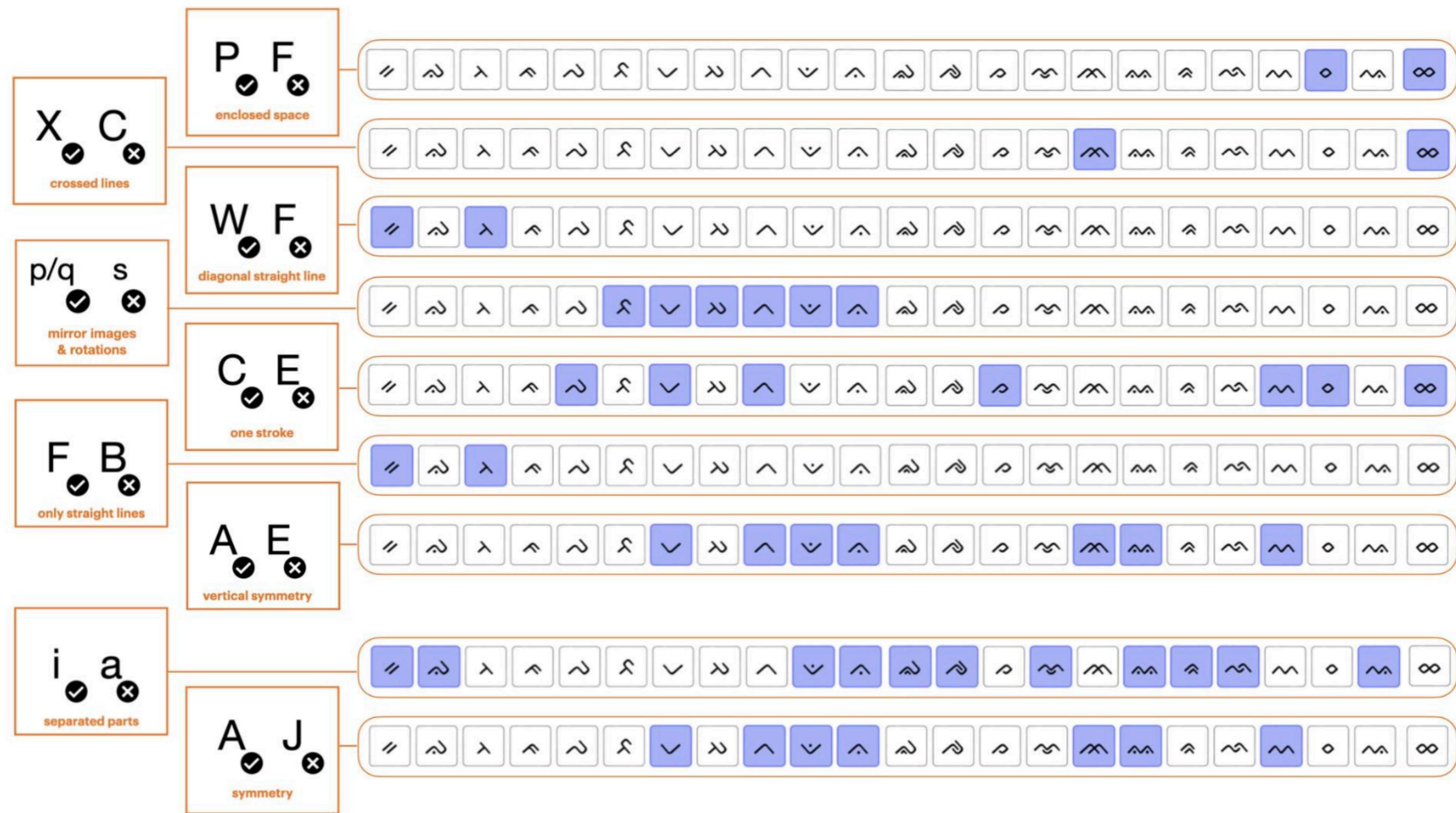
When computing feature informativeness, we only want to consider the features that can logically take a contrastive value for a group of phonemes, not those that take the 0 value because they don't apply. For instance, the feature "sibilant" / "non sibilant" does not apply to vowels.

=> Feature informativeness only measured for sub-inventories: vowels, and affricate consonants, separately.

So far we used bespoke classifications for each script (the "best set" of features).

V-shape																
open at the top																
2 strokes, incl. a complex curve																
broad V-shape																
squiggle																
1 single stroke																
vertical line/squiggle																
end hook																
closed shape																

But can we try describing them with general features?

