COMPUTATIONAL SANSKRIT & DIGITAL HUMANITIES

Selected Papers Presented at the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, July 9-13, 2018

University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Edited by
Gérard Huet and
Amba Kulkarni

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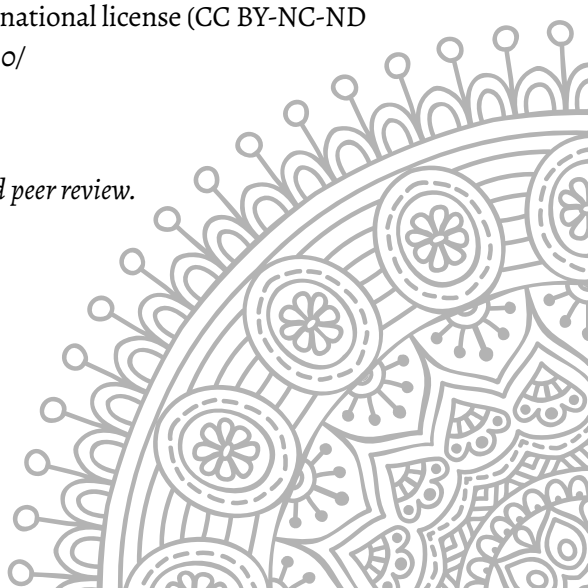

वसुधैव कुटुंबकम्
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SANSKRIT STUDIES
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Computational Sanskrit & Digital Humanities

Selected papers presented
at
the 17^{th} World Sanskrit Conference

University of British Columbia, Vancouver
9–13 July 2018

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Preface

This volume contains edited versions of papers accepted for presentation at the 17th World Sanskrit Conference in July 2018 in Vancouver, Canada. A special track of the conference was reserved for the topic "Computational Sanskrit & Digital Humanities", with the intent to cover not only recent advances in each of the now mature fields of Sanskrit Computational Linguistics and Sanskrit Digital Libraries, but to encourage cooperative efforts between scholars of the two communities, and prepare the emergence of grammatically informed digital Sanskrit corpus. Due to its rather technical nature, the contributions were not judged on mere abstracts, but on submitted full papers reviewed by a Program Committee.

We would like to thank the Program Committee of our track for their work:

- Dr Tanuja Ajotikar, Belgavi, Karnataka
- Pr Stefen Baums, University of Munich
- Pr Yigal Bronner, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- Pr Pawan Goyal, IIT Kharagpur
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- Pr Srinivasa Varakhedi, KSU, Bengaluru

14 contributions were accepted, revised along referees' recommendations, and finely edited to form this collection.

The first two papers concern the problem of proper mechanical simulation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭadyāyī. In "A Functional Core for the Computational

Aṣṭadyāyī", Samir Janardan Sohoni and Malhar A. Kulkarni present an original architecture for such a simulator, based on concepts from functional programming. In their model, each Pāṇinian sūtra translates as a Haskell module, an elegant effective formalization. They explain an algorithm for sūtra-conflict assessment and resolution, discuss visibility and termination, and exhibit a formal derivation of word *bhavati* as a showcase.

A different computational framework for the same problem is offered by Sarada Susarla, Tilak M. Rao and Sai Susarla in their paper "PAIAS: Pāṇini Aṣṭadyāyī Interpreter As a Service". They explain their development of a Web service usable as a Sanskrit grammatical assistant, implementing directly the Pāninian mechanisms. Here sūtras are records in a database in the JSON format, managed by a Python library. They pay particular attention to the meta-rules of the grammar, and specially to defining sūtras. Thay refrain from expanding such definitions in operative sūtras, but insist on their emulation along the grammatical processing.

These two papers conceptualize two computational models of Pāninian grammar that are strikingly different in their software architecture. However, when one examines examples of sūtra representations in both systems, the information content looks very similar, which may suggest some future inter-operability of these two interesting tools.

In the general area of mechanical analysis of Sanskrit text, we have several contributions at various levels. At the level of semantic roles analysis, at the heart of dependency parsing, Sanjeev Panchal and Amba Kulkarni present possible solutions to the complementary problem of ambiguity. In their paper "Yogyatā as an absence of non-congruity" they explain various definitions used by Sanskrit grammarians to express compatibility, and how to use these definitions to reduce ambiguity in dependency analysis.

