

Comparing cross-language phonological profiles

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How I decided to give this talk?

- During the talk in our Lab with Misha and Ezequiel

Jeff Good: How you came up with the idea of calculating phonological distances? Is it some established procedure?

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- The second reason:



Johann-Mattis List

@LinguList



New preprint with Cormac Anderson, [@tresoldi](#), [@xrotwang](#), [@SimonJGreenhill](#), and Russell Gray: "Measuring Variation in Phoneme Inventories" doi.org/10.21203/rs.3...



Measuring variation in phoneme inventories

For over a century, the phoneme has played a central role in linguistic research. In recent years, collections of phoneme inventories, originally designed for cross-researchsquare.com

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The main reason for this talk is that I performed calculation of phonological distances (or caused people to do so) for Circassian languages [[Мороз 2021](#)] and Andic branch of East Caucasian languages [[Moroz 2020](#); [Давиденко 2021](#); [Tsyzova and Zhang 2021](#)] in order to get a simple less-connected to language phylogeny distance between different idioms.

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Unlike lexicostatistical distance the phonological distance can be an evidence for language contact, since languages can adopt some feature or property of another (see [[Andersson et al. 2017](#)]). This can be possible explained by **Perceptual Magnet framework** [[Blevins 2017](#)]. In most cases phonological change in unrelated languages is more salient to linguists, however it is worth mentioning that there is a work about how to catch contact-induced change in related languages [[Bowerman 2013](#)].

Materials for the analysis

Materials for the phonological distance calculation can be different:

- segment¹ inventory (and grammar, if you are lucky);
- dictionaries;
- parallel corpora;
- unparalleled corpora.

¹Lets leave the phonology vs. phonetics debate aside.

Overview

Criticism by [Simpson 1999]

Complexity based approaches

Distance based approaches

Criticism by [Simpson 1999]

[Simpson 1999] attacks UPSID¹-like researches:

- phoneme masks allophones
 - Standard High German /ç/ stands for [ç], [x] and [χ];
 - “The allophone no longer represents the phoneme, it *replaces* it”;
- phonological relations between segments is lost
 - comparing just vowel inventories it is impossible to get information about e. g. vowel harmony;
- there is no non-arbitrary way of assign phonological features (e. g. SPE [Chomsky and Halle 1968]) to segments.

¹UPSID stands for UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database [Maddieson and Abramson 1987] which consists of the phonemic systems of a representative sample of 451 (this number changes from publication to publication) of the world's languages in machine-readable form. Now UPSID can be accessed via PHOIBLE database [Moran and McCloy 2019].

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My metaphor: omelet and pancakes share all ingredients, but they are significantly different meals.

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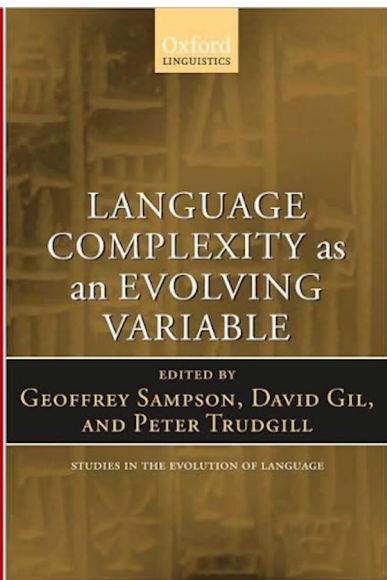
Overview

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[Pellegrino et al. 2009] and [Sampson et al. 2009]



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- [Pellegrino et al. 2009]
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 - [Maddieson 2009]
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- [Sampson et al. 2009]
 - [Nichols 2009]
 - [Deutscher 2009]

The main goal of this paper is to calculate overall complexity for a typological sample of languages based on phonology, synthesis, classification (gender, numeral classifiers), syntax, and lexicon. The main goal is to prove:

- that all languages **are not** equal in complexity;
- that different parts of grammar **do not** compensate for complexity in other parts of grammar.

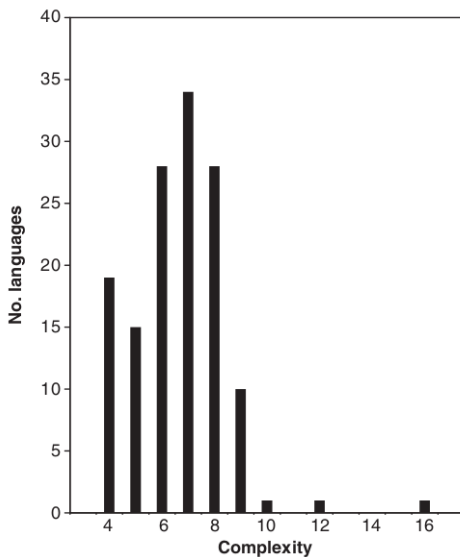
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Phonological features in the

- number of contrastive manners of articulation in stops;
- number of vowel quality distinctions;
- tone system (none/simple/complex, after [Maddieson 2013b]);
- syllable structure (after [Maddieson 2013a]).

