

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



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with



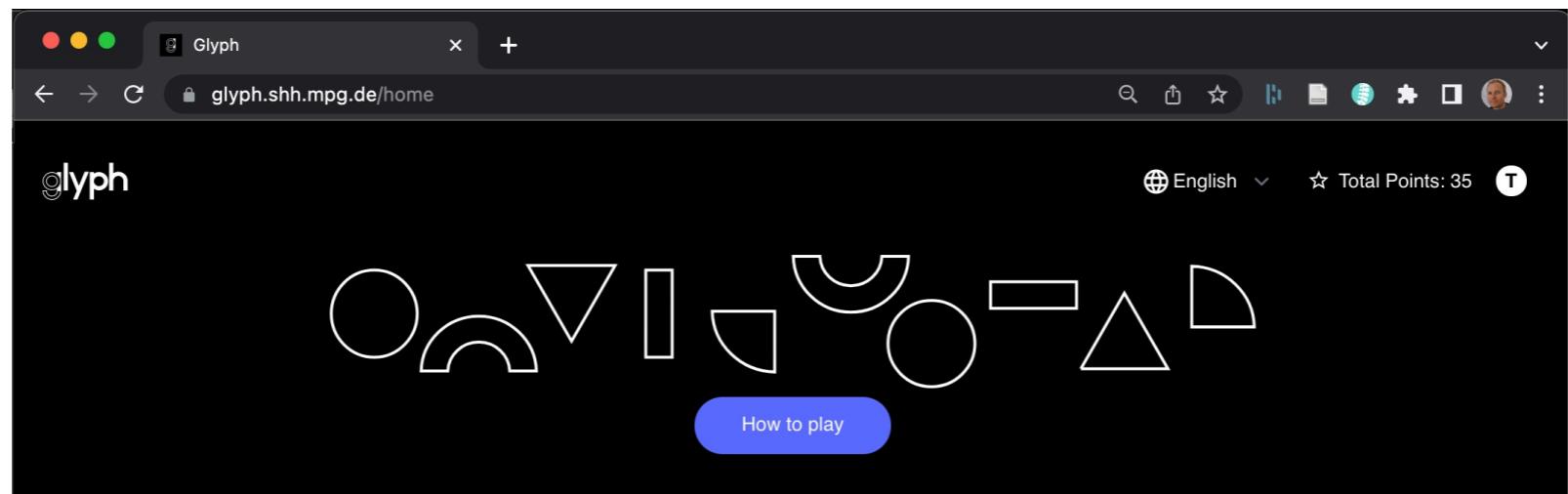
**Helena Miton**



**Marc Allassonière-Tang**

**Yoolim Kim, Marc Allassonière-Tang, Helena Miton**

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



● Scripts with unplayed rules

Oi Chiki

ଓ ন ঠ ঙ ড

0/1 Rules Played

Play Now!

● Scripts to play

Sora Sompeng

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0/0 Rules Played

Nabataean

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0/0 Rules Played

Meeitei Mayek

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0/0 Rules Played

Lepcha

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0/0 Rules Played

Bassa Vah

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0/0 Rules Played

Linear B

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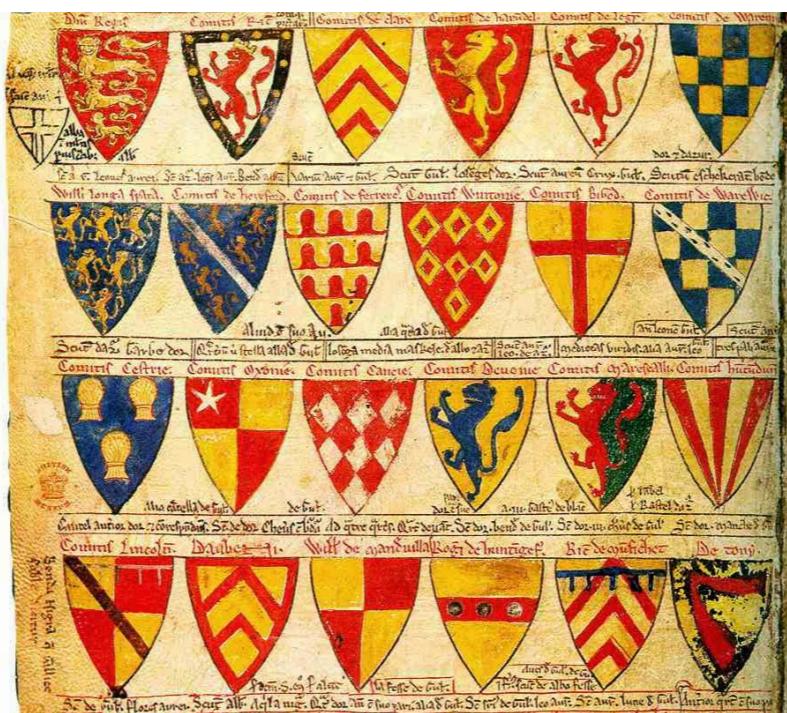
0/0 Rules Played

