Alberti's letter counts

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Abstract

Four centuries before modern statistical linguistics was born, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) compared the frequency of vowels in Latin poems and orations, making the first quantified observation of a stylistic difference ever. Using a corpus of 20 Latin texts (over 5 million letters), Alberti's observations are statistically assessed. Letter counts prove that poets used significantly more a's, e's, and y's, whereas orators used more of the other vowels. The sample sizes needed to justify the assertions are studied, and proved to be within reach for Alberti's scholarship.

1 Introduction

August 18, 1851 is the date of birth generally agreed upon for statistical linguistics [Williams 1956, Bailey 1969]. On that day, Augustus de Morgan (1806–1871) sent a letter to a friend, suggesting statistical counts to settle authorship disputes [de Morgan 1851]. This later inspired the first statistical study of the kind by T. C. Mendenhall (1841–1924) [Mendenhall 1887].

Four centuries before, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), had made a curious remark on the frequency of vowels among poets and orators. The first observation of the kind ever, it has remained unnoticed since. That remark, and its statistical verification, are the subject of this note.

Alberti, the well known polymath of Italian Renaissance, has been hailed as a pioneer in quite different domains [Grafton 2000]: architecture, grammar, mathematics, etc. His "De componendis cifris", written in 1466 or 1467, stands out as the first western text in the history of cryptology [Kahn 1973]. The latin text is available online [Alberti 1466]; several translations have been published, among which we shall mainly quote [Alberti 2010]; we have also used an early Italian translation by C. Bartoli [Bartoli 1568], and M. Furno's French translation [Alberti 2000]. Our focus is on the following passage of section IV.

> Sic enim adnotasse videor apud poetas vocales a consonantibus numero superari non amplius quam ex octava; apud rhetores vero non excedere consonantes ferme ex proportione quam sesquitertiam nuncupant. Nam si fuerint quidem connumeratae in unumque collectae omnes istius generis paginae vocales numero puta tricentarum, reliquarum omnium consonantium numerus una coadiunctus erit fere quadringentarum.

Here is K. Williams' translation [Alberti 2010, p. 173].

> From my calculations, it turns out that in the case of poetry, the number of consonants exceeds the number of vowels by no more than an octave, while in the case of prose the consonants do not usually exceed the vowels by a ratio greater than a sesquialtera. If in fact we add up all the vowels on a page, let's say there are three hundred, the overall sum of the consonants will be four hundred.

The interpretation of Alberti's assertions in this passage, has been debated. Contrarily to note 3 in [Alberti 2010, p. 173], we believe that the correct translation of "ex octava" in the first sentence is indeed "one eighth", as in several other translations. For convenience, the proportion of vowels for poets will be denoted by P, being aware that what precisely is meant by "poets" and "vowels", is far from clear at this point. We believe that Alberti's assertion can be mathematically translated into $(1 - P) - P < 1/8$, or else $P > 7/16$. Alberti opposes poets to "rhetores", i.e. orators, for which the proportion of vowels against consonants is said to be "sesquitertia", translated by [Bartoli 1568] as "del terzo piu", or else four against three. If we denote by R the proportion of vowels for orators (with the same precautions as before), what is stated is $(1 - R)/R < 4/3$, or else $R > 3/7$. The difference between $7/16 = 43.75\%$ and $3/7 = 42.86\%$ is smaller than 1%: how did Alberti observe and justify such a small difference? The last sentence of the passage

contains a hint. At first glance, saying that for 300 vowels, 400 consonants are counted, seems redundant, once the proportion has been set to 3:4. Yet "De componendis cifris" is a rather short and concentrated text, and no sentence is superfluous. Mentioning a page of 700 letters might have been Alberti's way of indicating that his observations were supported by counts on large enough sets of letters, i.e. the modern notion of sample size.

Admittedly, Alberti is far from being the first to have counted letters. Six centuries before, Al Kindī (ca. 801–873) had written a "Manuscript on deciphering cryptographic messages" [Al-Kadi 1992, Mrayati et al. 2002]. Remarkably similar in its organization and contents to Alberti's "De componendis cifris", Al Kindī's treatise contains a table of letter frequencies, much more detailed than Alberti's observations. It also contains quite accurate linguistic observations on poetry and prose. Similar counts and remarks can also be found in later Arab treatises, in particular that of ibn Dunaynīr (1187–1229) [Al-Kadi 1992, Mrayati et al. 2005]. Nevertheless, all Arab treatises, as well as all western writings after Alberti until the middle of the 19th century, viewed letter frequencies as a *characteristic of a language.* Alberti was the first to assert that a stylistic difference (poetry vs. oration) in the same language, could yield a quantifiable difference in letter frequencies.