The next paper, "An 'Ekalavya' Approach to Learning Context Free Grammar Rules for Sanskrit Using Adaptor Grammar", by Amrith Krishna, Bodhisattwa Prasad Majumder, Anil Kumar Boga, and Pawan Goyal, presents an innovative use of adaptor grammars to learn patterns in Sanskrit text definable as context-free languages. They present applications of their techniques to word reordering tasks in Sanskrit, a preliminary step towards recovering prose ordering from poetry, a crucial problem in Sanskrit.

Concerning meter recognition, we have a contribution of Shreevatsa Rajagopalan on "A user-friendly tool for metrical analysis of Sanskrit verse". The main feature of this new metrical analysis tool, available either as a

Web service or as a software library, is its robustness and its guidance in error-correction.

Two more contributions use statistical techniques (Big Data) for improving various Sanskrit-related tasks.

For instance, in the field of optical character recognition, the contribution by Devaraja Adiga, Rohit Saluja, Vaibhav Agrawal, Ganesh Ramakrishnan, Parag Chaudhuri, K. Ramasubramanian and Malhar Kulkarni on "Improving the learnability of classifiers for Sanskrit OCR corrections".

In the same vein of statistical techniques, Nikhil Chaturvedi and Rahul Garg present "A Tool for Transliteration of Bilingual Texts Involving Sanskrit", which accommodates smoothly text mixing various encodings.

While much of the work in Sanskrit computational linguistics is on Classical Sanskrit, researchers are also applying computational techniques to Vedic Sanskrit. One such effort is a detailed formalization of Vedic recitation phonology by Balasubramanian Ramakrishnan: "Modeling the Phonology of Consonant Duplication and Allied Changes in the Recitation of Tamil Taittiryaka-s".

On a more theoretical perspective on Sanskrit syntax, Brendan Gillon presents a formalization of Sanskrit complements in terms of the categorial grammar framework. His paper "Word complementation in Sanskrit treated by a modest generalization of categorial grammar" explains modified versions of the cancellation rules that aim at accommodating free word order. This raises the theoretical problem of the distinction between complements and modifiers in Sanskrit.

Turning to the Digital Humanities theme, we have a number of contributions. In "TEITagger: Raising the standard for digital texts to facilitate interchange with linguistic software", Peter Scharf discusses how fine-grain XML representation of corpus within the Text Encoding Initiative standard allows the inter-communication between digital Sanskrit libraries and grammatical tools such as parsers as well as meter analysis tools.

A complementary proposal is discussed in the paper "Preliminary Design of a Sanskrit Corpus Manager" by Gérard Huet and Idir Lankri. They propose a scheme for a fine-grained representation of Sanskrit corpus allowing inter-textuality phenomena such as sharing of sections of text, but also a variance of readings. They propose to use grammatical analysis tools to help annotators feeding digital libraries with grammatical information using modern cooperative work software. They demonstrate a prototype of such a tool, in the framework of the Sanskrit Heritage platform.

Moving towards philological concerns such as critical editions, the paper "Enriching the digital edition of the Kāśikāvṛtti by adding variants from the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī", by Tanuja P. Ajotikar, Anuja P. Ajotikar, and Peter M. Scharf discusses the problem of managing complex information from recensions and variants. It argues for a disciplined method of using TEI structure to represent this information in machine-manipulable ways, and demonstrates its use on processing variants of the Kāśikāvṛtti, the major commentary of the Aṣṭadyāyī.

In the same area of software-aided philology, the contribution "From the web to the desktop: IIIF-Pack, a document format for manuscripts using Linked Data standards", by Timothy Bellefleur, presents a proposal for a common format fit to manage complex information about corpus recensions in various formats, including images of manuscripts. This is in view of facilitating the interchange of such data by various teams using this common format. His proposal uses state-of-the-art standards of hypertext. It has already been put to use in an interactive software platform to manage recensions for the critical edition of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati by Pr. Adheesh Sathaye.

The volume concludes with the contribution "New Vistas to study Bhartṛhari: Cognitive NLP" by Jayashree Aanand Gajjam, Diptesh Kanojia, and Malhar Kulkarni which presents highly original research on cognitive linguistics in Sanskrit, by comparing the results of experiments with eye-tracking equipment with theories of linguistic cognition by Bhartṛhari.

We thank the numerous experts who helped us in the review process and all our authors who responded positively to the reviewer's comments and improved their manuscripts accordingly. We thank the entire 17^{th} WSC organizing committee, led by Pr. Adheesh Sathaye, which provided us the necessary logistic support for the organization of this section.