[Nichols 2009: 116]: results



Phonological complexity (N = 137)

‘Secondary distinctive features’ are important for phonologization:

- nasals in French: saint [sɛ̃] < Latin sanctus ‘holy’;
- average F₀ contour of vowels following English stops is falling after voiceless and rising after voiced.

They are not captured by the segmental inventories.

Allophones, like English /t/: [t^h] vs [t] vs [ɾ] (cf [Simpson 1999]).

- Merged measure for consonants, vowels, tones and syllable structure;

Indonesian (Austronesian)	Birom (Niger-Congo; Nigeria)	Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan; USA)
p t k	p t k kp	p t̚ k ʔ
b d g	b d g gb	p ^h t̚ ^h k ^h
tʃ dʒ	tʃ dʒ	b d̚ g p' t̚' k'
f s ʃ x h	f s h	ts ts'
z	v z	s h
m n ɲ ŋ	m n ŋ	z
l r	l r	m ɲ
w j	w j	d̚ʒ
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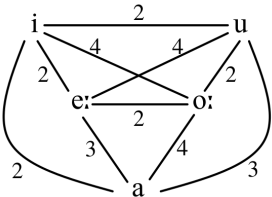
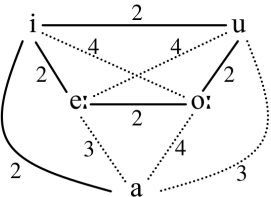
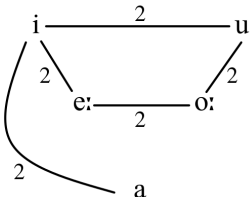
- Merged measure for consonants, vowels, tones and syllable structure;

Indonesian = 24	Birom = 27	Kiowa = 32
1 1 1	1 1 1 2	1 1 1 1
1 1 1	1 1 1 2	2 2 2
1 2	1 2	1 1 1
1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1	2 2 2
2	2 2	1 2
1 1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1
1 1	1 1	2
1 1	1 1	1 1 3
		1

- Merged measure for consonants, vowels, tones and syllable structure;
- The number of possible distinct syllables allowed by the language (cf [Shosted 2006]);
- Frequency measures based on lexicon or texts (cf [Давиденко 2021] for Andic):

“To compare these data, it is useful to calculate some kind of index. There are a number of ways this might be done. One possibility is to calculate a summed frequency \times complexity score over the top ten segments, in which each segment contributes decreasingly according to its rank, and increasingly according to its complexity”.
[Maddieson 2009: 97]

- In this work authors use phonological features as a distances between segments and then use graphs with segments in the nodes and distances in the edges:

STEP 1	STEP 2	STEP 3
We compute the <u>direct</u> phonetic distance for each phonemes pair.	Identification of pairs of phonemes for which an <u>indirect</u> path requires smaller "jumps" than the direct one.	Suppression of costly <u>direct</u> paths.
		

- In this work authors use phonological features as a distances between segments and then use graphs with segments in the nodes and distances in the edges.
- Afterwards authors use *off-diagonal complexity* proposed by [Claussen 2007]¹ that make it possible to disassociate from linguistics and phonology and rely purely on graph structure.

¹Authors motivated their choice, because this measure

- does not explicitly take into account graph size;
- is sensitive to the presence of hierarchical sub-structures in the network;
- is minimal for regular graphs and maximal for free-scale graphs.

Unfortunately, off-diagonal complexity can not be calculated for valued graphs, so authors were ought to drop phonological distance values from their graphs.

- ‘All Languages are Equally Complex’ — is a legend (actually, a lot of papers from [Sampson et al. 2009] state the same).
- Complexity is a polysemous notion: some scholars focus on multipartite nature of language, others on complicated relations within the system.
- Overall complexity is better to present as a vector of values rather than one value.

Conclusions

Despite of the critics that language phonological system is a complex system that can not be reduced to the set of its elements [[Simpson 1999](#); [Ohala 2009](#); [Coupé et al. 2009](#); [Deutscher 2009](#)] I think that any phonological complexity measure can be used in order to compare different languages. The sophistication and granularity of this measure will influence the possible effect size gathered by this measure.

Overview

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Complexity based approaches

Distance based approaches

Distance based approaches

- [Hoppenbrouwers and Hoppenbrouwers 2001] (after [Heeringa 2004])
- [Heeringa 2004]
- [Eden 2018]
- [Anderson et al. 2021]

In this paper authors apply **Jaccard similarity** between two phoneme inventories, that is ratio of similar segments in two languages out of all possible segments in two languages.

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The reason, why authors do that is because their goal is to compare different inventories of the **same** languages across four databases of phonological inventories (UPSID [Maddieson and Abramson 1987], LAPSyD [Maddieson et al. 2013], Core PHOIBLE [Moran and McCloy 2019], JIPA [Baird et al. 2021]). The results are unfavorable: researchers found a high degree of variation across datasets.

[Hoppenbrouwers and Hoppenbrouwers 2001] after [Heeringa 2004]

- Extract unit (it can be segments, syllables or phonological features) frequencies from corpora or dictionary.
- The distance between two languages is the sum of the differences between the corresponding unit frequencies.



[Heeringa 2004]



[Eden 2018]

Conclusions

Thank you for your attention!

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