a small caveat

# How do images encode information?



Pavlek et al. 2019

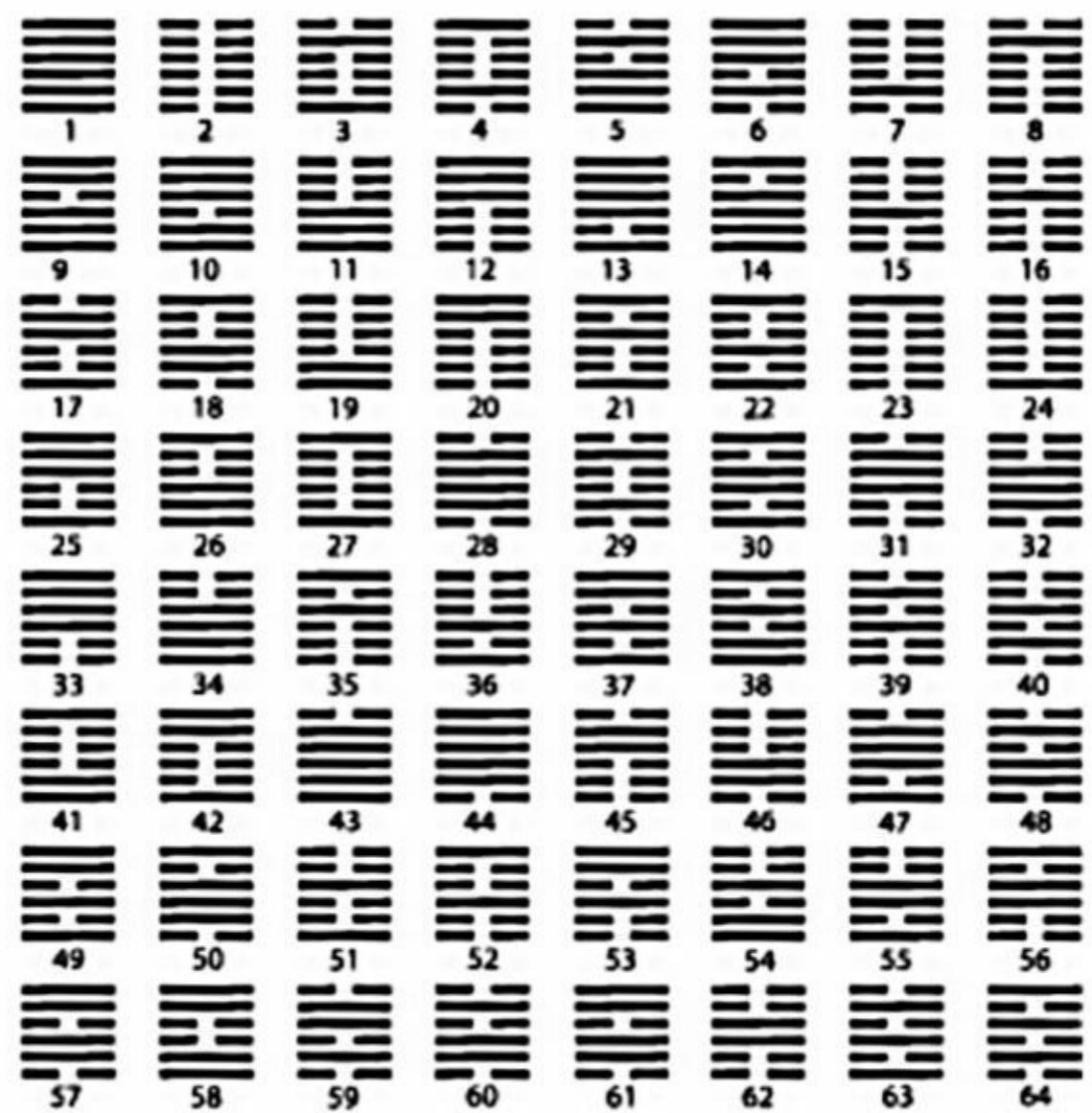


Morin & Miton 2018

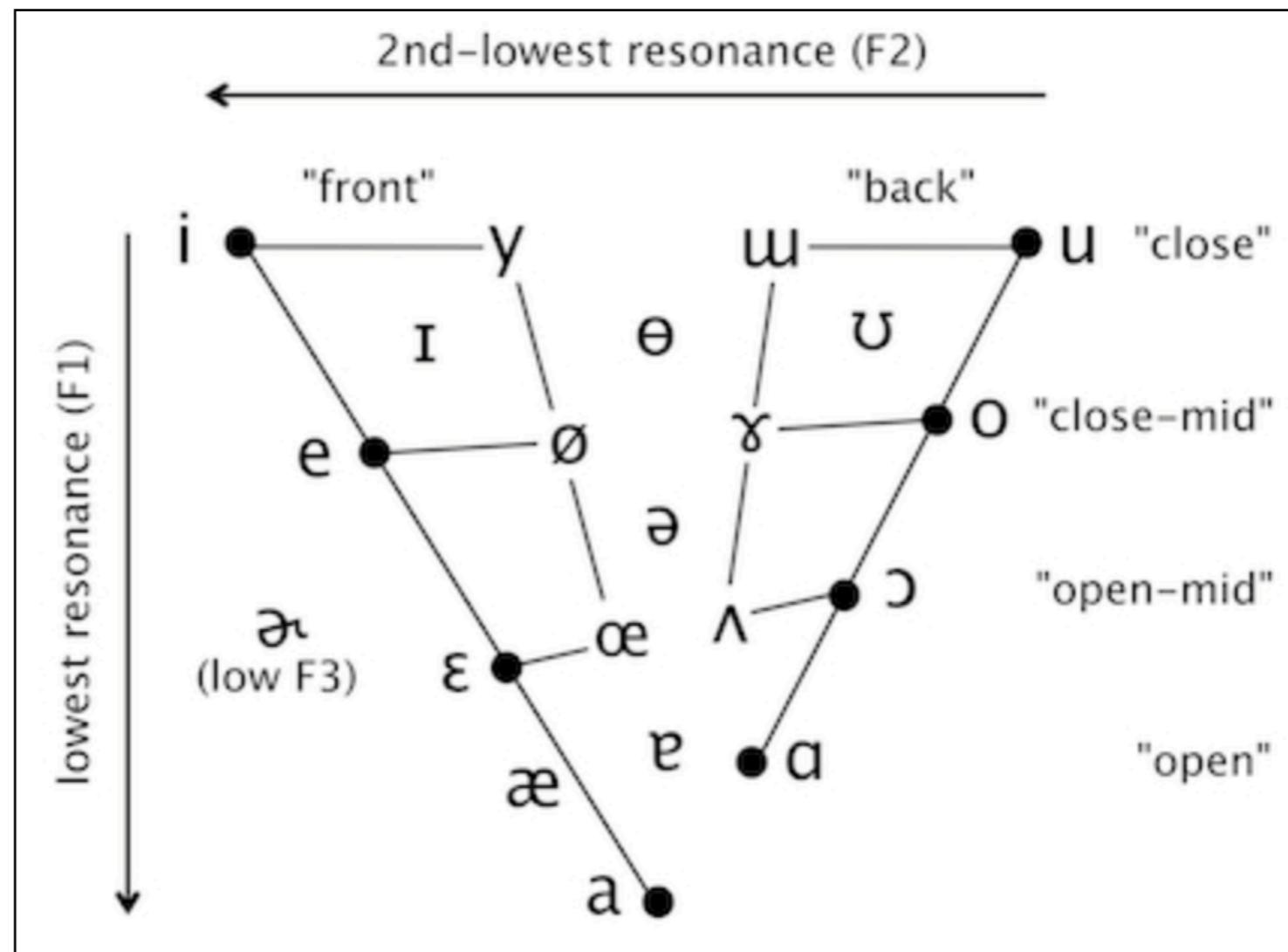


Youngblood Miton & Morin 2023

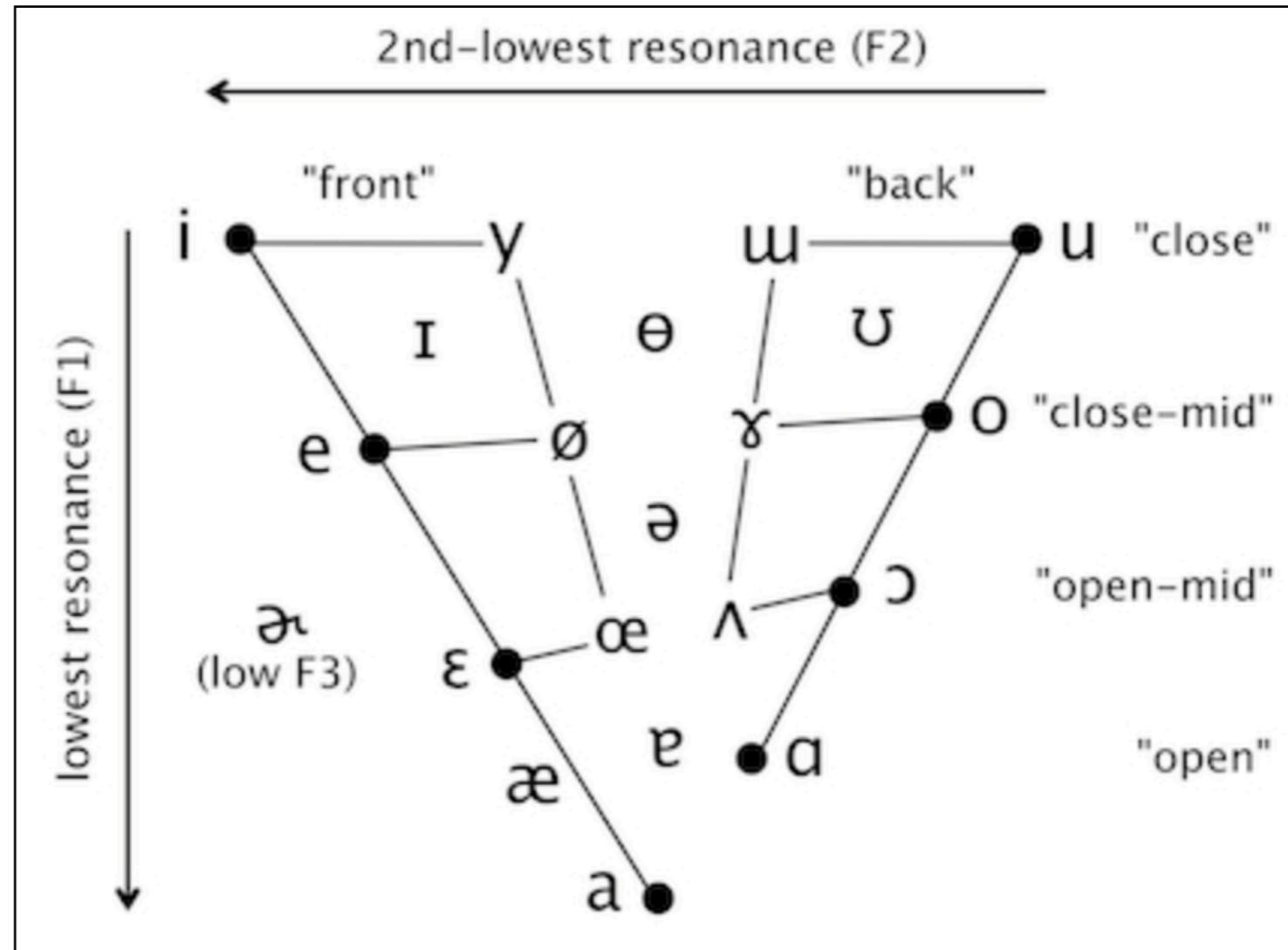
# Combinatoriality: using a few dimensions of variation to create many diverse forms



