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# A thirteenth-century theory of speech

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In this historical paper we examine a pioneering theory of speech production and perception from the thirteenth century. Robert Grosseteste (c.1175—1253) was a celebrated medieval thinker, who developed an impressive corpus of treatises on the natural world. Here we look at his treatise on sound and phonetics, De generatione sonorum [On the Generation of Sounds]. Through interdisciplinary analysis of the text, we find a theory of vowel production and perception that is notably mathematical, with a formulation of vowel space rooted in combinatorics. Specifically, Grosseteste constructs a categorical space comprising three fundamental types of movements pertaining to the vocal apparatus: linear, circular, and dilationalconstrictional; these correspond to similarity transformations of translation, rotation, and uniform scaling, respectively. That Grosseteste's space is categorical, and lowdimensional, is remarkable vis-a-vis current theories of phoneme perception. As well as his description of vowel space, Grosseteste also sets out a hypothetical framework of multisensory integration, uniting the production, perception, and representation in writing of vowels with a set of geometric figures associated with 'mental images'. This has clear resonances with contemporary studies of motor facilitation during speech perception and audiovisual speech. We additionally provide an experimental foray, illustrating the coherence of mathematical and scientific thinking underpinning this early theory.

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#### 20 I. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores and responds to a historical theory pertaining to the psychology and
physiology of speech. This theory was developed in the early thirteenth-century, but within
it may be found many of the same considerations as those of modern neuroscience—the nature of mental representations, the relationship between those representations and external
stimuli, and correspondences between the sensory faculties. Examining this theory, from
such a contrasting intellectual context to our own, raises questions of the role of experimentation, observation, and modelling, and what constitutes permissible evidence for supporting
or rejecting hypotheses.

Robert Grosseteste (c.1175–1253) was a celebrated medieval thinker, who, as well as writing on philosophy and theology, developed an impressive corpus of treatises on the natural world. Here, we analyze one of these treatises—his text on sound and phonetics:

De generatione sonorum [On the Generation of Sounds] (DGS). The DGS was probably written in the first decade of the thirteenth century, several centuries before the apparent 'scientific revolution in Early Modern Europe. It was a formative period, however, for the development of European scientific thought, during which the reception of Greek natural philosophy, enabled by their transmission, translations, and commentary from Arabic and Greek into Latin, prompted new conceptual frameworks for the consideration of natural phenomena. For modern science, reading medieval works presents several significant challenges, starting not least with that of editions and translations. This analysis of the DGS has only been possible through interdisciplinary collaboration between science and

- humanities scholars, resulting in the compilation of a new critical edition and translation of the text<sup>45</sup>.
- Previous interdisciplinary research has already explored other scientific treatises written by Grosseteste: the De colore [On Colour]<sup>6</sup>, De iride [On the Rainbow]<sup>7,8</sup>, and De luce [On Light]<sup>9</sup>. In the *De colore*, Grosseteste develops a pioneering application of mathematics to psychology. Within the space of approximately 400 words, he claims that colour occupies a continuous, three-dimensional space, contrary to the prevailing one-dimensional theory of the time<sup>6</sup>. It is surprising to find this theory articulated six centuries before threecolour printing techniques were established<sup>10</sup> and trichomacy was formulated by Thomas Young<sup>11</sup>. In the DGS, the treatise we explore and respond to in this paper, Grosseteste attempts a similarly mathematical, combinatorial abstraction for phonetics—specifically for vowels—as he attempts for colour. Several features of how he goes about doing this are of interest to the modern reader. Whereas Grosseteste's colour space is explicitly continuous, the vowel space described in the DGS is explicitly categorical. Underpinning his theory is a multimodal framework identifying correspondences between the mental representation of vowels, their physical production, their perception, and their external representation as letter shapes. Within this framework, the correspondences between speech perception, letter perception, and shape perception, have particular modern resonances in audiovisual speech and involvement of the motor system during speech perception. In the second half of this paper we present an experimental interpretation of the text, using artificial vowel synthesis and psychophysics to test the claims of correspondence between abstract, geometric acoustic
- chamber shapes and vowel perception.

Before presenting a detailed discussion of the *DGS*, a question that might first be addressed is why one ought to concern themselves with medieval science. Modern neuroscience is already at an interdisciplinary juncture between psychology, physiology, biology and mathematics; why should matters be further complicated with the inclusion of medieval history and Latin? An answer may be found in the sheer wealth of scientific theory and observation that was amassed during this period, which largely remains untapped. The history of science is highly non-linear, despite its frequently linear presentation, leaving worthwhile questions and suggestions unresolved in every historical age<sup>12</sup>. Psychological phenomena such as the perception of speech are not new, and have been prompting rational discourse throughout many historical and geographical cultures. By engaging with these theories today, we may find unexpected agreement with, or perspectives that are strikingly different to, our own.

In either case, we stand to gain much from the exercise.

#### $_{75}$ II. ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S $\it{DE}$ $\it{GENERATIONE}$ $\it{SONORUM}$

The *DGS* begins with a physical description of vibrational mechanics: a sounding body is such that when struck, its smallest parts move away from, return towards, and overshoot their natural places, with vibrations occurring as a result. This is to be expected from the given title of the treatise. However, only a quarter of the way through the text there is a change of focus, as Grosseteste presents a case study of a particular sounding body, that is, the production of human speech:

And since there is no such movement continuously in beings that have a soul, such movement cannot come from a vegetative soul, but from a sentient motive force and in a voluntary movement, which by necessity is preceded by the making
of a mental image or by apprehension. Therefore, a sound formed by a primary
motive force in which there is an ability to form mental images is a voice.

The remainder of the treatise is an attempt to characterize those 'mental images' that
initiate the voice, and the relationships between mental representations of origination, the
physical gestures of the vocal tract, the acoustic qualities of vowels, and the movements
of the hand that draw out letters to represent speech sounds<sup>13</sup>. Immediately following on
from the above passage, Grosseteste demarcates the difference between an intelligible and
an unintelligible speech sound:

But the actualising shaping itself of the vocal instruments and the shaping of the movement of breaths able to move the vocal instruments gives to a certain voice its kind and perfection; to a certain other voice, however, such shaping does not give perfection. The voice, therefore, to which the aforementioned shaping gives outward appearance and perfection, will be [called] a lettered voice. And the voice that is completed by a single shape will be a letter. The voice that is completed by several shapes will be composed of letters.