GÉRARD HUET & AMBA KULKARNI

Contributors

Devaraja Adiga
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
pdadiga@iitb.ac.in

Vaibhav Agrawal
Indian Institute of Technology,
Kharagpur,
India.
vaibhav@iitkgp.ac.in

Anuja Ajotikar
Shan State Buddhist University,
Myanmar
anujaajotikar@gmail.com

Tanuja Ajotikar
KAHER's Shri B. M. Kankanwadi Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya,
Belagavi,
India.
gtanu30@gmail.com

Timothy Bellefleur
Department of Asian Studies,
University of British Columbia, Vancouver
tbelle@alumni.ubc.ca

ANIL KUMAR BOGA
Department of Computer Science and Engineering,
Indian Institute of Technology,
Kharagpur, India.
bogaanil.009@gmail.com

NIKHIL CHATURVEDI
Department of Computer Science and Engineering,
Indian Institute of Technology,
New Delhi
cs5130291@cse.iitd.ac.in

PARAG CHAUDHURI
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
paragc@cse.iitb.ac.in

JAYASHREE AANAND GAJJAM
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
jayashree_aanand@iitb.ac.in

RAHUL GARG
Department of Computer Science and Engineering,
Indian Institute of Technology,
New Delhi
rahulgarg@cse.iitd.ac.in

BRENDAN S. GILLON
McGill University
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 1T7 Canada
brendan.gillon@mcgill.ca

Pawan Goyal
Department of Computer Science and Engineering,
Indian Institute of Technology,
Kharagpur, India.
pawang@cse.iitkgp.ernet.in

Gérard Huet
Inria Paris Center,
France.
Gerard.Huet@inria.fr

Diptesh Kanojia
IITB-Monash Research Academy, Powai, Mumbai, India
diptesh@iitb.ac.in

Amrith Krishna
Department of Computer Science and Engineering,
Indian Institute of Technology,
Kharagpur, India.
amrith.krishna@cse.iitkgp.ernet.in

Amba Kulkarni
Department of Sanskrit Studies,
University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad, India.
apksh@uohyd.ernet.in

Malhar Kulkarni
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
malhar@hss.iitb.ac.in

Idir Lankri
Université Paris Diderot,
Paris
lankri.idir@gmail.com

Bodhisattwa Prasad Majumder
Walmart Labs
India.
bodhisattwapm2017@email.iimcal.ac.in

Sanjeev Panchal
Department of Sanskrit Studies,
University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad, India.
snjvpnchl@gmail.com

Shreevatsa Rajagopalan
Independent Scholar
1035 Aster Ave 1107
Sunnyvale, CA 94086, USA
shreevatsa.public@gmail.com

Balasubramanian Ramakrishnan
Independent Scholar
145 Littleton Rd
Harvard, MA 01451, USA
balasr@acm.org

Ganesh Ramakrishnan
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
ganesh@cse.iitb.ac.in

K. Ramasubramanian
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
ram@hss.iitb.ac.in

Tilak M Rao
School of Vedic Sciences,
MIT-ADT University,
Pune, India.
rao.tilak@gmail.com

Rohit Saluja
IITB-Monash Research Academy,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
rohitsaluja@cse.iitb.ac.in

Peter Scharf
The Sanskrit Library,
Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
and
Language Technologies Research Center,
Indian Institute of Information Technology,
Hyderabad, India.
scharf@sanskritlibrary.org

Samir Janardan Sohoni
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology Bombay,
Powai, Mumbai, India.
sohoni@hotmail.com

Sarada Susarla
Karnataka Sanskrit University,
Bangalore, India.
sarada.susarla@gmail.com

SAI SUSARLA
School of Vedic Sciences,
MIT-ADT University,
Pune, India.
sai.susarla@gmail.com

Contents

A Functional Core for the Computational Aṣṭādhyāyī

Samir Janardan Sohoni *and* Malhar A. Kulkarni

Abstract: There have been several efforts to produce computational models of concepts from Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. These implementations targeted certain subsections of the Aṣṭādhyāyī such as the visibility of rules, resolving rule conflict, producing *sandhi*, etc. Extrapolating such efforts extremely will give us a much-coveted computational Aṣṭādhyāyī. A computational Aṣṭādhyāyī must produce an acceptable derivation of words showing the order in which *sūtra*s are applied.

We have developed a mini computational Aṣṭādhyāyī which purports to derive accented verb forms of the root *bhū* in the *laṭ lakāra*. An engine repeatedly chooses, prioritizes and applies *sutra*s to an input, given in the form of a *vivakṣā*, until an utterance is derived. Among other things, this paper describes the structure of *sūtra*s, the visibility of *sūtra*s in the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* and *tripādī* sections, phasing of the *sutra*s and the conflict resolution mechanisms.