# Speech sounds are combinatorial



# Speech sounds are combinatorial



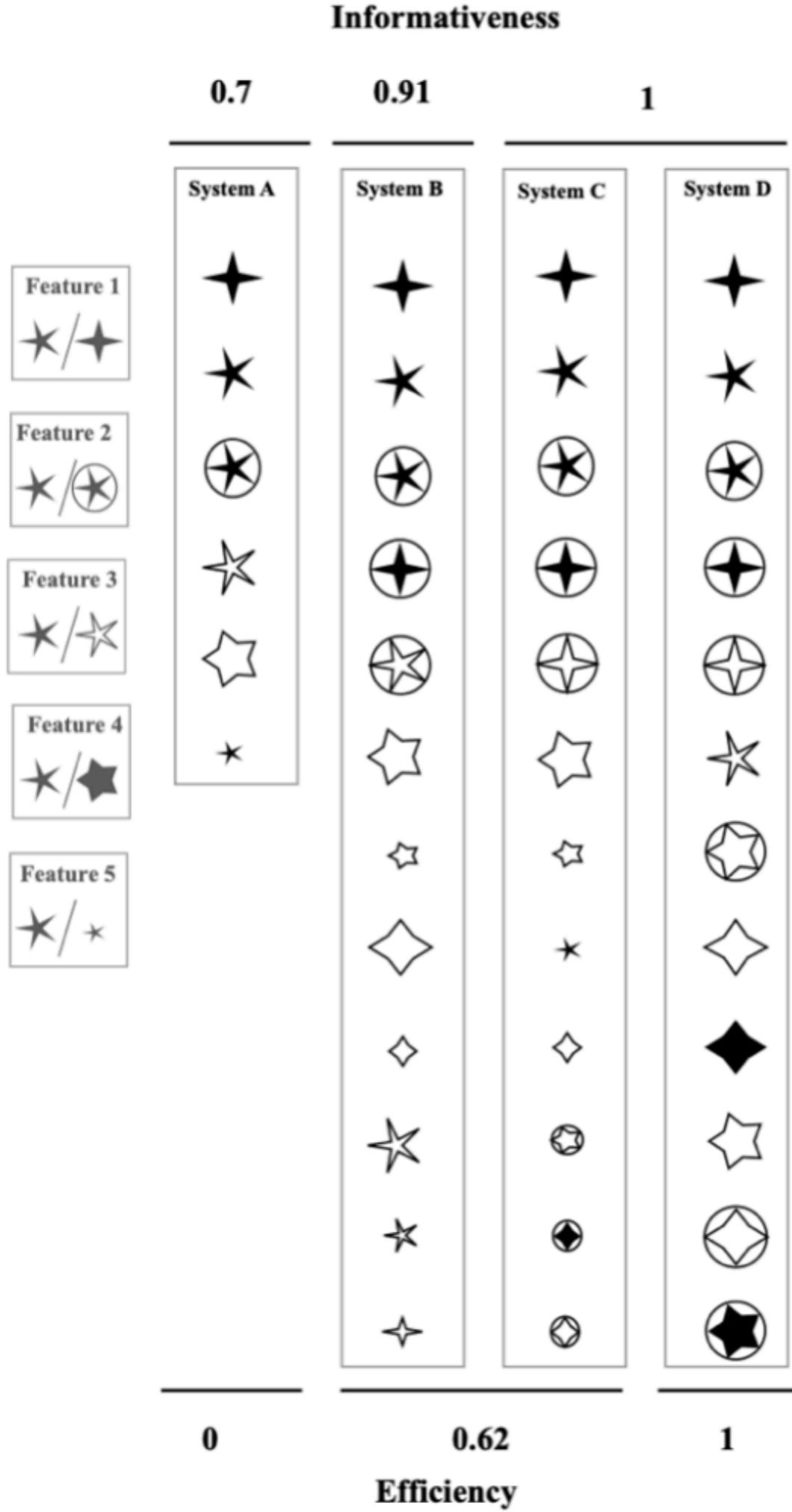
⇒ easier to learn

⇒ easier to encode

⇒ easier to pronounce

(Martinet 1971)

# Two dimensions of combinatoriality

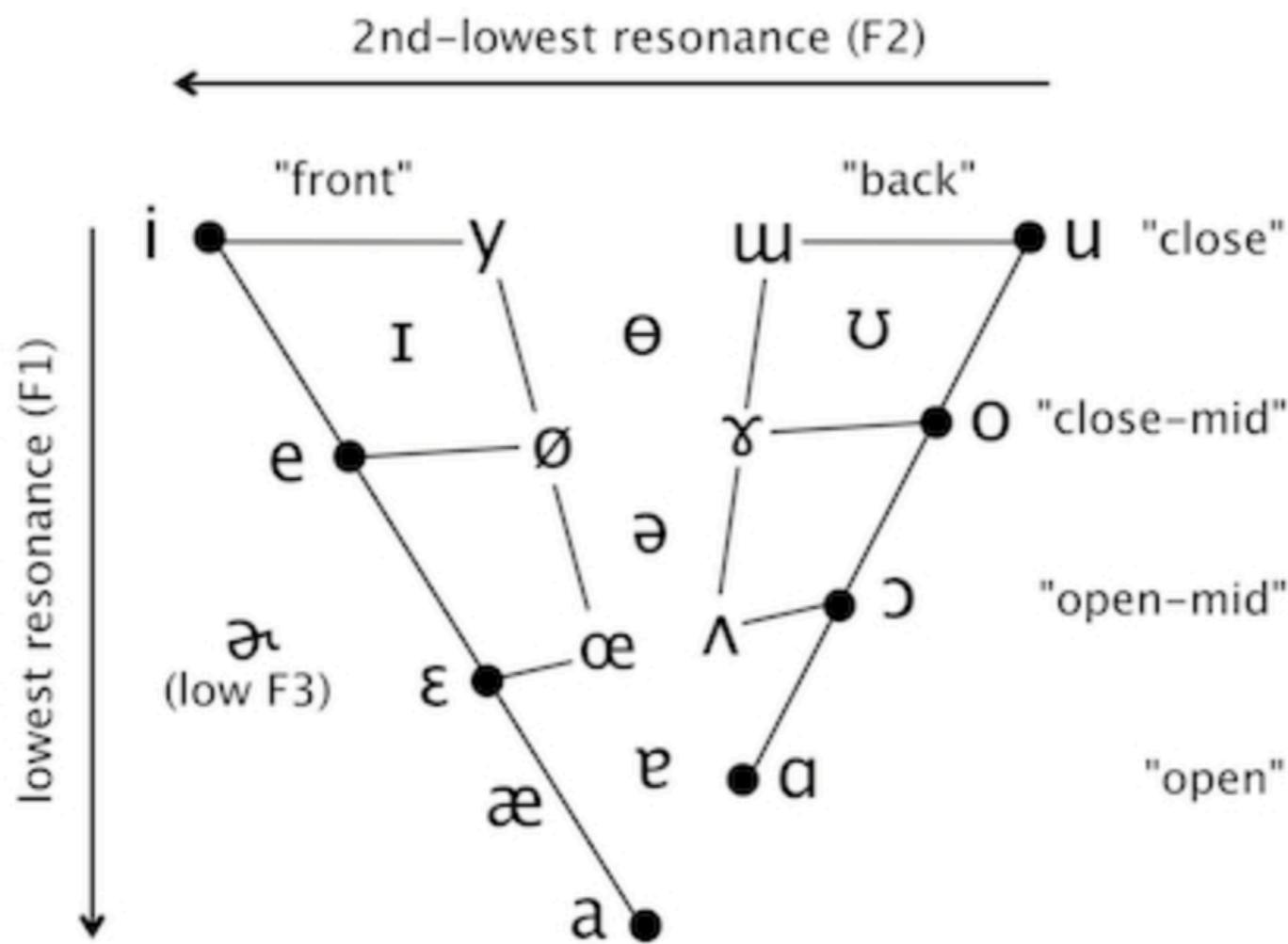


**Feature informativeness:** What are the odds that two random symbols differ on a given feature? For binary features, maximally high if 50% of symbols have one value and the other symbols have the other value for this feature.