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Here, Grosseteste establishes a direct relationship between the shapes—or as they may
be understood, figures—of mental images, vocal tract shapes, and the movements of the
breath during speech. These three figures, when perfected, give rise to a 'lettered voice',
i.e. an acoustic output of intelligible speech. Grosseteste does not yet describe these figures
geometrically, though that will come in the next section of the treatise. It is interesting

to note the particular emphasis on the natures of certain voices due to the 'actualising shaping itself of the vocal instruments; any voice is preceded by a mental image, but the 106 intelligibility of that voice additionally depends on the speaker's ability to precisely execute the required motor programs. Or, to further unpack this notion, the acquisition of speech 108 requires first the presence of mental representations for speech sounds (it is unclear whether 109 Grosseteste is of the opinion these are innate or acquired), and second the learning of distinct motor programs encoding muscular coordinations for the production of these speech sounds. 111 While Grosseteste does not explicitly describe this in terms of language acquisition, and the 112 development from an imperfect to perfected voice, it is heavily implied when understood 113 in the broader medieval context of discussions on the liberal arts. The seven liberal arts— 114 and in this case the first art, that of grammar—provide a means whereby the fallen and 115 corruptible things of the world may be refined and perfected through study and practice. 116 In this case, the notion of a 'perfect' or comped voice is related to the art, and study, of 117 grammar, and the acquisition of vocal tract coordinations that give rise to a 'lettered' voice, 118 i.e. intelligible speech<sup>14</sup>. 119

In isolation, it may seem from this passage that Grosseteste understands that both diaphragmatic breath control ('shaping of the movement of breaths') and muscular coordination of articulators ('shaping of the vocal instruments') are required to produce intelligible
speech sounds. However, he later makes clear that he is instead claiming a direct identity between control of the vocal apparatus and the resultant movements of the ('motive')
breath, and it is these motive breath shapings that determine the 'outward appearance and
perfection' of a voice. Writing six hundred years before Fourier and modern notions of fre-

quency, resonance, and spectral analysis, this provided a sensible hypothesis for the causal relationship between the shape of the vocal tract and the acoustic qualities of the generated sound.

Grosseteste then moves beyond the production of speech (the shaping of the vocal instruments and motive breaths) and its perception (its outward appearance) to the visual
representation of speech in writing, and in doing so provides further discussion on the nature
of these fundamental geometric figures:

The voice's capacity for being written down, therefore, is nothing other than this same shaping of the vocal instruments and of the breaths by which the letter is generated internally. It may therefore be represented by a visible shape similar to the shape of its generation. It is clear, moreover, that, since art imitates nature and nature always acts in the best possible way, and art does similarly when not in error; however, representation by exterior shapes assimilated to interior will be better than [representation done] otherwise: to write is, according to the art of grammar, to represent interior shapes by means of exterior shapes similar to these same interior shapes.

Here Grosseteste is guided by two Aristotelian principles: first, that 'art imitates nature',
or mimesis; and second, that nature always acts in the best possible way. There is clear
indication of his reading Aristotle's *De anima* [On the Soul]<sup>15</sup>, although Grosseteste does
not reference Aristotle directly, as he does in some othe ientific works<sup>16</sup>. These principles
motivate one of the most central and clearly articulated claims of the treatise: the capacity
for speech to be written lies in the visual representation of shapes similar to the geometric

figures (mental, gestural, and of the 'motive breaths') at play during speech production which
is summarized in Figure 1. This claim that 'representation by exterior shapes assimilated to
interior will be better than otherwise' is particularly interesting, and has strong resonances
with recently resurfacing theories of non-arbitrary representation, or 'iconicity' 17,18.

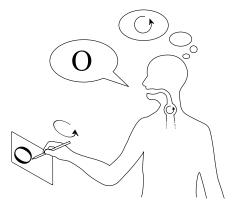


FIG. 1. A diagrammatic depiction of one of the claims in Grosseteste's *De generatione sonorum*. Grosseteste claims that the capacity for speech to be written lies in the visual representation of shapes similar to the geometric figures (mental, gestural, and of the 'motive breaths') at play during the production of speech. Because 'art imitates nature', the representational potential of letter shapes is maximized when those letters display geometric features common to the geometric figures at play in a vowel's production.

For many languages today, including modern English, such a direct relationship between speech-sound (phoneme) and written letter (grapheme) would be impossible; individual letters have diverse pronunciations in differing lexical contexts, themselves quite different to the letter name. As an example of phonological inconsistency, while an English speaker with received pronunciation today may read the letter 'O' as a diphthong /əʊ/, it could be similarly pronounced as /əʊ/ in 'go', but also as /u/ in 'do', /ʌ/ in 'tonne', /ʊ/ in 'woman'

and even /I/ in 'women'. This complication was not known to Grosseteste, who saw a mostly direct and consistent grapheme-phoneme relationship in the languages it is likely that he knew (Middle English, Latin, and French). Any exceptions, such as variations in regional accents, could be accounted for as being 'accidental'.

The treatise then gives a special consideration of vowels, for which Grosseteste provides a comprehensive study of his hypothesized geometric figures.

The whole sound of the vowel and of any part of the vowel are the same as each other. It is necessary, therefore, for it to be generated by a movement the parts of which are the same as the whole. But there are seven movements in which the parts are the same as the whole: straight movement, circular movement, dilation and constriction—these last two do not differ except as straight movement forwards and backwards—, circular movement over a centre in a straight movement and a circular movement over a centre in a circular movement, and likewise dilating and constricting movement over a centre in a straight movement and over a centre in a circular movement.

In fact, this is a combinatorial system related to that described in the *De colore*: three simple elements are combined in various ways to give rise to a full set including complex combinations, except that for this scheme only two simple elements may be combined rather than all three. It is also different in that, rather than being defined by independent dimensions as in the case of the bipolar qualities of colours, only some of the simple elements may be combined, and one—circular movement—may be self-combined. The choice of three simple movements may not appear such an obvious choice, and it may be even more puzzling

why only one of the three may be self-combined. Grosseteste states clearly that this is the comprehensive list of movements 'in which the parts are the same as the whole'. We may rephrase this description as one of time-invariant functions on position.

One way of interpreting the scheme that seems to resolve these confusions is by view-184 ing the three classes of simple movements as geometric linear transformations. In which 185 case, these movements correspond perfectly to the allowed operations for Euclidean simi-186 larity transformations: straight movement for translation, circular movement for rotation, 187 and dilational movement (and constrictional) as uniform scaling. Matrix notation provides a 188 convenient and efficient way of describing these transformations; while Grosseteste would not 189 have had this notation at his disposal, imagining these movements per se is not contingent 190 on any particular form of mathematical description. Expressed as two-dimensional transfor-191 mation matrices of translation, rotation, and scaling— $A_t$ ,  $A_r$ , and  $A_s$ , respectively—these three simple geometric transformations are given as: 193

Translation : 
$$\mathbf{A_t} = \begin{bmatrix} 1 & 0 & t \\ 0 & 1 & t \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{bmatrix}$$
; Rotation :  $\mathbf{A_r} = \begin{bmatrix} \cos(t) & \sin(t) & 0 \\ -\sin(t) & \cos(t) & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{bmatrix}$ ; Scaling :  $\mathbf{A_s} = \begin{bmatrix} t & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & t & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 1 \end{bmatrix}$ .