Our first objective was to investigate whether Alberti's observations could be justified, by modern statistical standards. We gathered a corpus of classical latin texts, from 10 different poets and as many different orators, totalling over 5 million letters. The letter frequency analysis encountered the difficulty of distinguishing the uses of u and i, as vowel or consonant. A counting algorithm was proposed, based on classical Latin grammar. Using that grammatical algorithm, the vowel counts did show a clear difference between poets and orators: poets use consistently more a's, e's and y's, whereas orators use more of the other vowels. However, the total percentages of vowels among poets (42.92%) and among orators (43.14%) were not significantly different, the percentage among orators being even slightly higher. Another counting algorithm did meet Alberti's observations: it consisted in counting as consonants all i's before another vowel. Even though it cannot be asserted that our counting algorithm matches his, we believe that our results support Alberti's observations, and that he had indeed detected the quantitative difference between poets and orators.

Our second objective was to calculate how many pages of 700 letters would have been necessary to statistically assess Alberti's observations. We translated them into 3 statistical tests, and computed the number of pages necessary to raise the power of the tests to 95%, at threshold 5%. Detailed results

will be reported for the 3 tests, using both the classical Bernoulli model, and a Monte-Carlo study on the corpus. One of our conclusions is that, randomly selecting 2 pages in each of the 20 texts of our corpus would suffice to ensure a power of 95% for the test of $P = R$ against $P > R$.

Alberti is known as a sholar of immense culture, a lover of litterature, grammar and alphabets: see [Patota 1999] and in particular note 127 p. XLIII of [Alberti 2003]. He might well have counted letters in 40 pages of poems and orations: he could definitely have proved his assertions... had he known statistics. As he says in section III [Alberti 2010, p. 172]:

> I went about this with not indifferent industry or care, reflecting again and again on the elements of writing, and investigating intensely until I had clear in mind some fundamental concepts, which now the most brilliant minds will acknowledge as having contributed to understanding the whole question of ciphers.

Two sections follow; in the first one, our corpus of texts will be presented, and different ways of counting vowels will be discussed. The vowel frequency difference between poets and orators will be statistically assessed. The sample size problem is treated in section 3. Three tests will be defined, and their powers computed using both the Bernoulli model, and random pages extracted from our corpus. The free statistical software R was used for letter counts and simulation experiments ([R 2008, Gries 2009]. The corpus, the R script of functions, and a user manual have been made available online as a compressed file[1].

2 Corpus and vowel counts

Alberti's encyclopaedic knowledge makes it a hopeless task to guess from which texts he could have made his letter counts. We selected ten of the most famous classic Latin poets and orators, and copied their texts from "The Latin Library"[2]. Each text was edited to remove non ascii characters, and also Roman numerals that could have biased letter counts. The texts were given a two letter code for further reference.

- Poets (total: 2617488 letters)

    - CA: Catullus, Poems (71747 l.)
      Gaius Valerius Catullus, ca. 84 BC – ca. 54 BC

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[1]http://ljk.imag.fr/membres/Bernard.Ycart/publis/llc.tgz
[2]http://www.thelatinlibrary.com

- JS: Juvenal, Saturae (142645 l.)
  Decimus Junius Juvenalis, 1st-2nd century AD

- LN: Lucretius, De rerum Natura (274355 l.)
  Titus Lucretius Carus, ca. 99 BC – ca. 55 BC

- ME: Martial, Epigrams (299099 l.)
  Marcus Valerius Martialis, 40 AD – ca. 103 AD

- OM: Ovid, Metamorphoses (446848 l.)
  Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BC – ca. 17 AD

- PE: Propertius, Elegiae (134719 l.)
  Sextus Propertius, ca. 50 BC – ca. 15 BC

- SP: Silius Italicus, Punica (449903 l.)
  Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus, ca. 28 BC – ca. 103 BC

- ST: Statius, Thebaid (365326 l.)
  Publius Papinius Statius, ca. 45 AD – ca. 96 AD