**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?

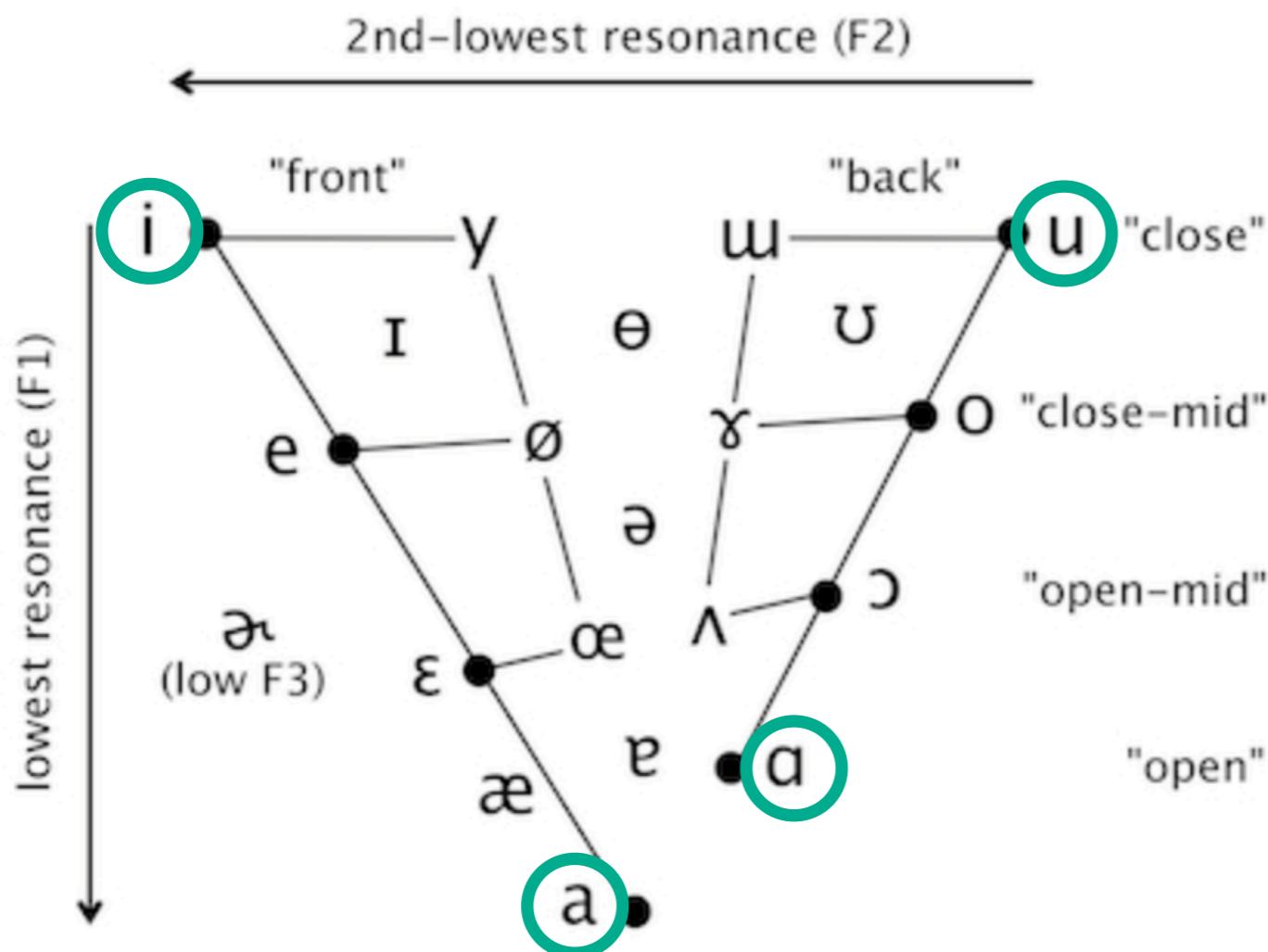
# Phonological features are efficient and informative.

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)

# Phonological features are efficient and informative.



**A typical vowel system:**  
Symmetrical (Dupoux & Dunbar 2016), with optimal dispersal (Lindblom 1986).

Each feature discriminates as many sounds as possible (50%): the features are maximally informative.

# 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

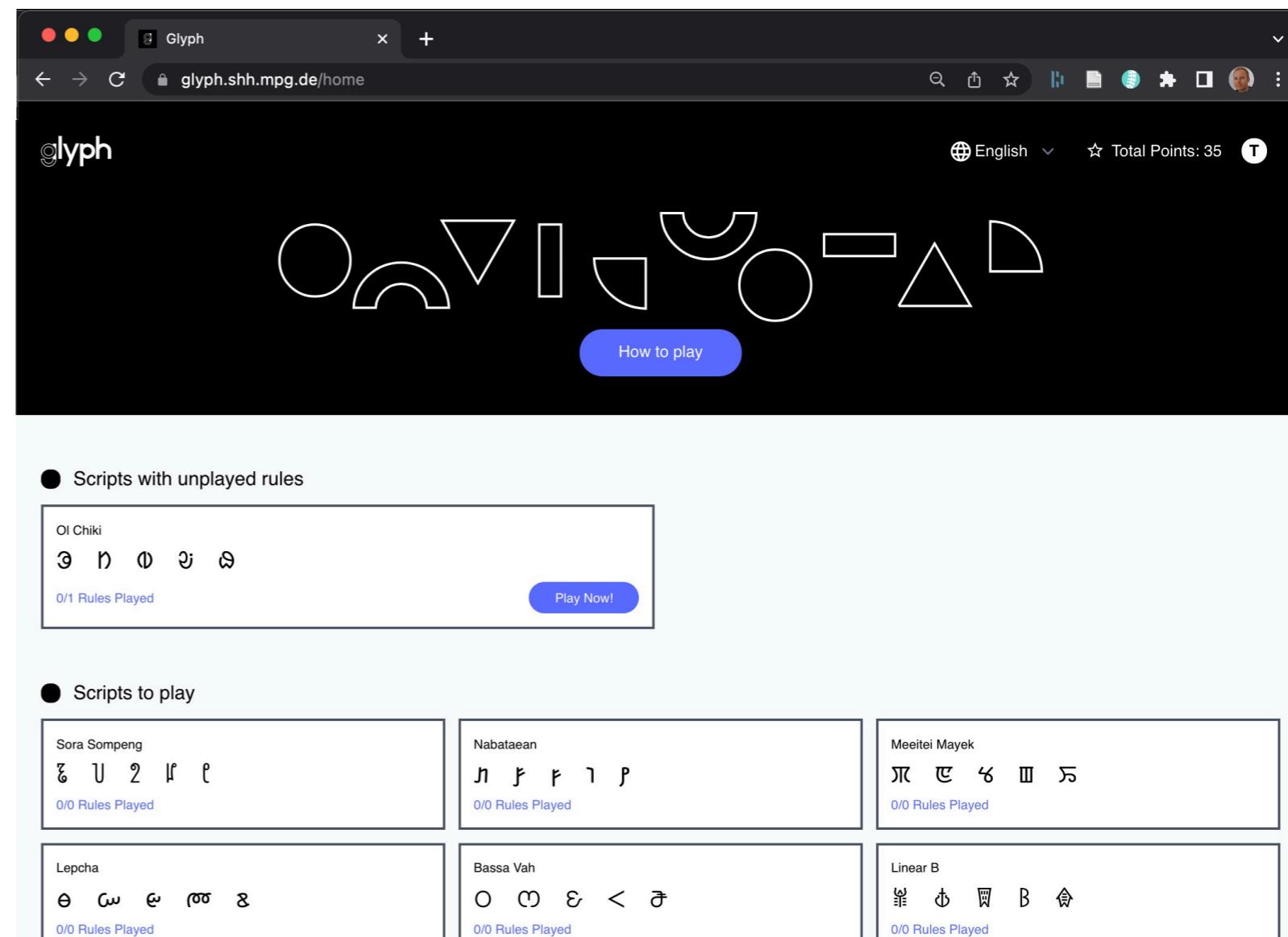
# glyph.shh.mpg.de

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

**i** Congratulations, you have now unlocked new scripts

X

## ● Scripts to play

Sora Sompeng

ສ ວ ແ ໂ ຖ

[Create a rule](#)

Syloti Nagri

ଦ୍ର ପା ତ ଏ ବ

[Create a rule](#)

Mandaic

ሮ ሲሮ ተ ዘ ዓ

Kayah Li  
N S U Ø Ø  
[Create a rule](#)