Using this interpretive scheme, the geometric figures which Grosseteste describes naturally arise by the consideration of points in Euclidean space experiencing these transformations. These simple and combined movements may be visualized in Figure 2 and Figure 3, respectively, and in the videos included in the online version of this paper for translation (Video 1), rotation (Video 2), dilation and constriction (Video 3), rotation and translation (Video 4), and dilation/constriction and translation (Video 5).

200 Mm. 1. Translation. File of type mp4 (1.8 MB)

201 Mm. 2. Rotation. File of type mp4 (1.8 MB)

202 Mm. 3. Dilation and constriction. File of type mp4 (1.7 MB)

203 Mm. 4. Rotation and translation. File of type mp4 (1.8 MB)

Mm. 5. Dilation/constriction and translation. File of type mp4 (1.7 MB)

This interpretation also accounts for why straight movement does not give rise to a distinct movement when self-combined, as the product of two translation transformations,  $A_t^2 A_t^1$ , is simply another (different) translation,  $A_t^3$ . The same can be said for two consecutive or simultaneous operations of scaling, or of dilational-constrictional movement. Circular movements can, however, be self-combined to give a new class of self-similar movement, as in Figure 4, and Video 6. The combination of circular movements over another circular movement strongly connotes the epicyclic approach employed in classical and medieval as-

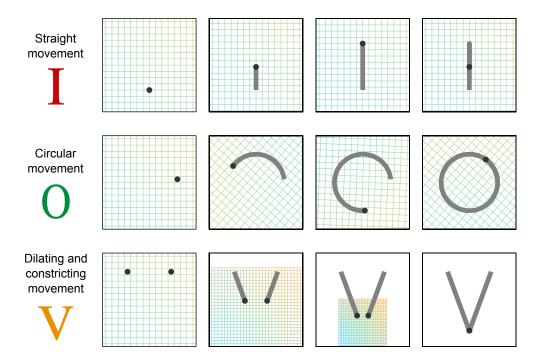


FIG. 2. The simple, self-similar geometric movements that Grosseteste describes as the basis for vowel categorization. We have interpreted his categories of simple movements—straight movement, circular movement, and dilating and constricting movement—as the three fundamental classes of linear geometric transformation: translation, rotation, and uniform scaling. Points (shown in black) embedded in planes undergoing these transformations trace out movements that agree well with Grosseteste's descriptions of simple movements, shown in grey. Videos are provided in the online version of this paper.

tronomy, which comprises highly organized structures of rotating, nested spheres. In this
case it is clear that an additional rotational transformation is applied to the space experiencing the first rotational transformation, but the centre of this rotation is at a point offset
from the origin, itself experiencing rotation. What first appears as an arbitrary selection
of movements, in fact constitutes the complete scheme of self-similar, geometric similar-

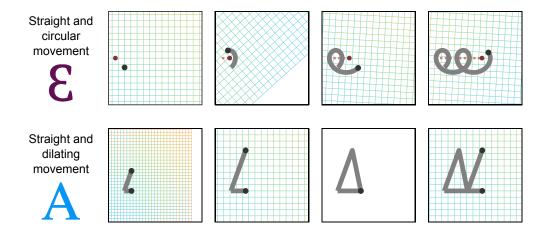


FIG. 3. The combined movements that give rise to vowels in Grosseteste's model of phonetics. For the combination of straight and circular movement, the translating origin of rotation is indicated by a red dot. For the combination of straight movement with dilating and constricting movement, two dots repeatedly expand from, and collapse to, a single point that itself undergoes translation. Circular movement, or rotation, can be self-combined mathematically, as shown in Figure 4, but Grosseteste discounts it for vowel production as overly complex for the speaker. Videos are provided in the online version of this paper.

ity transformations of the two-dimensional plane, such that points in this plane trace out
movements. However, to limit the number of vowels from seven to five ('A', 'E', 'I', 'O'
and 'U'), Grosseteste discounts complex movements over a point itself tracing a circular
movement—circular movements and dilational-constrictional movements over a centre already experiencing circular movement are unfeasibly difficult:

222 Mm. 6. Double rotation. File of type mp4 (1.8 MB)



FIG. 4. Grosseteste describes a self-combination of circular movement, which he discounts as too complex for use in speech. This movement strongly evokes the mathematical constructions of epicycles in medieval astronomy. Here, the rotating origin of rotation is indicated with a red dot. Videos are provided in the online version of this paper.

On account of these seven movements the ancient Greeks posited seven vowels.

But the abovementioned two movements over a centre in circular movement,

granted that they are possible in imagination, are nevertheless difficult in reality.

For this reason, there only remain five movements that are possible or easy to

produce.

He then gives an in-depth geometric description of the remaining five self-similar movements, and how they generate the letters that represent their corresponding vowels:

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It is therefore clear that in a straight movement of the motive breathings through the vocal tract an 'I' is shaped. But this straight movement is not a single continuous movement for then the lack of interruption would not cause a vibration but is very frequently coming and going. A circular movement over a centre makes the shape 'O'. A circular movement over a centre [moved] in straight movement subtends a chord by the movement of the centre, and, by the movement of any point of the circumference, describes an arc over the chord and thus makes the shape 'E'. A constricting and dilating movement, on the other hand, makes the figure 'V', that is, two lines running together in a centre. And a dilating and constricting movement over a centre moved straight in a straight movement subtends the base of a triangle. And any point, when there is dilation, because it is moved by a double movement, describes one side of the triangle from the base to the top, and when there is constriction, it describes the remaining side from the top to the base, and thus it makes the figure 'A'.

As shown in Figures 2 and 3, these descriptions align well with a linear transformation interpretation of movement schemes. All five of the figures that Grosseteste traces out in words can indeed be traced out by points or combinations of points embedded in the plane experiencing the simple or combined similarity transformations of translation, rotation, and or uniform scaling.

As made clear by these descriptions, the abstract figures that correspond to phonemes

(and, on account of the art of grammar imitating incurre, graphemes) are not static geometric

shapes, but rather categories of movement, which are ascribed to the vocal tract during

speech. Therefore, for Grosseteste the perception of a speech sound, whether in hearing

speech or in reading, is intrinsically connected with vocal gestures, and the 'mental images'

that encode their associated motor programs. This multisensory framework readily lends

itself to current discussions of the motor theory of speech<sup>19</sup>, and involvement of the motor

cortex in speech perception.

