

Quantifying the information carried in tonal contrasts in Phom

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Background

- Phonemic contrasts are commonly treated as representing equivalent distinctions among abstract units in the *inventory* of a language, but at their conception contrasts were fundamentally *lexical* (Martinet, 1938)
- Within information theory, elements of the code are assumed to be utilized asymmetrically in conveying messages (Shannon, 1948; Hockett, 1967)
- Recent work has applied this perspective to cross-linguistic comparisons of contrast structures (Surendran & Niyogi, 2003; Oh et al., 2013, 2015), and to simulations of language change (Wedel et al., 2013)

Methods

- A 7,618-word corpus of written Phom based on selected chapters from Manshah (Phom, 2009) was developed for this study
- 521 tonal minimal pairs were identified in the 2,635-word corpus-derived lexicon (all data were processed in Python 3.5 and analyzed in R 3.2)
- The contrast size N_T the number of different lexical items (excluding homophones) represented by a given orthographic word was recorded for each token (n = 2, 222) of the 521 minimal pair types in the corpus
 Values of N_T were then updated as the first author was given the context in which these words occurred in the corpus in the following stepwise procedure:

 Unigram (no context) → Bigram (preceding word) → Trigram (preceding 2 words)

 Contrast size estimates defined a probability distribution from which effects of WORD LENGTH (syllable count, mono-tri) and CONTEXT (N-gram size) on tonal disambiguation could be measured



- But the *role* of contrasts is rarely studied in under-documented languages
- Phom is one such case: a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nagaland with a ternary (high, mid, low) lexical tone contrast (Burling & Phom, 1999)
- Written Phom does not mark tones, making orthographic ambiguity one window on the unique information contributed by the tone system



Figure 1:CDFs of contrast size in unigram (black), bigram (orange), and trigram (blue) contexts.

Results

- Effects of WORD LENGTH were not consistent across contexts
 - Unigram: tri < di < mono in $N_T (p_{m-d} = 0.019; p_{d-t} < 0.001)$
 - Bigram: $tri < di = mono \ (p_{d-t} = 0.006; \ p_{m-t} = 0.012)$
 - Trigram: $tri < mono \ (p_{m-t} = 0.025)$
- Information gain $(N_{T(n-1)} N_{T(n)})$ with context was also studied as a stochastic process, with gain at the bigram significantly greater than gain at the trigram (p < 0.001)
 - This result was consistent across word lengths (p < 0.001)
- Trisyllables showed smaller gains relative to di/monosyllables at both bigram (p < 0.05) and trigram (p < 0.01) contexts, though this result is primarily due to their lower overall starting values of N_T
- Context frequency in bigrams (i.e. frequency of the preceding word) was also shown to significantly modulate contrast size, with positive Kendall correlations between frequency and N_T found both overall ($\tau = 0.10$, p < 0.001) and within word lengths ($0.06 < \tau < 0.14$, ps < 0.01)
- The inverse of contrast size $(P_T = 1/N_T)$ was introduced as a measure of
- Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests revealed a significant effect of CONTEXT on ambiguity: trigram < bigram < unigram (p < 0.001)

System Entropy



Figure 2:Relative entropy (the Kullback-Leibler divergence, $P_{T(n-1)}||P_{T(n)}\rangle$ by word length.

- Across word lengths, the Shannon entropy of P_T decreased nonlinearly from 266 to 126 to 22 bits with increasing context (unigram-trigram)
- Trisyllables showed the greatest asymmetry in information gain with context, with the ratio of relative entropy from bigram to trigram in the

disambiguation probability (conceived as a lower bound on lexical predictability) for the study of tone system entropy

Lexical Tone Distribution (monosyllables)



Figure 3:Distribution of potential tonal variants of monosyllables among unique paths (i.e. distinct contrasts: HM, HL, HML, ML) from ambiguous unigram to disambiguated bi/tri-gram.

- Binary contrasts involving the mid tone (HM, ML) were the least common, suggesting H and L might be more prominent under ambiguity
- Among disambiguated items, however, the three tones comprising the

following relation: di(1.38) < mono(1.58) < tri(2.11)

Morphology (disyllables)

- Disyllabic words formed via compounding exhibit asymmetries in the tonal variant of each constituent
- For example, the mid-tone variant of the second constituent in *yemshing* is more productive than the low ('stuffed up') or high ('to press') variants

$yar{e}m$ -shíng	$y \acute{e}m$ - $shar{\imath}ng$	$y \grave{e}m$ - $shar{\imath}ng$
search-press	dry-place	animal-place
'to search for'	'a place to dry'	'a place for animals'

• For *vangdhum*, the first constituent is fixed, meaning the ambiguity is completely driven by the tone on the second constituent, *dhum*

$v \acute{a} ng$ - $dh \grave{u} m$	váng-dhúm
rain-shade	rain-visit
'shade, shelter'	'rain visitation'

contrast were relatively evenly distributed: H - 30%; M - 30%; L - 40%

Conclusions

- The lexical role of the tone system in Phom, being more precisely quantified relative to effects of context (among others), may now serve as a reference for analyses of other tone systems in the region
- Future work should include syntactic and semantic constraints on N_T

References

References will be made available upon request.

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