Gothic

F X O X ↑

Tagbanwa

v v v c v

Osmanya  
ሀ አ ቁ ሆ ኮ

Nabataean

𠁻 𠁼 𠁽 𠁷 𠁹

Buginese

Psalter Pahlavi

Meroitic Cursive

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



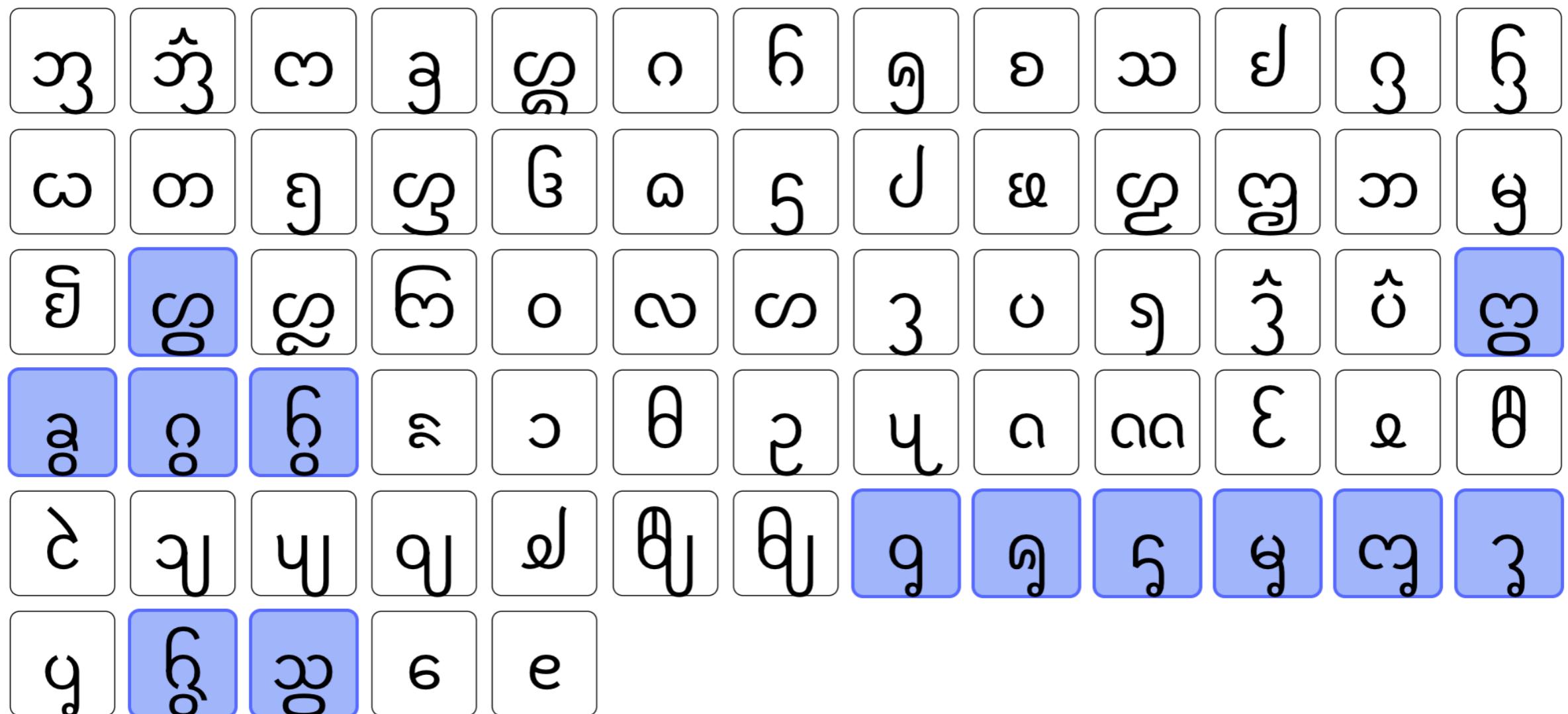
This rule is worth 0 points

Back

Clear selection

Next

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



This rule is worth 13 points

Back

Clear selection

Next

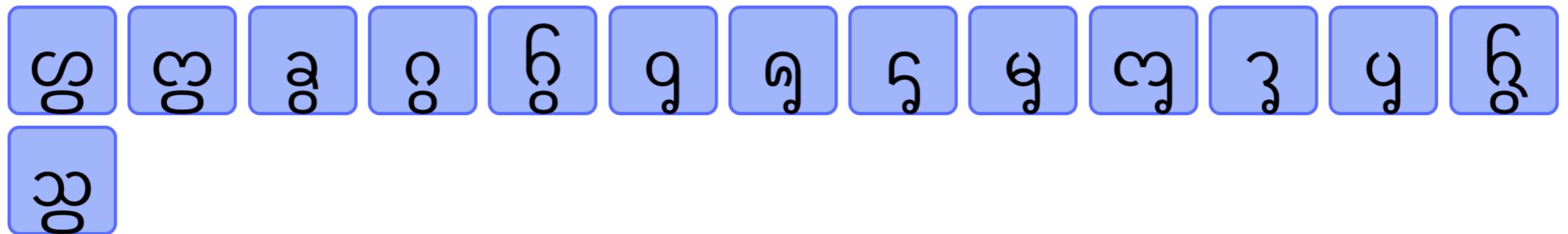
Home > ພູມວິທະຍາ New Tai Lue >

Text description of rule

closed shape at the bottom

Characters: 26/150

Selected characters [Edit](#)



This rule is worth 14 points

[Finish Rule](#)

# 3 minutes



Home > ພົມວູເລ New Tai Lue >

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

This rule is worth 13 points

Back Clear selection Next

Home > ພົມວູເລ (New Tai Lue) >

**Rule description: closed shape at the bottom**

Attempts Left: 3

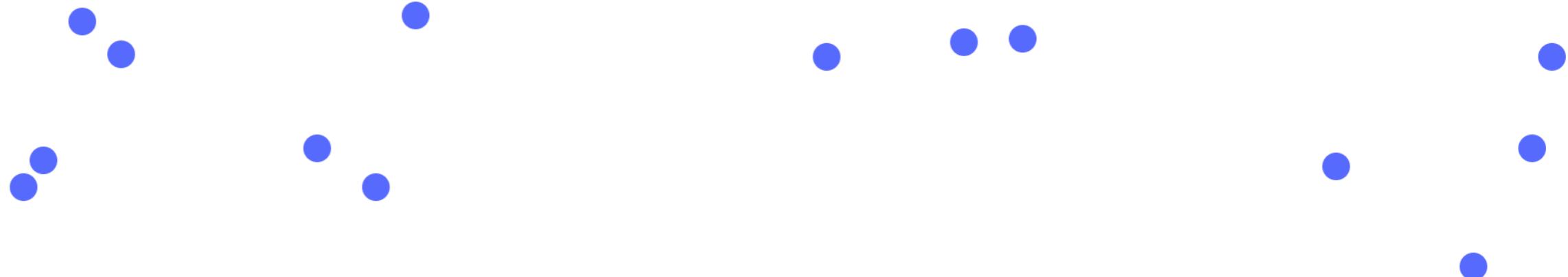
14/14 characters selected

Back Clear selection Submit

You passed!

You earned 14 points!