Eight centuries after Grosseteste was writing, we now have experimental evidence from brain imaging and transcranial stimulation that his intuitions were solid. Involvement of

the motor system was established fifteen years ago in response to visual and auditory speech perception<sup>20</sup>, and soon after, that specific motor circuits in the precentral gyrus are recruited 260 to facilitate phoneme identification—serving as 'speech-sound-specific neuronal substrates' shared across the sensory and motor processes<sup>21</sup>. Motor cortex involvement has been found 262 to be beneficial for speech perception under noisy conditions<sup>22</sup>, and possibly under normal 263 listening conditions<sup>23</sup> (although possibly not<sup>24</sup>). Of particular relevance to Grosseteste's theory, Möttönen and Watkins (2009) found direct evidence for motor representations play-265 ing a complementary role in the categorization of speech sounds when they are found along 266 continua<sup>25</sup>. As they point out, the mapping of highly variable acoustic signals onto discrete 267 motor representations could support the intelligibility of speech in challenging environments. 268 Even more intriguingly, Tian and Poeppel proposed a common sequential estimation mech-269 anism underpinning both the quasi-perceptual experience of articulator movement and the 270 corresponding auditory percept of speech mental imagery<sup>26</sup>. They claim that the experimen-271 tal evidence from both task demands and stimulus properties demonstrates the top-down 272 role the motor system is playing in this type of mental imagery. In which case, Grosseteste's 273 claim that the mental imagery of speech is in fact a mental representation not of sound, but of motion (albeit of a simple, geometric nature), was remarkably apt. 275

In the light of these recent investigations, we can again consider Grosseteste's approach to understanding speech. Acoustic signals show enormous variety, and to the thirteenthcentury researcher writing before the advent of spectral analysis, this would have proved impossible to organize. Confronted with the curse of dimensionality, Grosseteste limits his study of sound to that of speech—a subset of natural sounds that the human auditory system

can reliably organize, doing so in a categorical manner. Aristotelian principles, the scientific
paradigm of the day, provide the methodological approach, with the movements of the hand
during writing perhaps constituting a permissible form of evidence for understanding the
mental and anatomical origins of speech, and its perception. That speech sounds differ due
to differences in movement category sits well with what Grosseteste understands about the
vibrational mechanics of sound; sound is the perception of a special class of movements made
by physical bodies, either when struck (the sounding body) or when formed by a primary
motive force capable of forming mental images (the voice).

# 289 III. A PSYCHOPHYSICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT

The claims in the DGS are bold, and may read today as 'unscientific', lacking any evi-290 dential basis. But before dismissing these claims out of hand, it is worth considering exactly 291 what evidence would have been available at the time to a shrewd observer. The morphology 292 of the vocal tract would largely have been unknown, although from the end of the twelfth 293 century very good diagrams of the vocal tract and its articulators were being produced in 294 the Arabic-speaking world<sup>27</sup>. These would not have been accessible to Grosseteste, and we 295 can reasonably say that any data he had regarding vocal tract morphology would have come from his own direct experience of vision and proprioception. As has been remarked by oth-297 ers, the resemblance of the 'O' letter shape and the pronounced rounding of the lips when 298 producing the /2/ phoneme may suggest a non-arbitrary grapheme-phoneme relationship<sup>28</sup>, 299 and could have been a motivating factor for the theory as a whole.

To experimentally determine whether Grosseteste's theory could have been constructed 301 in a way commensurable with the available evidence, we created a set of synthetic vow-302 els, using physical models of vocal tracts. These models were designed to incorporate the geometric figures Grosseteste identified at the front of the mouth end of the tract. This 304 is, categorically, not to refute or accept the theory expounded in the DGS; we have ample 305 data on the morphology of the vocal tract, and nowhere does it feature idealized geometric shapes as described in the DGS. However, in this manner we are able to evaluate whether 307 Grosseteste's theory would have been consistent with the observational data available to 308 him—the visual and proprioceptive measurements of the mouth and lips. The question is, 309 therefore, not whether the theory is correct, but the following: can we construct acoustic 310 chambers that incorporate Grosseteste's ideal geometric figures at the 'mouth end' (the end 311 furthest form the acoustic source), and yet are perceived as the five vowels in question? 312 We tested this using established methodologies of phonetics and speech perception, namely, 313 spectral analysis, and both multidimensional scaling and classification experiments.

# 315 A. Stimuli

Synthetic vowels were produced by plate-type model vocal tracts, constructed to resemble
the five geometric figures Grosseteste describes at the mouth end. This is a one-dimensional
model developed by Arai et al.<sup>29</sup>, comprising 75 mm wide acrylic squares, each 10 mm thick,
with central holes of different diameters. The plates are clamped together in a specified order,
leaving a central cavity of varying size down the length of the tract. A rubber coupler allows
the introduction of an electrolarynx to acoustically stimulate the model at the laryngeal

end, which produces a falling pitch excitation in the male range from 100 Hz to 60 Hz
lasting around two seconds. Adjustments were made to the laryngeal end of the models
such that the output best approximated the associated phoneme. The resultant plates are
shown in Figure 5, which also includes an overlay in red of the region made to resemble
the geometric shape for each vowel. The acoustic outputs of these vocal tract models were
then analyzed acoustically (formant analysis) and perceptually (two psychophysical listening
tests), to evaluate how successfully the synthetic speech-sounds approximate natural vowels.

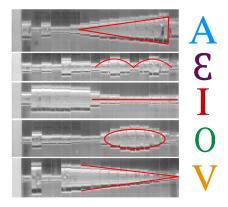


FIG. 5. The configurations of the plate-type vocal tract model (VMT-10) of Arai et al.<sup>29</sup> used to synthesize the five samples corresponding to Grosseteste's geometric figure associations for each of the five vowel letters, with the mouth-end on the right. From top to bottom: A,  $\mathcal{E}$ , I, O and V. The models are overlaid with the geometric shapes inferred from Grosseteste's descriptions.

# B. Formant analysis

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Spectrograms for each sample were generated with a Hamming window of 20 ms, as shown in Figure 6, Upper Panel. The Lower Panel shows smoothed spectral slices calculated as

the mean of each spectrogram across time. Difference between these synthesized stimuli
and natural vowels are the shape of the acrylic plates vs the speaker's vocal tract—which is
our primary interest—and the acoustic excitation (electrolarynx vs a speaker's larynx). The
electrolarynx for the Arai tubes provides a signal that has a constant spectrum whereas the
output from the vibrating vocal folds of the speaker vary as a function of the airflow loading
owing to the shape of the vowel being uttered, sub-glottal lung air pressure through breath
control and the nature of the voice quality being employed and any pitch variation.