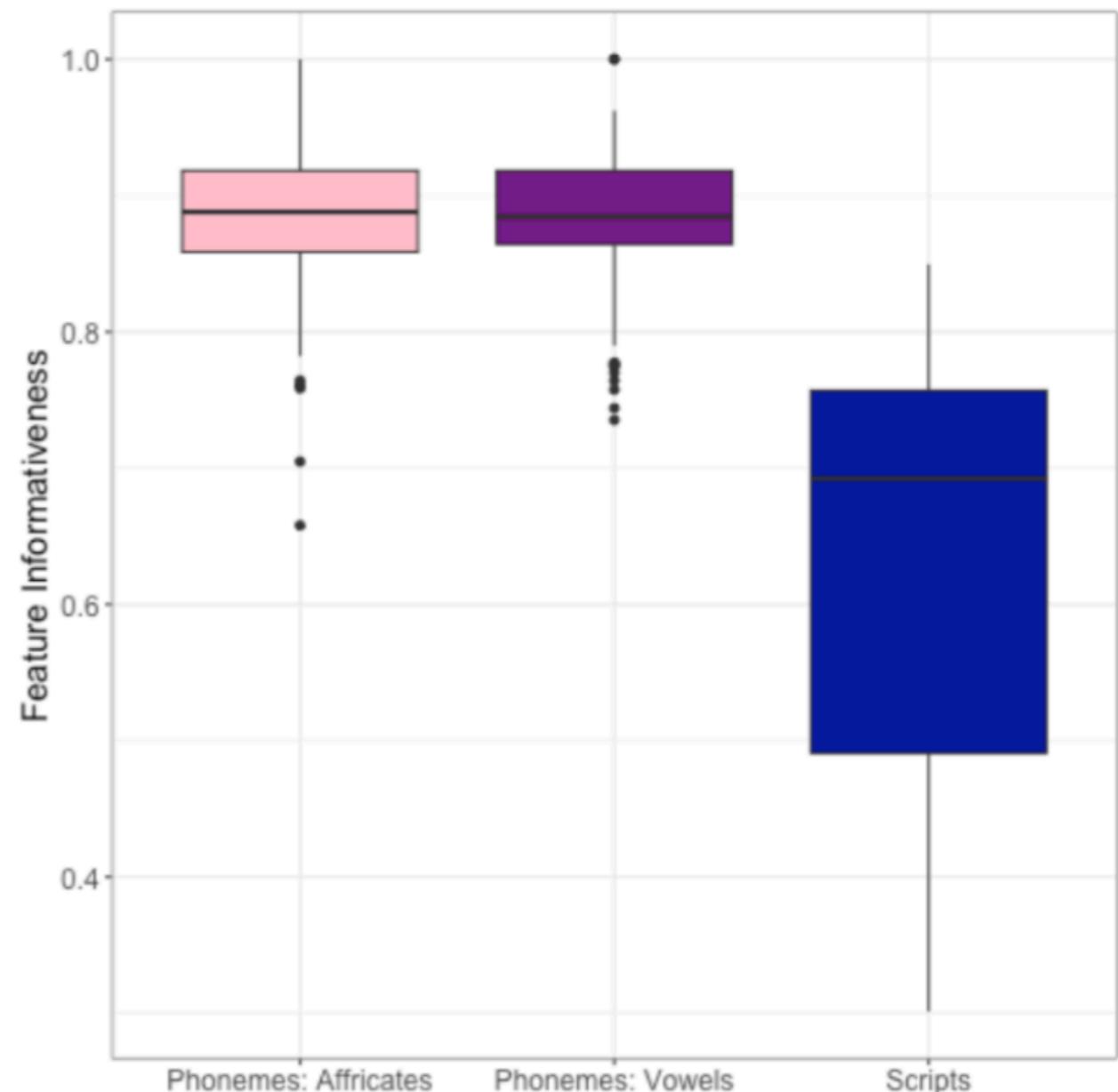


The nine general classification criteria that we applied to all scripts (left), with example application to the Buginese script. All criteria except the last two are orthogonal to one another

Prediction 2: Feature informativeness is lower in scripts

"Generalist" dataset

All predictions validated, strong effects, also when controlling for number of items (sounds/letters) in inventories / scripts.



Note: No script is completely described by the Generalist features, so we compute informativeness over all contrastive features when they apply. Likewise, for languages, we compute informativeness over all contrastive features not just the "best set".