Continue



# Selecting the best set of classifications for each script

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

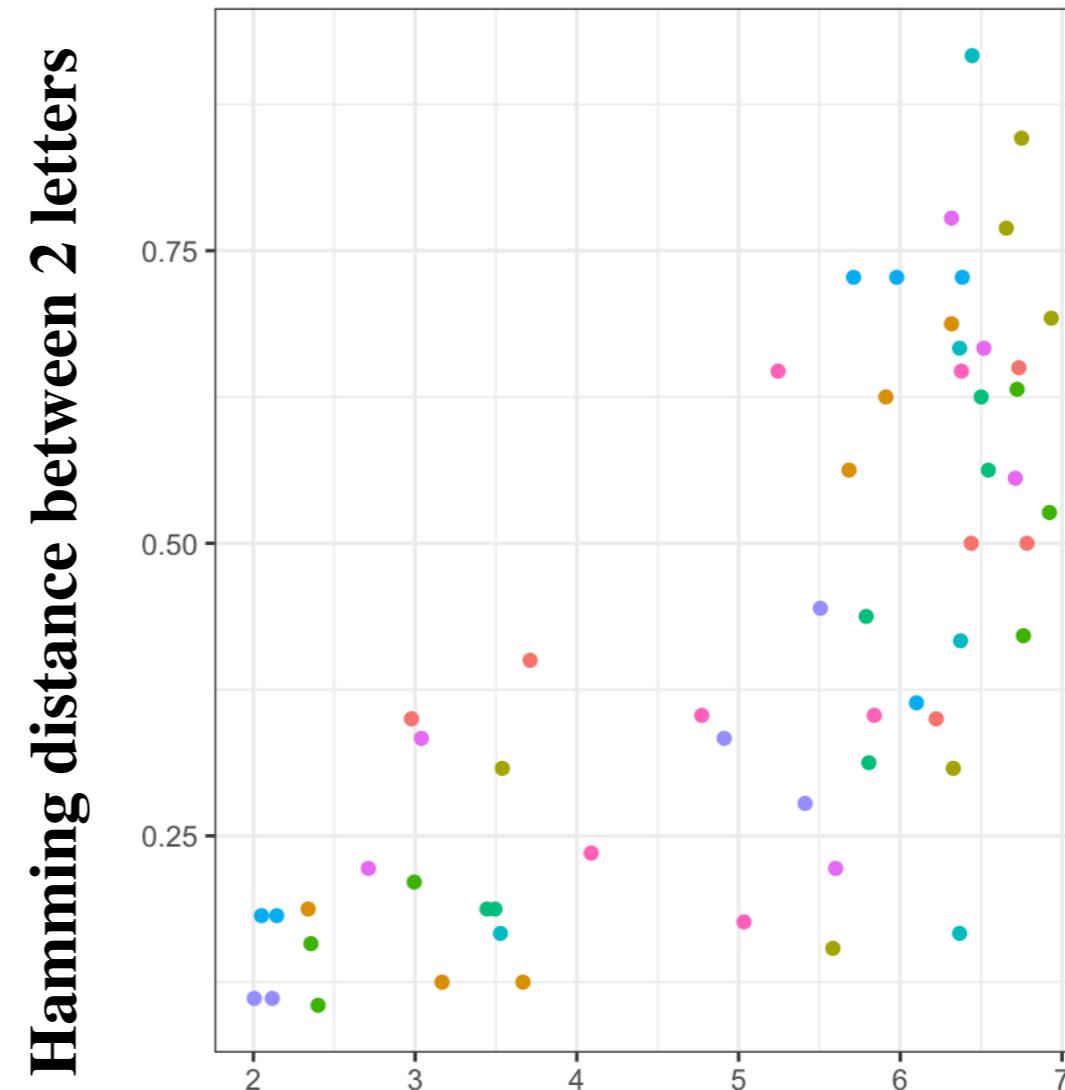
*Tagbanwa (Philippino script)*

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

Hamming distance  
between  $\top$  and  $\varkappa$ : 5.  
Normalised Hamming  
distance:  $5/9 = 0.555\dots$



**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.

$$(1) RE = \sqrt{\frac{F - F_{min}}{F_{max} - F_{min}}} \quad (2) F_{min} = \lceil \log_2(S) \rceil$$
$$\quad \quad \quad (3) F_{max} = S - 1$$

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:

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

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.

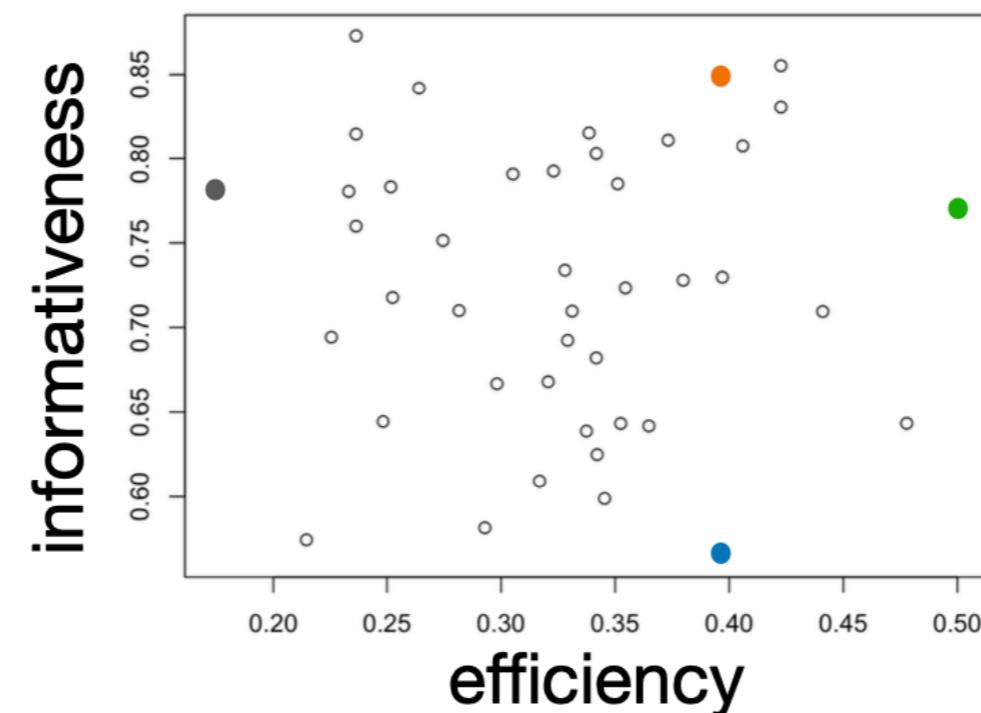
then average this over all features in a script / language.

# Tagbanwa

The image shows a horizontal row of 13 boxes, each containing a different letter from the Cyrillic alphabet. The letters are: У, Ў, Ї, Х, Ѓ, Ѓ, Ѓ, Ѓ, Т, Џ, О, А, and У. Below this row, there are three additional empty boxes.

# Kayah Li

A 4x6 grid of 24 boxes, each containing a single letter of the Burmese alphabet. The letters are arranged in four rows and six columns. The first row contains န, ဓ, မ, င, ဇ, ရ. The second row contains ပ, ခ, ဗ, ပ, ဇ, ဧ. The third row contains ၏, မ, ဒ, ဘ, ၅, ဟ. The fourth row contains ဉ, ပ, ၁, ၄, ၃, ၆.