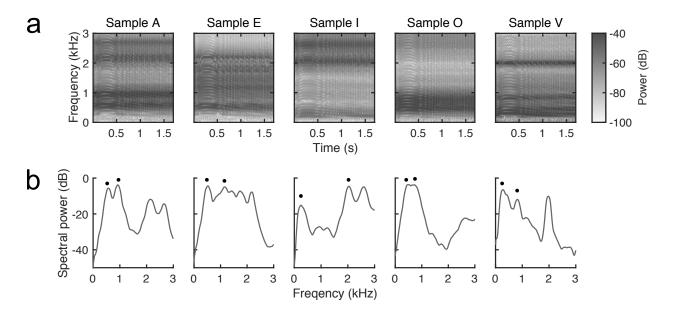


FIG. 6. (a) Spectrograms produced from each of the five synthesized samples. (b) Spectral slices given by the mean of each spectrogram across time for each sample, from which the frequencies of the first two formant peaks,  $F_1$  and  $F_2$ , were taken (indicated by black dots).

The horizontal dark bands in the spectrograms show formants (peaks in spectral power)
that result from filtering the input acoustic excitation of the electrolarynx by the passive
acoustic resonances of the chambers. The primary acoustic features of vowels are the lo-

cations in frequency space of their two lowest-frequency formants,  $F_1$  and  $F_2$ . When, for different vowels,  $F_1$  is plotted on the ordinate and  $F_2$  is plotted on the abscissa, the vowel quadrilateral results, and different vowels plot in well-separated regions of this acoustic space ( $^{30}$  p. 161). A vowel quadrilateral for the synthetic vowels produced via the plate-type model is shown in Figure 7. This plot confirms that the acoustic properties of the synthetic samples are broadly consistent with the patterns of formants of natural vowels documented in the prior literature, with all samples falling within the quadrilateral. Additionally, the samples locate to disparate regions of the quadrilateral, suggesting they may be perceived as separable vowels.

Critical to the success of vowel production is whether or not the vowels are discriminable 351 and identifiable, that is whether or not they can be easily differentiated and transmit the 352 intended vowel to the listener, regardless of how non-overlapping their formant locations may 353 be in frequency space. These qualities were evaluated in an experimental program. First, distances in perceptual space between the stimuli were obtained by asking participants to 355 rate inter-stimuli dissimilarity for all possible pairings. A multidimensional scaling analysis 356 was performed on the distances, which could be mapped to a two-dimensional projection 357 with minimal stress, in order to establish if the five synthetic sounds occupy discernibly 358 different regions in perceptual space. A vowel classification experiment was then carried out 359 to assess vowel identity and its consistency both within and between individuals. 360

Vowels and their pronunciations have evolved considerably since the time of Grosseteste, and it goes without saying that we were unable to run experiments with participants with a medieval language background. However, it is reasonable to expect that the mechanisms

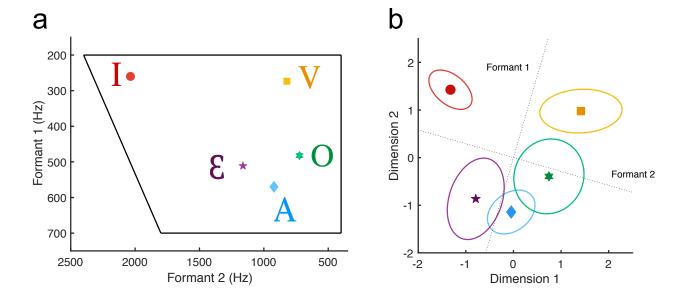


FIG. 7. (a) Acoustic map of the recorded synthetic vowels based on their measured first and second formant  $(F_1 \text{ and } F_2)$  frequencies. The quadrilateral indicates the area within which discernible vowels are expected from previous literature<sup>30</sup>. Blue diamond = sample A, purple pentagram = sample  $\mathcal{E}$ , red circle = sample I, green hexagram = sample O, orange square = sample V. (b) Scatter plot of MDS analysis for the perception of the same five synthetic vowels. Mappings were averaged across participants after Procrustes realignment. The mean locations for each sample are shown, with ellipses representing 1 SD of bivariate normal distributions fitted to the data. Interpretative axes were obtained by Procrustes analysis with the data from (a), and plotted as dotted lines.

of vowel perception have broadly remained constant to the modern era, although some finer elements of speech perception vary as a result of differing cultural and language contexts<sup>31</sup>. For this reason, we selected participants from a range of language backgrounds.

# C. Multidimensional scaling experiment

367

In the first psychophysical experiment the five stimuli were presented to both native 368 and non-native English speakers to obtain dissimilarity scores. The .wav files (sampling 369 rate 44,100 Hz, 16 bit, monophonic) were all normalized to 0 dB relative to full scale and 370 limited to a duration of 1.70 s in Audacity, to be played through a pair of Sennheiser 371 HD201 Closed Dynamic Stereo headphones. The experiment was built using the open-372 source Matlab function set Psychtoolbox<sup>32</sup>, and run using the same laptop and headphones 373 in quiet conditions. 20 participants took part in the experiment (12 female, 8 male, mean 374 age 25 years). Participants were asked for their country of origin (13 UK, 1 USA, 2 India, 375 2 Bulgaria, 1 Germany, 1 Poland), if they were native or non-native English speakers and if 376 non-native what their native language was (16 native English speakers [13 monolingual UK, 377 1 monolingual USA, 2 bilingual in English and Hindi], 4 non-native [2 Bulgarian, 1 German, 378 1 Polish]).

Participants were first played each of the five stimuli once for familiarity. Pairs of recordings were then presented separated by a 300 ms pause, and participants registered their
perceived dissimilarity via a keyboard, from 0 (identical) to 7 (very dissimilar). For stimuli i, j = 1, ..., 5, all possible pairs were presented once in a random order, for both (i, j) and (j, i) sequences, to give a dissimilarity response matrix. From this, a symmetric matrix was
constructed for each participant by taking means of (i, j) and (j, i) values. For six of the
participants a single set of dissimilarity judgments was collected, while 14 went through the

experiment twice. Since no systematic differences in dissimilarity scores were found between repeats, their symmetric matrices were averaged.