- TE: Tibullus, Elegiae (66062 l.)
  Albius Tibullus, ca. 55 BC – 19 BC

- VE: Virgil, Aeneid (366784 l.)
  Publius Vergilius Maro, 70 BC – 19 BC

- Orators (total: 2570344 letters)

  - AM: Apuleius, Metamorphoses (332617 l.)
    Lucius Apuleius, ca. 125 AD – ca. 180 AD

  - CG: Caesar, De Bello Gallico (317056 l.)
    Gaius Julius Caesar, 100 BC – 44 BC

  - CP: Cicero, Catilinarian and Philippics (370521 l.)
    Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106 BC – 43 BC

  - HS: Horace, Sermones (77859 l.)
    Quintus Horatius Flaccius, 65 BC – 8 BC

  - LP: Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum (65616 l.)
    Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, ca. 240 AD – ca. 320 AD

  - PP: Pliny the younger, Panegyricus (112992 l.)
    Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, 61 AD – 112 AD

  - QD: Quintillian, Declamatio Major (390261 l.)
    Marcus Fabius Quitilianus, 35 AD – 100 AD

  - SC: Seneca the Elder, Controversiae (499280 l.)
    Marcus Annaeus Seneca, ca. 54 BC – ca. 39 AD

– SO: Sallust, Orations (50676 l.)
Gaius Sallustus Crispus, 86 BC – ca. 35 BC

– VA: Vitruvius, De Architectura (353466 l.)
Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, ca. 75 BC – ca. 15 BC

Our choices of Caesar and Vitruvius in the list of orators are questionable. Even though "De Bello Gallico" is not explicitly written as a speech, it can be argued that Caesar's style owed much to his expertise as a politician. Not being known as an orator, Vitruvius was included because his "De Architectura" was an important source of inspiration for Alberti [Grafton 2000]. Statistical evidence showed that both texts behaved similarly to those of other orators regarding letter counts.

If vowels are counted on the basis of the occurrence of characters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, Alberti's assertions can hardly be justified: the vowel proportions are far from the announced values (45.76% for poets and 45.15% for orators instead of 43.75% and 42.86%). Moreover, the vowel percentage is not consistently higher for poets. However, it is a well known particularity of Latin grammar that the letters *i* and *u* can be used as vowels or as consonants. Alberti was perfectly aware of that; here are some quotations from sections IV, VI and VIII of [Alberti 2010].

> After the vowel O is sometimes found the I and also the U, but this is rather rare, while more frequently the O is followed by the U used as a consonant, as in 'ovem'.
> [. . .]
> In fact, neither I or V used as consonants ever follow the vowels in a syllable, and neither does Q.
> [. . .]
> In monosyllabic words the vowels can be followed by all the consonants except F, G, P, Q, I, and V.
> [. . .]
> In contrast, within a word, there are some consonants that never appear in the next syllable after V and the consonant I.

The usage in rendering vocalic [i], [u] and consonantal [j], [w] into letters has varied, even for classical Latin. In our corpus, the letter *i* (lower or upper case) always denoted either sounds [i] and [j]. Lower case *v*'s were rather rare, and upper case *U*'s never appeared. In order to define what might be called a "grammatical count", we have used both Alberti's own remarks, together with the rules that can be found in most Latin grammars, such as [Tafel 1860, Blair 1874, Allen 1978]. Here are the counting rules that were implemented.

- *I* or *i* was counted as a consonant:

  - at the beginning of a word before a vowel,
  - after prefixes *ad, ab, conj, ex*, and before another vowel,
  - between two vowels.

- *U* or *u* was counted as a consonant:

  - at the beginning of a word before a vowel,
  - after *q* and *g*, and before a vowel,
  - between two vowels,

- *V* or *v* was counted as a vowel before a consonant.

Our choice to count *qu* as two consonants instead of one is disputable: see [Tafel 1860, p. 20], [Blair 1874, p. 44], [Allen 1978, p. 16]. We believe it is supported by the following remark in section VI, [Alberti 2010, p. 175]:

> On the other hand, when it was established that the U is combined with the Q, it doesn't appear to have been taken into account that the U itself is implicit in this letter Q, so it sounds like KU.