# Ogham

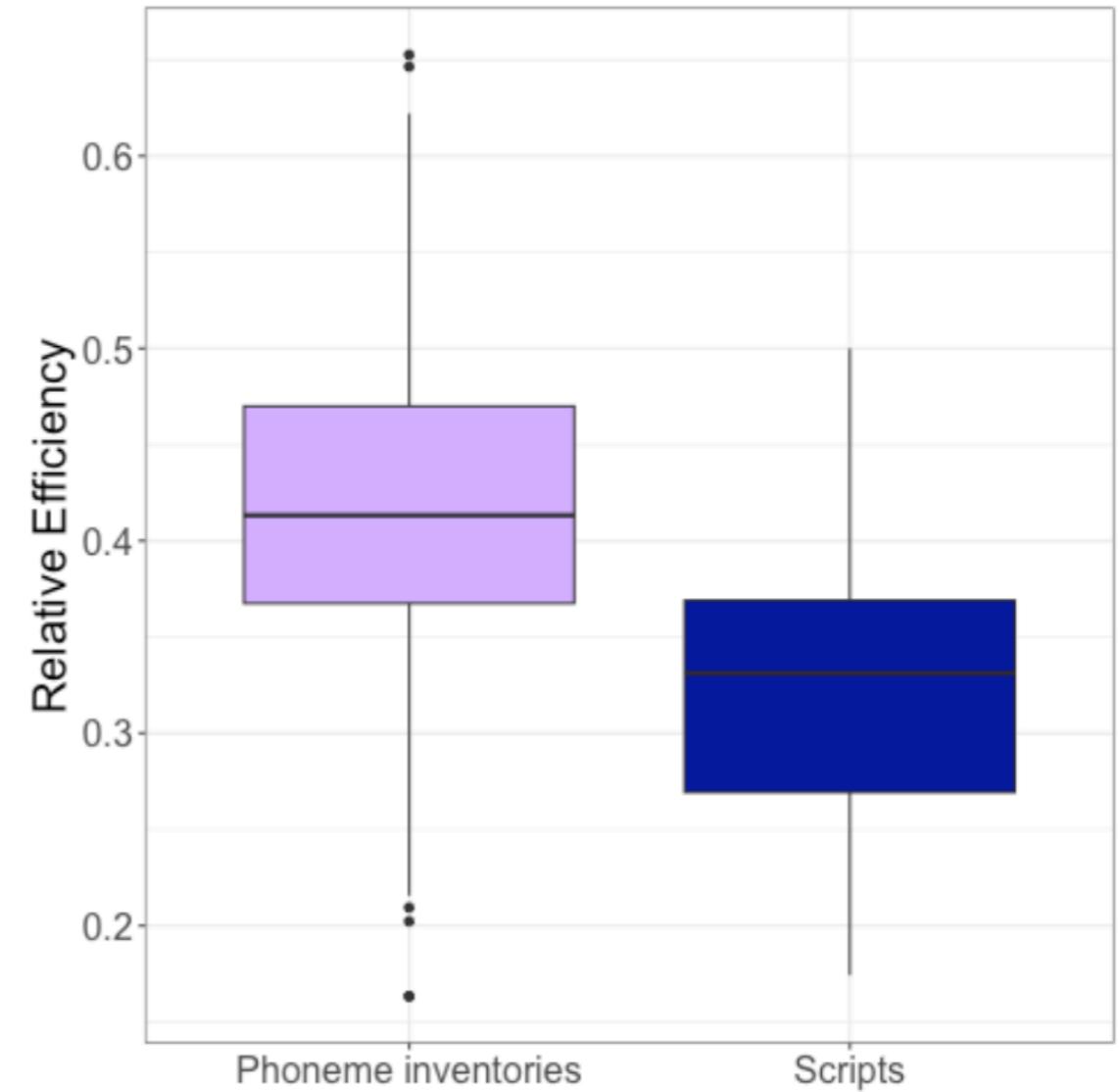
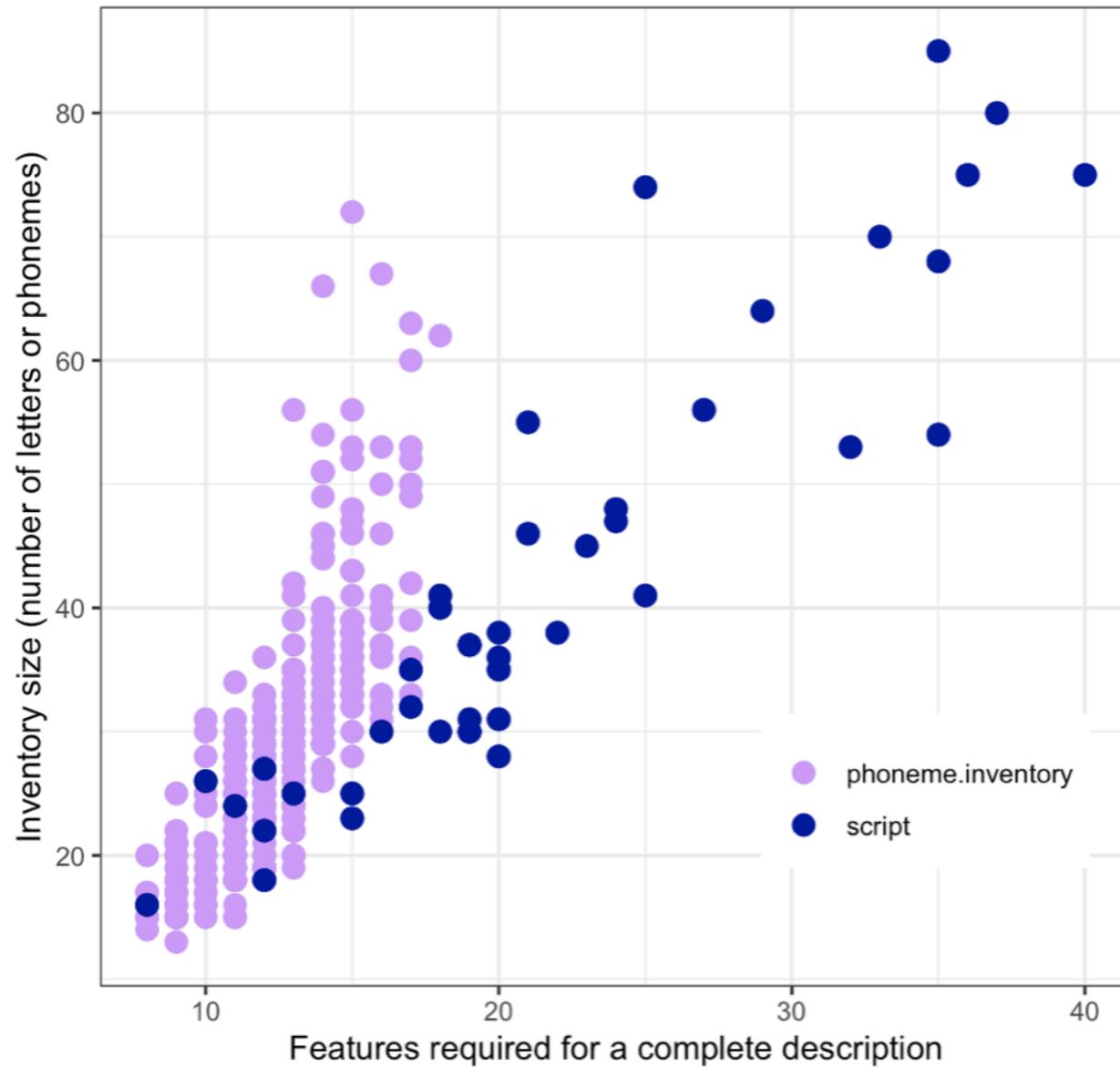
A 4x6 grid of 24 numbered boxes, each containing a different musical symbol or pattern. The symbols include: T (single vertical bar), TT (two vertical bars), III (three vertical bars), IIII (four vertical bars), IIIII (five vertical bars), I (single horizontal bar), III (three horizontal bars), IIII (four horizontal bars), II (two horizontal bars), # (sharp sign), ## (double sharp sign), 4 (four diagonal lines), 5 (five diagonal lines), 6 (six diagonal lines), + (plus sign), .. (two dots), ... (three dots), XXX (three X's), X (one X), ◆ (diamond shape), L (square with a diagonal line), and XX (two X's). The boxes are arranged in four rows and six columns.

## Datasets:

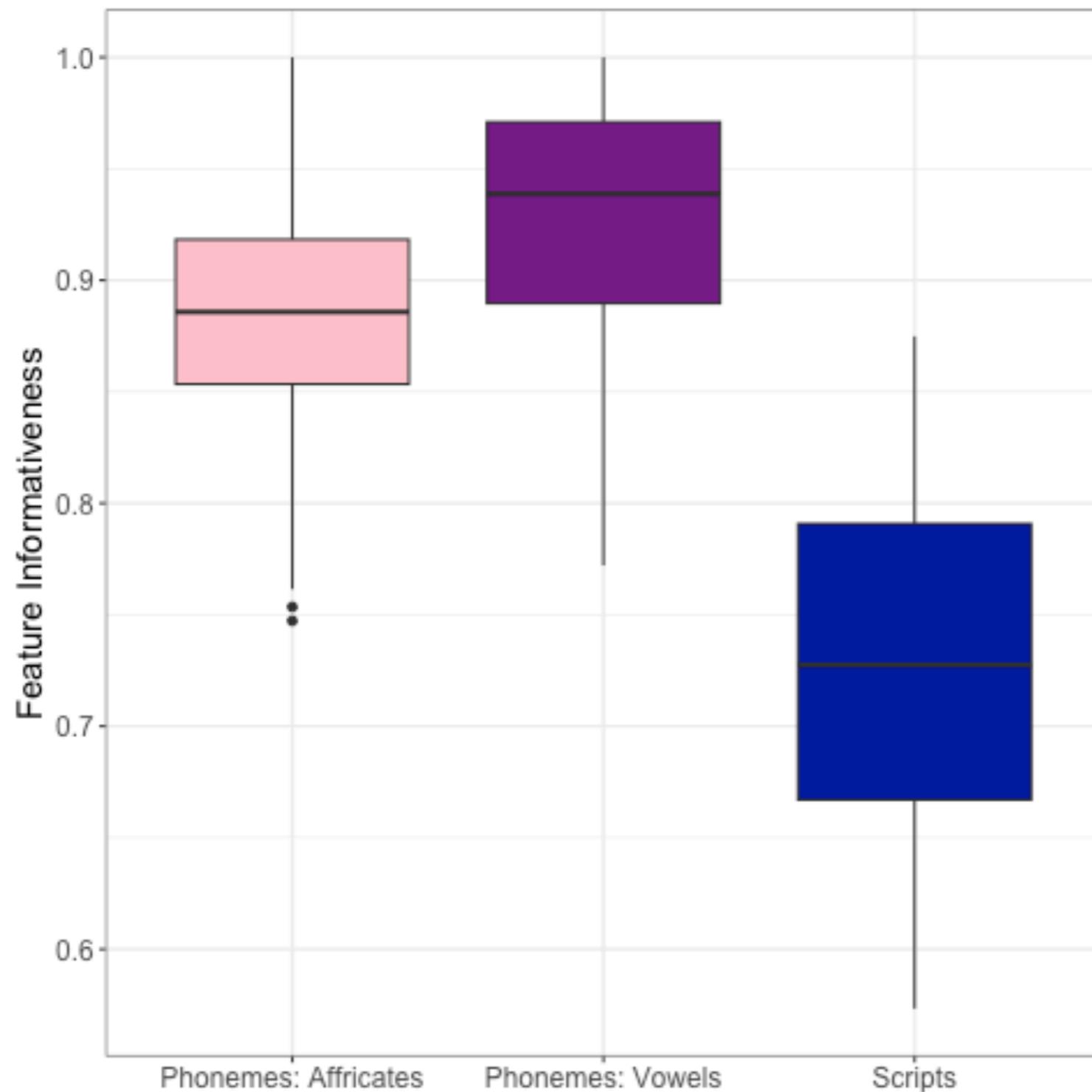
**43 Glyph scripts** (chosen to be a representative sample of the typological, areal & semiotic diversity of scripts).