Kruskal's non-metric multidimensional scaling (MDS)<sup>33</sup> was performed on the symmet-389 rical matrices to approximate the relative locations in perceptual space of the samples for individual participants. Once Euclidean coordinates were obtained from MDS analysis, 391 these were plotted to inspect their agreement with the formant plots of the samples. Visual 392 inspection of the mappings showed a clear correspondence between the first dimension of 393 scaling and  $F_2$ , and the second dimension of scaling and  $F_1$ , for the majority of participants, which was later formally analyzed as described below. This agrees with previous studies 395 that find human vowel discrimination primarily tracks the frequency position of  $F_2$ , which 396 corresponds to perceived vowel advancement, and secondarily tracks the frequency position 397 of  $F_1$ , corresponding to perceived vowel height<sup>34</sup>. There were four exceptions for this agree-398 ment; notably, these data sets were from the four non-native English speaking participants. 399 Further inspection showed that these data agreed with  $F_2$  and  $F_1$  when plotted in the first and third dimension from the MDS, respectively, and hence these mappings were taken 401 forward in the analysis. 402

Data sets then underwent Procrustes analysis, which permitted similarity transformations
of the mappings (uniform scaling, orthogonal rotation, translation and reflection) in order to
give the best concordance across participants while maintaining relative perceptual distances
within mappings<sup>35</sup>. Once realigned, data sets were analyzed to extract the statistics for each
stimulus as located in perceptual space by participants. Figure 7.b shows the mean positions
for each stimulus, plotted as solid symbols. Ellipses show one standard deviation of the

bivariate distribution of each vowel within the two dimensions of scaling. Sample O gave
rise to the most spread compared to the other vowels, indicating that participants differed
most in where to locate it in their perceptual space, relative to the other vowels. This is
likely related to the strong degree of variation present in open back vowel pronunciations
across dialects of English.

Procrustes analysis was also performed between the realigned perceptual space data and the acoustics-based vowel quadrilateral generated from formant data, in order to obtain axes for interpretation of the MDS analysis, labelled as 'Formant 1' and 'Formant 2'. The distribution of relative perceptual locations for the five synthetic samples (Figure 7 b) show a clear agreement with their placing in the  $F_2/F_1$  frequency space (Figure 7 a), primarily with the samples occupying separate (i.e. discriminable) regions in perceptual space, albeit with some overlap between participants.

Monte Carlo simulations were carried out to evaluate the likelihood of stimuli being 421 mapped to distinct regions due to chance, and consistently with the same relative orientation. 422 From 26 simulations, only 20 generated data that could be mapped by MDS. After Procrustes 423 analysis of these 20 mappings, none gave rise to a distinct region for any of the stimuli (i.e. 424 non-overlapping regions bound by one standard deviation of stimuli mean position), and all 425 stimuli regions had an area above 5 scaling space units<sup>2</sup>, compared to a mean of 1.2 scaling space units<sup>2</sup> for participant-generated data. For all mappings, shown in Figure 9 in the 427 Supplementary Material, the relative orientation of vowels were different. A more extensive 428 simulation was carried out to generate 100 mappings, whose ellipses had a mean of 7 scaling 429 space units<sup>2</sup>, shown in Figure 10. We therefore conclude that the results of mapping the participant data, with stimuli occupying separable regions and a relative orientation in agreement with the acoustic analysis, are not owing to chance.

# D. Vowel classification experiment

433

Fourteen of the participants (ten native English speakers; four non-native English speakers) also completed a second test, to obtain vowel classifications for the stimuli. Participants were asked to listen to the recordings with headphones and assign them labels which best agreed with their percepts. Participants were not expected to be familiar with IPA notation, instead selecting one of the following options: "ah' as in spa", "eh' as in get", "ee' as in beat", "o' as in cot", or "oo' as in zoo"; corresponding to  $/\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ , i,  $\epsilon$ , u/, respectively. These options are also summarized in Table I in the Supplementary Material. Each stimulus appeared in a familiarization phase once in this order, followed by a test phase in which they were presented a further four times in a randomized order.

Responses from the familiarization phase were not included in the analysis, as participants
had not heard all of the vowels at that time. The data from individual participants did not
show any correlation between classification confusions and being a native/non-native English
speaker, which is not surprising given the coarseness of the classification system. Figure 8
shows the distributions of responses for each stimulus, with pie charts for each stimulus
being centered at the stimulus' position in acoustic space as calculated above. The data are
also given in Table III in the Supplementary Material.

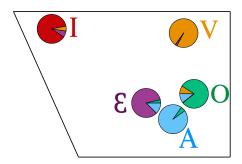


FIG. 8. Classifications obtained for each of the five samples from the second listening test. The pie charts for each sample, showing participants' classifications, are centered at the samples' locations when mapped in acoustic space, as shown in Figure 7 a. Responses are indicated by color: "ah' as in spa" ( $/\alpha$ /) in blue, "eh' as in get" ( $/\epsilon$ /) in purple, "ee' as in beat" ( $/\epsilon$ /) in red, "o' as in cot" ( $/\alpha$ /) in green, and "oo' as in zoo" ( $/\alpha$ /) in orange.

# E. Results: MDS and classification experiments

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Listening to isolated vowels is not a common activity in daily life, and listening to isolated 451 vowels without having any reference to the speaker is also unusual. In addition, these stimuli 452 are clearly non-human in origin given the identical electrolarynx acoustic input in each case. 453 Some confusion is therefore inevitable. As may be expected, the synthetic vowel with the broadest spread of placement in perceptual space (indicated by its ellipse in Figure 7 b having 455 the greatest area) was also the least reliably classified sound, Sample O, which received 80.4%456 correct classifications and 10.7% and 8.9% misclassifications as 'ah' and as 'oo' respectively. The greatest source of misclassification was the assigning of both Sample  $\mathcal E$  and Sample O 458 as 'ah' (12.5\% and 10.7\% respectively). The perceptual space generated by MDS analysis 459 and the acoustic space from formant data both show Sample E and Sample O located in 460 close proximity to Sample A, which itself was classified as 'ah' with high agreement. Indeed, on the perceptual map these are the only two instances of overlapping standard deviations from the samples' means. It can be said with confidence that the samples are perceived, imperfectly, as vowels, spanning a large proportion of vowel perceptual space.

As well as the samples being consistently classified by participants, these classifications 465 were overwhelmingly in accordance with the mapping specified in the DGS, according to which the vocal tract models were constructed, when these five vowel letters are related to 467 phonemes, as given in Table I in the Supplementary Material. Of course, we cannot be sure 468 that Grosseteste would have had these same phonetic sounds in mind (namely 'A' mapped to  $/\alpha/$ , 'E' mapped to  $/\epsilon/$ , 'I' mapped to /i/, 'O' mapped to  $/\sigma/$ , and 'V' mapped to /u/). 470 The classification task did not test for exact identity between stimuli and labels; participants 471 were asked to select the closest match from the five options given rather than provide their 472 own labels. However, it is worth stating that as there are 120 possible permutations of 473 mapping five labels to five stimuli (P(5) = 5! = 120), it would be unlikely to observe this 474 specific mapping by chance alone across numerous participants. We can therefore conclude that the shapes Grosseteste specified for shaping the vocal tract during vowel production 476 are compatible with their related phonemes when present in the mouth end of the vocal 477 tract (or other acoustic chamber), in a five-vowel system.