Many exceptions to the above rules are recorded in grammars; for instance, *i* often has the consonantal sound [j] after a consonant, before a vowel other than *i*. No implementation of a count including exceptions could be attempted. Vowel percentages in our grammatical count are reported in Table 1. The difference between poets and orators is clear: poets use more *a*'s, *e*'s, and *y*'s and less of the other vowels. In order to assess statistical significance, Student's T-test was applied to paired lines of Table 1: for each letter, the 10 proportions among poets were compared to the 10 proportions among orators, and the one-sided p-value was returned.

- percentage of *A*: larger for poets, p-value $= 4.12 \times 10^{-7}$,

- percentage of *E*: larger for poets, p-value $= 2.10 \times 10^{-3}$,

- percentage of *I*: smaller for poets, p-value $= 1.98 \times 10^{-9}$,

- percentage of *O*: smaller for poets, p-value $= 3.01 \times 10^{-2}$,

- percentage of *U*: smaller for poets, p-value $= 1.95 \times 10^{-2}$,

- percentage of *Y*: larger for poets, p-value $= 6.51 \times 10^{-5}$.

Poets										
	CA	JS	LN	ME	OM	PE	SP	ST	TE	VE	All
A	9.38	9.62	9.05	9.60	9.52	10.71	10.38	9.83	9.92	9.75	9.77
E	12.15	11.22	12.24	11.44	12.35	11.58	11.64	12.18	12.60	12.06	11.95
I	9.89	9.80	9.70	9.98	9.48	9.69	8.77	9.05	9.25	9.31	9.39
O	5.31	5.28	5.21	5.47	5.19	5.71	5.15	5.03	5.16	4.99	5.20
U	6.67	6.65	6.19	6.10	5.88	5.78	6.48	6.63	6.09	6.70	6.32
Y	0.28	0.13	0.02	0.21	0.19	0.24	0.20	0.23	0.12	0.19	0.18
	43.76	42.78	42.45	42.83	42.69	43.77	42.74	43.13	43.21	43.18	42.92
Orators										
	AM	CG	CP	HS	LP	PP	QD	SC	SO	TO	All
A	8.75	8.02	8.11	8.68	8.39	8.28	8.05	8.28	9.08	8.29	8.28
E	11.50	11.79	11.56	11.43	11.64	11.37	11.58	11.27	11.32	11.72	11.51
I	10.85	10.99	11.31	10.20	11.23	11.05	11.43	11.77	11.45	10.95	11.22
O	5.35	5.72	5.68	5.36	5.05	5.27	5.44	5.59	5.30	5.77	5.52
U	6.63	6.51	6.54	6.77	6.87	6.74	6.30	6.11	6.59	6.96	6.51
Y	0.07	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.10	0.02	0.02	0.04
	43.21	43.17	43.34	42.52	43.30	42.82	42.86	43.18	43.88	43.68	43.14

Table 1: Percentage of vowels in the texts of our corpus, counting i's, u's, and v's according to grammatical rules.