**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.

Thanks!

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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.



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).

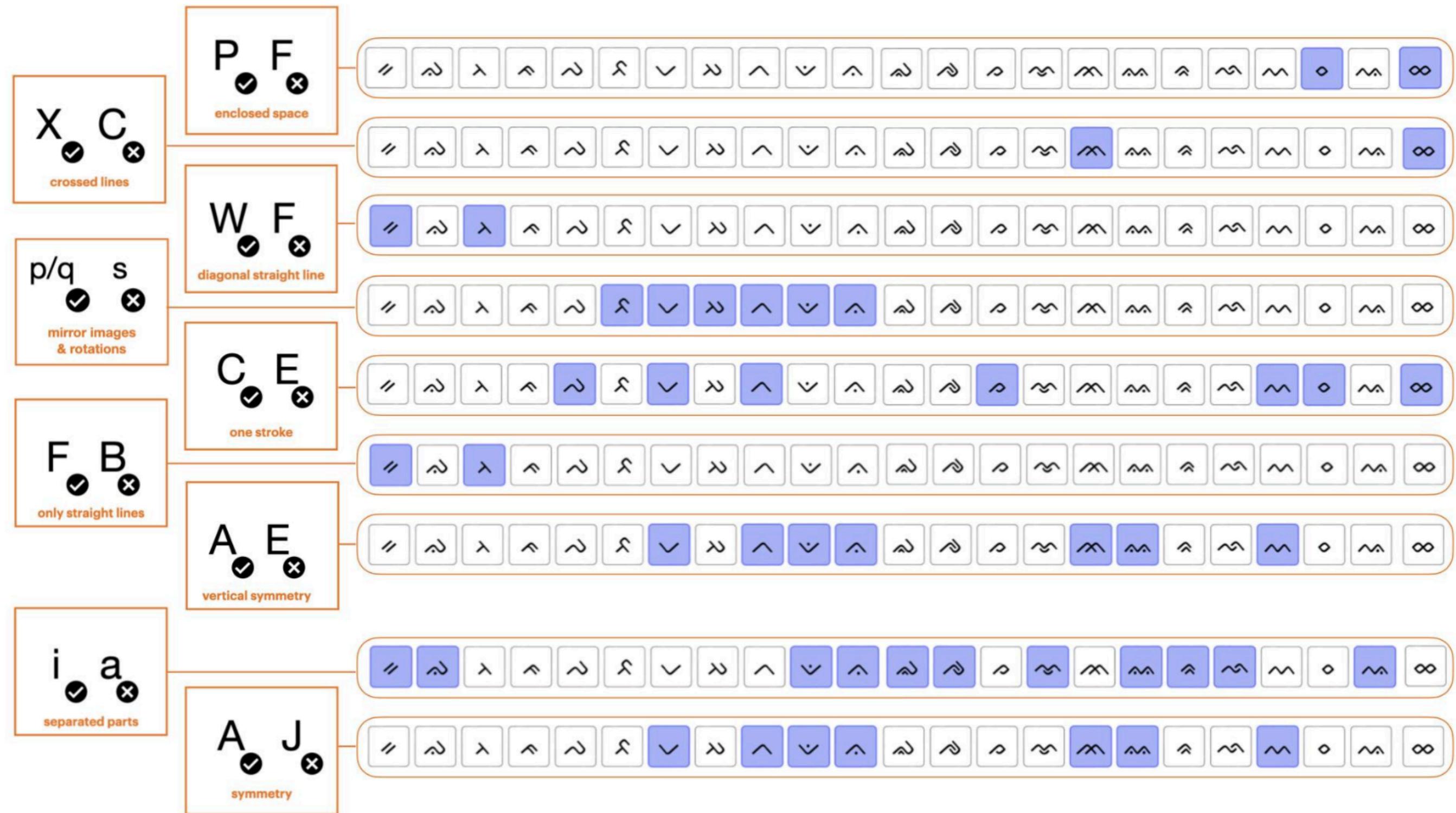
When computing feature informativeness, we only want to consider the features that can logically take a contrastive value for a group of phonemes, not those that take the 0 value because they don't apply. For instance, the feature "sibilant" / "non sibilant" does not apply to vowels.

=> 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).**

<b>V-shape</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>open at the top</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>2 strokes, incl. a complex curve</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>broad V-shape</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>squiggle</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>1 single stroke</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>vertical line/squiggle</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>end hook</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄
<b>closed shape</b>	T	κ	O	σ	υ	ῡ	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	X	Ϛ	Ϛ̄	Ϛ̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄	Ϛ̄̄̄̄

**But can we try describing them with general features?**

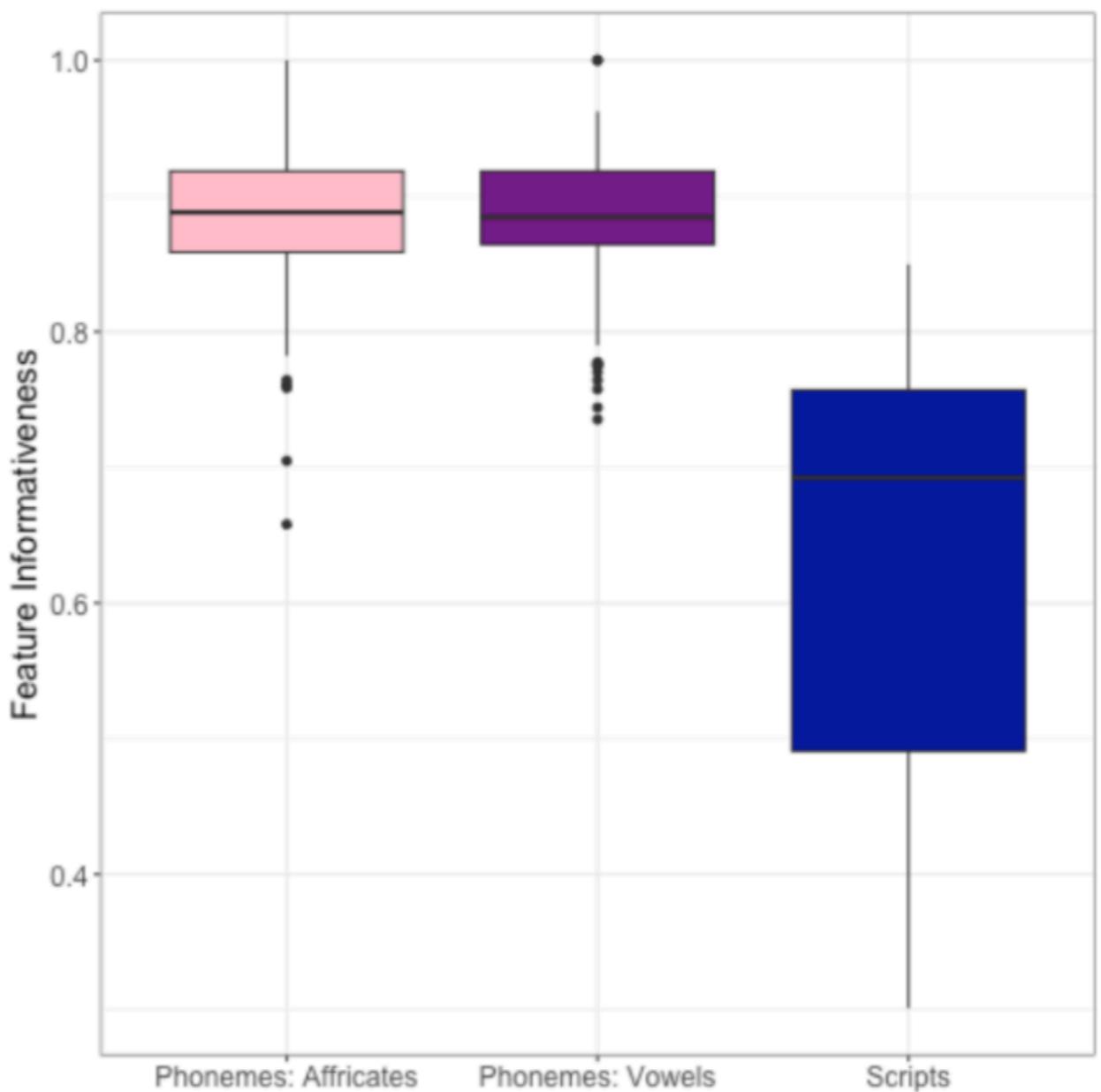


The nine general classification criteria that we applied to all scripts (left), with example application to the Buginese script. All criteria except the last two are orthogonal to one another

# 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".