We found that the *saṃjñā* and *vidhi sūtra*s are relatively simple to implement due to overt conditional clues. The *adhikāra* and *paribhāṣā* sutras are too general to be implemented on their own, but can be bootstrapped into the vidhi *sūtra*s. The *para-nitya-antaraṅga-apavāda* method of resolving *sūtra* conflicts was extended to suit the computational Aṣṭādhyāyī. Phasing can be used as a device to defer certain *sūtra*s to a later stage in the derivation.

This paper is the first part of a series. We intend to write more as we implement more from the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Keywords: computational Ashtadhyayi, derivation, conflict resolution, sutra, visibility, phase

1 Introduction

An accent is a key feature of the Sanskrit language. While the ubiquitous accent of Vedic has fallen out of use in Classical Sanskrit, Pāṇini's grammatical mechanisms are capable of producing accented speech. We aim to derive an accented instance by using computer implementation of Pāṇinian methods. Our system can produce the output shown in Listing 1.

Our implementation uses a representation of *vivakṣā* (See Listing 11) to drive the derivation. We model Aṣṭādhyāyī *sūtra*s as requiring a set of *preconditions* to produce an *effect*. The *sūtra*s look for their preconditions in an input environment. The effects produced by *sūtra*s become part of an ever-evolving environment which may trigger other *sūtra*s. To resolve rule conflicts, we have made a provision for a harness which is based on the *paribhāṣā* पूर्वपरनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानाम् उत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः.

We have used Haskell, a lazy functional programming language, to build the prototype. Our implementation uses a phonetic encoding of characters for accentuation and Pāṇinian operations (See Sohoni and M. A. Kulkarni (2016)). The phonetic encoding allows for faster phonetic modifications and testing operation, something that seems to happen very frequently across most of the *sūtra*s.

The following is an outline of the rest of this paper. Previous work related to the computational Aṣṭādhyāyī is reviewed in Section 2. Section 3 discusses how phonetic components, produced and consumed by *sūtra*s, are represented. It also discusses tracing the antecedants of components. Implementation of *sūtra*s is discussed in Section 4. Intermediate steps of a derivation, known as frames, are discussed in 5.1. Section 5.2 also discusses the environment which is used to check triggering conditions of *sūtra*s. Deferring application of *sūtra*s by arranging them into phases is discussed in 6. The process of derivation is explained in Section 7. Prioritization and conflict resolution of *sūtra*s is discussed in Section 8. Section 9 discusses how visible frames in a derivation are made available to a *sūtra*. Some conclusions and future work are discussed in Section 10.

```
Wiwakshaa --->[("gana",Just "1"),("purusha",Just "1"),
                ("wachana",Just "1"),("lakaara",Just "wartamaana"),
                ("prayoga",Just "kartari")]
Initial ---> भू
[]***>(6.1.162) ---> भू
[]***>(3.2.123) ---> भूलँट्
[(1.4.13) wins (1.4.13) vs (1.3.9) by SCARE
]***>(1.4.13) ---> भूलँट्
[]***>(1.3.9) ---> भूल्
[]***>(3.4.78) ---> भूतिप्
[(1.4.13) wins (1.4.13) vs (1.4.104) by SCARE
,(1.4.13) wins (1.4.13) vs (1.3.9) by SCARE
,(1.4.13) wins (1.4.13) vs (3.1.68) by SCARE
,(1.4.13) wins (1.4.13) vs (7.3.84) by SCARE
]***>(1.4.13) ---> भूतिप्
[(1.4.104) wins (1.4.104) vs (1.3.9) by SCARE
,(1.4.104) wins (1.4.104) vs (3.1.68) by SCARE
,(1.4.104) wins (1.4.104) vs (7.3.84) by SCARE
]***>(1.4.104) ---> भूतिप्
[(3.1.68) wins (1.3.9) vs (3.1.68) by paratwa
,(7.3.84) wins (3.1.68) vs (7.3.84) by paratwa
]***>(7.3.84) ---> भोतिप्
[(3.1.68) wins (1.3.9) vs (3.1.68) by paratwa
]***>(3.1.68) ---> भोशप्तिप्
[(1.4.13) wins (1.4.13) vs (1.3.9) by SCARE
]***>(1.4.13) ---> भोशप्तिप्
[]***>(1.3.9) ---> भोअति
[]***>(1.4.14) ---> भोअति
[]***>(1.4.109) ---> भोअति
[(8.4.66) wins (6.1.78) vs (8.4.66) by paratwa
]***>(8.4.66) ---> भोअंति
[]***>(6.1.78) ---> भवति
[]***>(8.4.66) ---> भवंति
```