Figure 1 shows a two-dimensional representation of the same data, with percentages of A,E,Y on the x-axis, percentages of I,U,O on the y-axis. The difference between poets and orators is quite visible. On the same graphic, the two lines $x+y = 7/16$ (red) and $x+y = 3/7$ (blue) correspond to Alberti's assertions. Orators are indeed above the red line on average, but poets are below the blue line. No clear difference on vowel counts can be seen, and the global percentage of vowels is even slightly smaller for orators than for poets: the grammatical count does not match Alberti's observations.
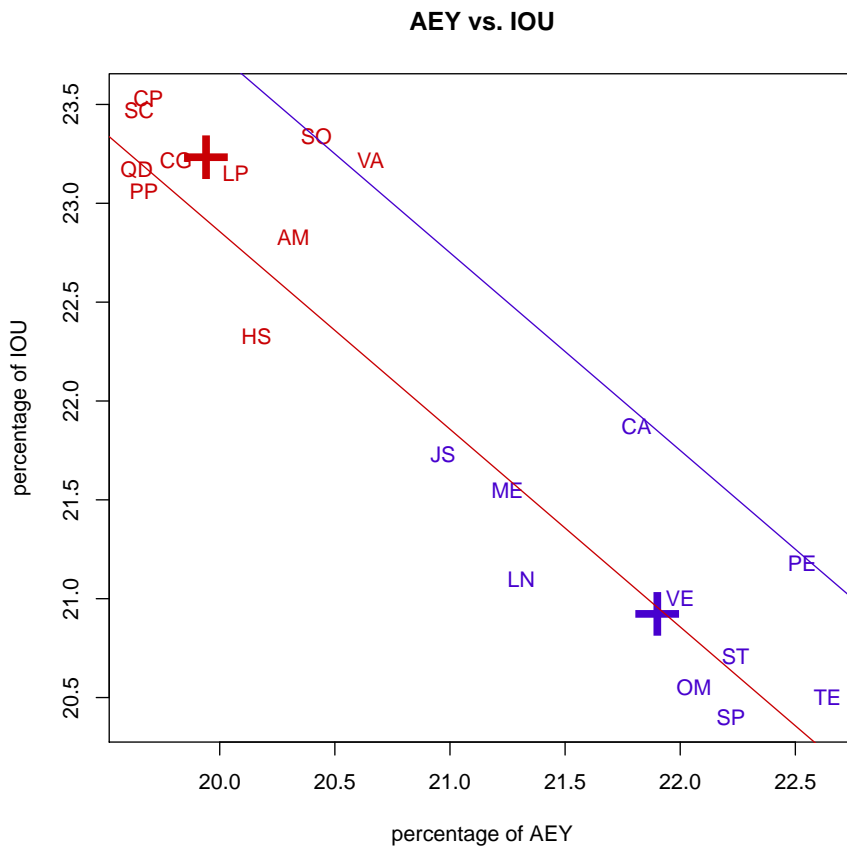
AEY vs. IOU

Figure 1: Vowel proportions in grammatical counts. Each text is represented by its code, color blue for poets, red for orators. The abscissa of a text is the cumulated percentage of a's, e's, and y's the ordinate is the cumulated percentage of the other vowels. The results on the global corpuses of poets and orators are represented by a blue and a red cross. Poets use significantly more a,e,y, and less of the other vowels. The two lines correspond to Alberti's assertion: $x + y = 7/16$ (in blue for poets), $x + y = 3/7$ (in red for orators).

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Poets										
CA	JS	LN	ME	OM	PE	SP	ST	TE	VE	All
45.15	44.28	43.62	43.86	43.82	44.35	44.37	45.20	44.63	45.32	44.41
Orators										
AM	CG	CP	HS	LP	PP	QD	SC	SO	TO	All
43.43	43.15	43.49	43.69	42.79	43.38	42.97	42.79	44.15	43.24	43.19

Table 2: Percentage of vowels in the texts of our corpus, counting i as consonant before a,e,o,u.

The difference between Alberti's and grammatical counts obviously comes from the letter i as a vowel, which remains too frequent among orators. Another count was proposed, that consisted in counting as consonant all i's before a,e,o,u, counting all u's as vowels and v's as consonants. Table 2 shows the total vowel counts, and Figure 2 the graphical representation, with the same conventions as Figure 1. This time, Alberti's observations are verified: poets are above the blue line, and orators above the red one, on average. The following comparisons are statistically significant, using again Student's T-test, and denoting by P and R the proportions of vowels among poets and orators respectively.

- $P > 7/16$: p-value $= 1.16 \times 10^{-3}$

- $R > 3/7$: p-value $= 2.24 \times 10^{-3}$

- $P > R$: p-value $= 1.79 \times 10^{-5}$

Of course, verifying Alberti's conclusions with our second counting algorithm, does not prove that his counts would have matched ours. Alberti's way of counting will always remain a mystery. Yet we believe that our results support his observations, and that he had indeed detected the quantitative difference between poets and orators.