# 479 IV. DISCUSSION

While sometimes described as a scientist, and undoubtedly instrumental in the conception
of the scientific experimental method<sup>36</sup>, we must be careful when reading Grosseteste's treatises not to impute any sense of experimental or even observational basis for his theories,

however elegant the logical or mathematical arguments found therein. Recent interdisciplinary research has found that the origin of such theories, though they may be wrong within the context of current scientific understanding, may still best be explained as resulting from direct observation, such as for his novel theory of rainbow formation. However others, though they may have been correct, are unlikely to have had a direct observational basis, such as his three-dimensional theory of colour space as expressed in the *De colore*. These works remain remarkable achievements, and the desire to mathematicize the mental or material world was a fundamental evolution for intellectual history in the medieval and early modern era.

In his treatise on sound, Grosseteste is applying a similar mathematical framework of 492 combinatorics as his theory of colour, but to vowels. There are, however, some interesting differences between the two. In the De colore, Grosseteste is clear that colour space is 494 continuous, as he describes the infinite 'diminutions' between the extrema of the space. That 495 he constructs the parameter space to reflect established intuitions about space and distance is therefore quite sensible; colours are connected along routes, which may be traversed by 497 increasing or decreasing one, two, or all three of the space's parameters. This particular 498 feature of the theory we can presume was likely based on direct observation, and the subtle and continuous variations in colours seen in the world and, explicitly, in rainbows. In the 500 De generatione sonorum, Grosseteste again constructs a generative scheme to account for 501 the variety within a perceptual phenomenon, but it is this time categorical and discrete, 502 accounting for the varieties of vowels and their external representational forms, letters.

The scheme is defined by what he says are the three types of simple, self-similar move-504 ments: linear, circular, and dilational-constrictional. These simple movements may be com-505 bined, but only a subset yield novel categories of movement: combining linear with circular, linear with dilational-constrictional, circular with circular, and circular with dilational-507 constrictional. These descriptions of movement are readily interpreted as the three types of 508 geometric similarity transformations—translation, rotation, and uniform scaling (with reflection being equivalent to rotation through a higher dimension)—though it should be noted 510 that no diagrams are found in extant manuscripts, and this is just one possible interpretive 511 scheme<sup>37</sup>. The treatise can be read as one primarily about types of movement, and relies 512 heavily on the false premise that sounds of different qualities are discriminable based on the 513 category of vibrational movement, rather than the spectral filtering achieved by differently-514 shaped acoustic chambers with varying resonant frequencies, and other language-s 515 factors. Although this theory is mistaken about the underlying source of vowel timbre, Grosseteste nevertheless constructs an elegant theory that attempts to account for the cat-517 egorical nature of vowel perception, and the representation of vowels as letters. 518

Reading this text today prompts us to examine what may constitute permissible evidence in science. For Grosseteste, the shapes of letters could serve as the primary evidence for his claims regarding the shape of the vocal tract, and the forms of mental representations of vowels; within the medieval paradigms of Aristotelian mimesis and the liberal arts, this was a scientifically orthodox and justifiable use of observations to infer properties of the natural world. Although we do not share these paradigms as modern scientists, we share in the methodological framework of setting our own standards for permissible evidence; in

many cases such sources of evidence are far-removed from the phenomenon we attempt
to study. A generous reading of the *DGS* could be that Grosseteste is engaged in modelling; do abstract movement categories offer a viable framework for the robust, categorical
representation and perception of speech sounds, despite their continuous variety and noisy
instances? Although our models of speech processing have matured in their awareness of
acoustics and physiology<sup>38–40</sup>, they share the underlying goal of understanding how speech
signals are processed and represented.

The DGS does make strong claims about the morphology of the vocal tract during vowel 533 production, which are clearly incorrect in asserting the presence of geometric shapes. How-534 ever, we have shown, through artificial vowel synthesis and the methods of spectral analysis 535 and psychophysical testing of vowel perception, that these geometric shapes can in fact be 536 incorporated at the mouth end of acoustic chambers that give rise to discriminable vowel 537 sounds. This is plausibly due to degree of freedom present in the remainder of the acoustic 538 chamber, i.e. the laryngeal and pharyngeal cavity, and the many-to-one property of acous-539 tic chambers and their spectral output<sup>41</sup>, meaning that unique speech sounds may have 540 multimodal or highly nonlinear mappings in articulator space<sup>42</sup>. In the thirteenth-century 541 Grosseteste would only have had visual and proprioceptive measurements of the lips, teeth and tongue, so any requirements of the rest of the vocal tract for vowel production could 543 not have impacted his theory. 544

How influential the *DGS* was on the developing field of phonetics is difficult to say. Roger
Bacon, a student of Grosseteste's who praised his mathematical approach to understanding
nature, describes similar notions of relating the number of vowels in languages to the number

of fundamental classes of movements in his text on Greek Grammar<sup>43</sup>. However, he seems to criticize these theories as falling outside the scope of the 'pure grammarian', instead they should be left to the disciplines of metaphysics and of music<sup>44</sup>. Specifically, he is engaging with the content of the *Tractatus de grammatica*. Circulating at the time, the anonymous *Tractatus* was widely attributed to Aristotle, but Bacon shows this to be unjustified, and the treatise was later sometimes ascribed to Grosseteste.

Readers familiar with Hangul, the native Korean alphabet devised by King Sejong the 554 Great (1397-1450) in the fifteenth century, may find similarities between Grosseteste's theory of non-arbitrary letter shapes and the apparent similarity between Hangul consonant forms 556 and their corresponding places of articulation<sup>45</sup>. However, we have no record of a reception 557 of Grosseteste's work in east Asia, and any direct connection seems improbable. Moreover, while the articulatory basis of the Hangul alphabet is often stated as matter of fact, and has 559 been written about since only a few years after Hangul was devised (such as in Hwunmin 560 cengum haylyey [Explanations and Examples of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the 561 People], published in 1446), there are competing theories. It seems equally likely that Hangul 562 consonants were instead influenced by or modelled on the Mongol 'Phags-pa alphabet, itself 563 derived from Tibetan, as suggested by Keith Whinnom<sup>46</sup>. It could therefore be the case that in Hangul and its reception we find a thesis parallel to claims made in the DGS: the notion 565 of glyph iconicity being used as a kind of pedagogical or philosophical device to explain their forms.

Theories attempting to draw direct relationships between the shaping of articulators and the shapes of letters surfaced again in the seventeenth century, with Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont claiming that intrinsic to the Hebrew alphabet was found a phonetic guide
to its pronunciation<sup>47</sup>, and Bishop John Wilkins attempting to construct a visual alphabet
of speech sound diagrams<sup>48</sup>. In neither case is there an explicit connection to the *DGS*.
Such theories relating letter shapes to vocal tract shapes paved the way for the speaking
machine of Wolfgang von Kempelen in 1780, and, later, the set of 'visible speech' symbols
by Alexander Melville Bell<sup>49,50</sup>.