Listing 1
A derivation of the pada भवंति

2 Review of Literature

Formal foundations of a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī can be seen in Mishra (2008, 2009, 2010). The general approach in Mishra's work is to take a linguistic form such as *bhavati* and apply heuristics to carve out some grammatical decompositions. The decompositions are used to drive analytical processes that may yield more decompositions along the boundaries of *sandhi*s to produce seed-forms.[1] This part is an analysis done in a top-down manner. The second phase is a bottom-up synthesis, wherein, each of the seed-forms is processed by a synthesizer to produce finalized linguistic expressions that must match the original input. To support analysis, Mishra's implementation relies upon a database which contains partial orders of morphological entities, mutually exclusive morphemes, and other such artifacts.[2] In the synthesis phase, Mishra (2010) also implements a conflict resolver using the *siddha* principle.[3]

Goyal, A. P. Kulkarni, and Behera (2008) have also created a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī which focuses on ordering *sūtra*s in the regions governed by **पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्** (A. 8.2.1), **षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः** (A. 6.1.86) and **असिद्धवदत्राभात्** (A. 6.4.22). Input, in the form of *prakṛti* along with attributes, is passed through a set of modules that have thematically grouped rules. The implementation embodies the notion of *data spaces*. Rules are able to see various data spaces in order to take input. Results produced by the rules are put back into the appropriate data spaces. Conflict resolution is based on *paribhāṣā*-driven concepts such as principle of *apavāda* as well as ad-hoc techniques.[4]

Goyal, A. P. Kulkarni, and Behera (2008) §4 mention the features of a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī. Also, a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī should seamlessly glue together grammatical concepts just like the traditional Aṣṭādhyāyī. It should not add any side effects, neither should it be lacking any part of the traditional Aṣṭādhyāyī. Above all, a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī must produce an acceptable derivation of words.

The system described in Mishra (2010) does not use traditional building blocks such as the Māheśvara Sūtras or the Dhātupātha, but can be made

[1] See Mishra (2009), Section 4.2 for a description of the general process.

[2] See Mishra (2009), Section 6.1 for details of the database.

[3] Mishra (2010):255

[4] Goyal, A. P. Kulkarni, and Behera (2008), cf. 'Module for Conflict Resolution' in §4.4

to do so.[5] We believe that canonical building blocks such as Māheśvara Sūtras and Aṣṭādhyāyī *sūtrapāṭha* should strongly influence the computational Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Peter M. Scharf (2016) talks about the need for faithfully translating Pāṇinian rules in the realm of computation and shows elaborate XMLization of Pāṇini's rules. Bringing Pāṇini's rules into the area of computation uncovers some problems that need to be solved. T. Ajotikar, A. Ajotikar, and Peter M. Scharf (2016) discuss some of those issues.

XML is useful in describing structured data and therefore XMLization of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is a step in the right direction. However, processing Pāṇinian derivations in XML will be fraught with performance issues. XML is good for the specification of data but it cannot be used as a programming language. A good deal of designing a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī will have to focus on questions such as "How to *implement* (not specify) the notion *X*". *X* may refer to things such as run-time evaluation of *apavāda*s, or dynamically creating any *pratyāhāra* from the Māheśvara Sūtras or dealing with an *atideśasūtra* so that a proper target rule is triggered. The power of a real, feature-rich programming language will be indispensable in such work.

Patel and Katuri (2016) have demonstrated the use of programming languages to derive *subanta* forms. Patel and Katuri have discovered a manual way to order rules (NLP ordering) for producing *subanta*s according to Bhattojī Dikṣita's Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhāntakaumudī. It is conceivable that as more rules are added to the system to derive other types of words, the NLP ordering may undergo a lot of change and it may ultimately approach the order that comes about due to Pāṇinian *paribhāṣās* and those compiled by Nagojibhaṭṭa (See Kielhorn (1985)).

In the present paper we describe the construction of rules, the progress of a derivation, the resolution of conflicts by modeling competitions between the rules in the ambit of *paribhāṣā* पूर्वपरनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानाम् उत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः and other such concepts.