3 Sample sizes

Our focus in this section is on the last sentence of Alberti's assertions, about counting vowels in a page of 700 letters: could that sample size be sufficient to support Alberti's statistical conclusions? If not, how many pages should be counted? We shall first answer the question theoretically on the classical Bernoulli model, then show that the minimal sample sizes are somewhat
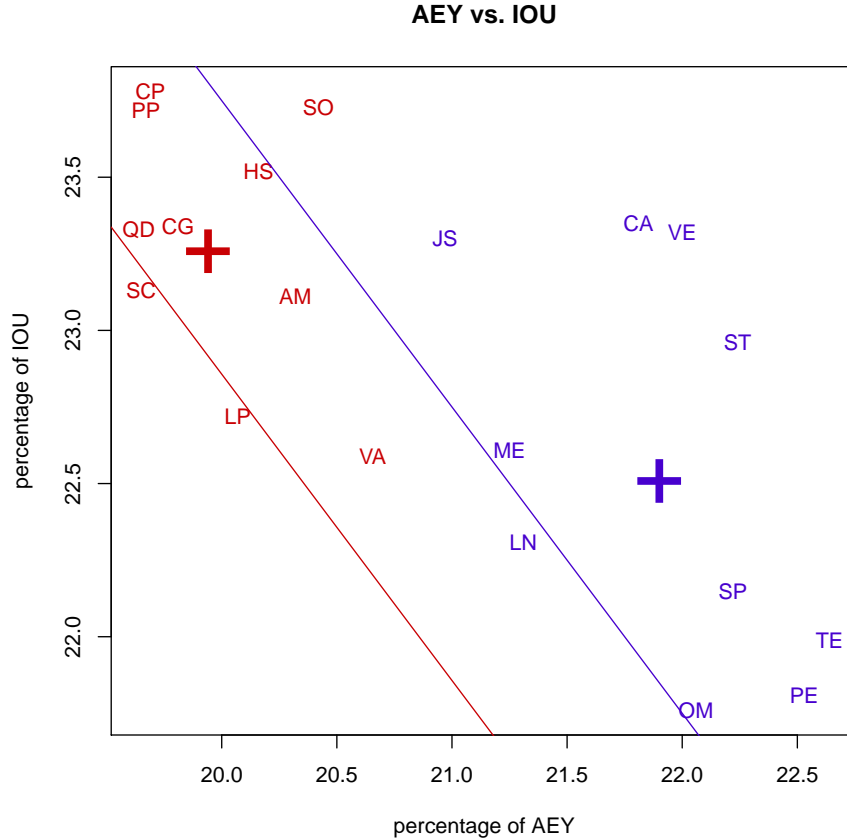
AEY vs. IOU

Figure 2: Vowel proportions, counting i as consonant before a,e,o,u, with the same conventions as in Figure 1. Alberti's assertions are verified: poets are above the blue line on average, orators above the red line.

lower using random pages from the actual corpus. All statistical techniques used here are quite classical: see [Gries 2009] as a general reference.

We rely upon the observations made on our corpus using the second counting algorithm, that matches Alberti's observations (Table 2 and Figure 2). Denoting by P and R the respective proportions of vowels among poets and among orators, we consider the following tests, were $\mathcal{H}_0$ and $\mathcal{H}_1$ denote as usual the null hypothesis and the alternative.

[T1] $\mathcal{H}_0 : P = 7/16$ against $\mathcal{H}_1 : P > 7/16$,

[T2] $\mathcal{H}_0 : R = 3/7$ against $\mathcal{H}_1 : R > 3/7$,

[T3] $\mathcal{H}_0 : P = R$ against $\mathcal{H}_1 : P > R$.

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The threshold of all three tests is fixed at 5%. Throughout this section, we call "page" a set of 700 consecutive letters extracted from a text in our corpus. A *random* page is made of 700 hundred consecutive letters starting at some letter whose rank is chosen uniformly between 1 and $N - 699$, if there are N letters in the text. We are interested in the number of pages, needed to raise the probability of rejecting $\mathcal{H}_0$, i.e. the *power* of the tests, above 95%.

Assume first a Bernoulli model for the alternance of vowels and consonants. The model states that each letter is a vowel with probability p, or a consonant with probability $1 - p$, *independently of the others*. The probability distribution of the number of vowels in a sample of size n is binomial with parameters n and p. The determination of n such that the power of the test is higher than 95% is a standard calculation. Using the data of Table 2, the minimal values of n were computed. Dividing them by 700, the following values are found, for the number of pages necessary to raise the power of the test above 95%.

[T1] at least 88 pages,

[T2] at least 343 pages,

[T3] at least 52 pages.