Lastly, an essay published in 1772 by Charles Davy makes near identical claims regarding 576 the representations of the vocal tract in the letter shapes of vowels<sup>51</sup> (p84-87), but again, 577 any connection to Grosseteste's theory is not made explicit and may be entirely accidental. It should also be noted that Davy's text was not written as a serious scientific endeavour but 579 as an amusing romp through classical trivia, with Davy himself writing: "The Editor will 580 not undertake to defend it: as a whimsical conjecture, it may still afford some entertainment. Better reasons might perhaps be offered in its favour than what appear at present", before 582 stating his belief that the Greeks' visual representation of the vocal tract in letter shapes is 583 what enabled their literary success. It may simply be the case that such theories were best appreciated as a form of intellectual entertainment, rather than serious scientific endeavour. 585 Now, with the advent of recent studies into glyph iconcity<sup>17,18</sup>, theories of non-arbitrary 586 representation of letter shapes are again being considered, albeit from a more nuanced and 587 experimental standpoint.

#### 589 V. CONCLUSION

In the treatise De generatione sonorum [On the Generation of Sounds], Robert Gros-590 seteste attempts a mathematicization of the perceptual space of vowels. With this paper we show that the treatise formulates vowels—their production, perception, and representa-592 tions both mental and in writing—into a coherent framework of geometric figures, which 593 are combinatorially generated from basic types of movement. Although clearly incorrect in his understanding of vocal acoustics, and ignorant of the supporting physiology, Grosseteste shows remarkable insight in his approach to explaining why vowels are categorical in nature, 596 and how auditory, visual, and motor faculties play complementary roles in speech percep-597 tion. His theory touches on principles highly relevant to contemporary neuroscience, namely 598 the nature of mental representations and their relationship to external stimuli, and the inte-599 gration of different sensory faculties. Finally, aspects of Grosseteste's theory of speech can 600 be expressed in a scientific, falsifiable manner, which we show here to have been potentially 601 commensurable with the sensory data available at the time. 602

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collaborative Ordered Universe Project (http://ordered-universe.com/), which focuses on interdisciplinary readings of the scientific works of Robert Grosseteste (c.1170–1253).

The authors would like to thank all the participants of the collaborative workshops during 610 which the DGS was discussed [2nd-3rd October 2014, "13th Century Science in a Multi-611 Disciplinary Perspective", Pembroke College, Oxford (funded by the Mahfouz Foundation); 612 8th-10th April 2015 "Knowing and Speaking: On the Generation of Sounds and On the Liberal Arts", Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln; 25th-28th November 2015, "On the 614 Liberal Arts and On the Generation of Sounds: Robert Grosseteste's Early Treatises and 615 Their Reception", Durham University. We thank John Coleman for his advice on RP, 616 Middle English, and Latin pronunciation, the use of IPA symbols, and the origins of the 617 Hangul alphabet. We appreciate Brian Tanner's contributions to the discussion of sound 618 and the movements of the vocal tract, Neil Lewis's suggestions on issues of translation 619 and interpretation of the medieval texts, and Cecilia Panti's discussions on the text. We 620 also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier edition of this manuscript. Finally, the authors thank all the participants who took part in the listening tests.

## 624 APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Letter shape	Example				
A	/a/	'ah' as in 'part'			
${\cal E}$	/ε/	'eh' as in 'get'			
I	/i/	'ee' as in 'beat'			
O	/o/	'o' as in 'cot'			
V	/u/	'oo' as in 'zoo'			

TABLE I. Our interpretation of phonemes from the vowel letters Grosseteste uses in DGS. The third column also shows the options given to participants in the classification listening test.

	larynx	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	lips
Sample A	22	8	18	8	8	12	16	20	24	26	28	30	32	34	38	24
Sample E	12	8	12	8	22	14	14	10	16	24	18	10	16	24	18	10
Sample I	16	32	32	32	32	30	30	20	12	12	8	8	8	10	10	10
Sample O	8	20	12	12	12	10	8	8	16	24	30	32	30	24	16	10
Sample V	8	32	10	8	30	28	26	24	22	20	18	16	14	12	10	8

TABLE II. Diameters (in mm) of the employed plate-type model of Arai et al.<sup>29</sup> used to create the tracts shown in Figure 5 and to synthesize the five speech sounds (Sample A, Sample E, Sample I, Sample O, Sample V) based on Grosseteste's five movement types.

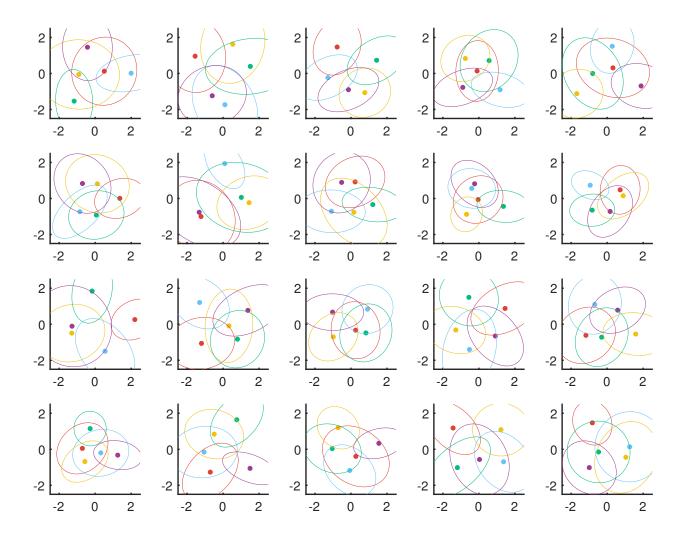


FIG. 9. 20 examples of Monte Carlo simulations that generated data sets for which a MDS mapping was possible. No simulation produced dissimilarity data that when mapped featured a distinct area for a stimulus, as bound by one standard deviation from its mean position (indicated by ellipses).

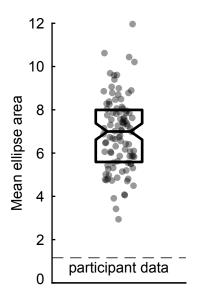


FIG. 10. The results of 100 Monte Carlo simulations of the MDS experiment. The mean ellipse areas from each simulation (which comprised 20 randomized participant data sets) are shown. The box plot indicates the mean and quartiles of the distribution, with a 95% confidence interval on the mean shown as a notch. The mean of the participant data set is indicated by a dashed line.

	'ah' as in 'part	' 'eh' as in 'get' '	ee' as in 'beat	' 'o' as in 'cot'	'oo' as in 'zoo'
Sample A	64	0	0	6	0
Sample E	8	59	0	3	0
Sample I	0	8	59	0	3
Sample O	7	1	0	57	5
Sample V	0	1	0	1	68

TABLE III. Results from the classification experiment (N=14). Each participant classified each sample five times, choosing from the five possible responses in the top row of the table.

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