The Bernoulli model is quite unrealistic: vowels and consonants *do not* alternate independently in a text. A consequence is that the actual standard deviation of letter counts on a random page is smaller than the theoretical standard deviations from the Bernoulli model. To illustrate this, we have extracted 10000 random pages of each text in our corpus, counted vowels on each page, and returned the mean and standard deviations of the 10000 proportions. Table 3 shows the results, for the 20 texts: estimated standard deviations are about 50% of what they would be, if vowel occurrences were independent. The 10000 proportions counted on each text are represented as boxplots on Figure 3. Alberti's observations are indeed verified *on average*. Yet, in spite of the rather small standard deviation, the vowel counts on one given page may have important variations: counting one single page of poetry and one of orations at random, might easily lead to the conclusion that Alberti was wrong.

The following experimental setting was chosen. Selecting k random pages from each text of our corpus, the proportion of vowels was computed for each page. The 3 tests T1, T2, T3, were then applied to the $10 \times k$ proportions among poets and the $10 \times k$ proportions among orators, and the 3 p-values were returned. This was repeated 10000 times. For each test, the proportion

Poets									
CA	JS	LN	ME	OM	PE	SP	ST	TE	VE
0.0122	0.0087	0.0091	0.0108	0.0080	0.0106	0.0090	0.0115	0.0143	0.0124
Orators									
AM	CG	CP	HS	LP	PP	QD	SC	SO	TO
0.0115	0.0100	0.0094	0.0095	0.0089	0.0087	0.0081	0.0100	0.0109	0.0099

Table 3: Estimated standard deviations for the proportions of vowels in 10000 random pages of each text in our corpus. Under the Bernoulli model, these standard deviations should be close to $\sqrt{0.44(1 - 0.44)/700} = 0.0188$.
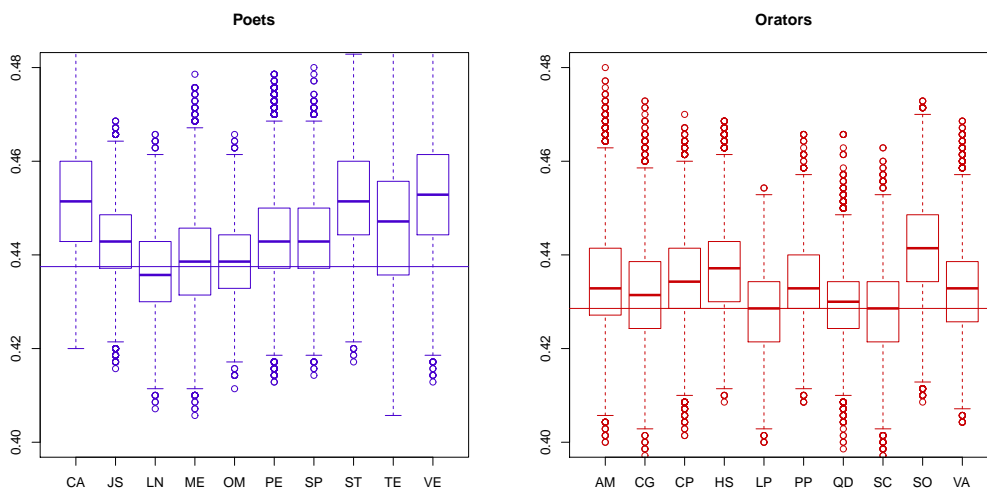

Figure 3: Boxplots for the proportions of vowels in 10000 random pages of each text. The horizontal lines correspond to Aberti's observations: $7/16$ for poets, $3/7$ for orators.

of the 10000 p-values below 5%, estimates the power of the test. Table 4 reports the estimated powers for the 3 tests, with $k = 1, \ldots, 6$ random pages extracted from each text. The first values of k such that the estimated power is greater than 95% are:

[T1] $k = 3$, i.e. 60 pages,

[T2] $k = 6$, i.e. 120 pages,

[T3] $k = 2$, i.e. 40 pages.

pages	tests		
k	T1	T2	T3
1	51.14	33.00	71.16
2	84.81	58.24	95.42
3	96.23	76.61	99.54
4	99.04	86.45	99.95
5	99.79	92.73	100
6	99.92	96.21	100

Table 4: Estimated powers (in percents) of tests T1, T2, T3 with k random pages extracted from each of the 20 texts. The number of pages in each text needed to raise the power above 95% is $k = 3$ for T1 ($P > 7/16$), $k = 6$ for T2 ($R > 3/7$), and $k = 2$ for T3 ($P > R$).

As expected, these values are smaller than those predicted by the Bernoulli model.

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