[5] Mishra (2010):256, §4, "There is, however, a possibility to make the system aware of these divisions."

```
type Attribute v = (String, Maybe v)
type Tag         = Attribute String

data Component = Component {cmpWarnas :: [Warna]
                           ,cmpAttrs  :: [Tag]
                           ,cmpOrigin :: [Component]
                           }
type State     = [Component]
```

Listing 2
S*tate*

3 Phonetic Components

The phonetic payload, which comprises of phonemes, is known as a **Component**. Listing 2 shows the implementation.[6] A **Component** is made up of phonetically encoded **Warna**s. Some name-value pairs known as **Tag**s give meta information about the **Component**s. Usually, the tags contain *saṃjñā*s. Over the course of a derivation, **Component**s can undergo changes. At times, *sūtra*s are required to test previous incarnations of a *sthānī* (substituend), so a list of previous forms of the **Component**s is also retained. The current yield of the derivation at any step is in the **State** which is a list of **Component**s.

Listing 3 shows how भू + तिप् can be represented as a intermediate phonetic **State**. The Devanāgarī representations of भू and तिप् are converted into an internal representation of **Warna**s using the **encode** function. Suitable tags are applied to the components **bhu** and **tip** and they are strung together in a list to create a **State**.

3.1 Tracing Components to Their Origins

The *sūtra* वर्तमाने लट् (A. 3.2.123) inserts a लँट् pratyaya after a *dhātu*. This *pratyaya* will undergo changes and ultimately become ल् due to application

[6] Excerpts of implementation details are shown in Haskell. References to variable names in computer code are shown in **bold teletype** font. In code listings the letter 'w' is used for व्. In other places the Roman transliteration is used which prefers 'v' instead of 'w'.

```
egState = let bhu = Component (encode "भू")          -- phonemes
                              [("dhaatu",Nothing)]   -- tags
                              []                     -- no previous history
              tip = Component (encode "तिप्")        -- phonemes
                              [("wibhakti",Nothing)  -- tags
                              ,("parasmaipada",Nothing)
                              ,("ekawachana",Nothing)
                              ,("saarwadhaatuka",Nothing)
                              ,("pratyaya",Nothing)]
                              []                     --no previous history
          in [bhu, tip]
```

Listing 3
An example of **State**

of *it-sutras* A. 1.3.2-9. **लशकतद्धिते** (A. 1.3.8) will mark the **ल्** as an **इत्** causing its removal. A. 1.3.8 should not mark the **ल्** of a **लँट्** pratyaya as an **इत्**. The **ल्** in ten *lakāra*s is not an **इत्**. These *lakāra*s should figure into A. 1.3.8 as an exception list so that A. 1.3.8 does not apply to them. However, other sutras like A. 1.3.2, A. 1.3.3 and A. 1.3.9 may still apply leaving back only **ल्**. If a list of ten *lakāra*s was kept as an exception list in A. 1.3.8, **ल्** will not match any one of those and will be liable to be dropped. Somehow, the **ल्** which remains from *lakāra*s, needs to be traced back to the original *lakāra*.

As shown in Listing 2, the datatype **Component** recursively contains a list of **Component**s. The purpose of this list is to keep around previous forms of a **Component**. As a **Component** changes, its previous form along with all attributes is stored at the head of the list. This makes it easy to recover any previous form of a component and examine it. Listing 4 shows the **traceOrigin** function. In case of 1.3.8, if calling **traceOrigin** on a **ल्** produces one of the 10 *lakāra*s, 1.3.8 does not mark such a **ल्** an **इत्**. This way of tracing back **Components** to their previous forms can help in determination of a *sthānī* and its attributes under the influence of *atideśa sūtra* like **स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ** (A. (1.1.56).

```
traceOrigin :: Component -> [Component]
traceOrigin (Component ws as []) = []
traceOrigin (Component ws as os) =
  nub \$ (concat.foldr getOrig [os]) os
  where getOrig c os = (traceOrigin c) : os
```

Listing 4
Tracing origin of a **Component**

4 Sūtras

According to one opinion in the Pāṇinian tradition, there are six different types of *sūtra*s. The following verse enumerates them;[7]

संज्ञा च परिभाषा च विधिर्नियम एव च ।
अतिदेशोऽधिकारश्च षड्विधं सूत्रलक्षणम् ॥

The *saṃjñā sūtra*s apply specific *saṃjñā*s to grammatical entities based on certain indicatory marks found in the input. They help the *vidhi sūtra*s bring about changes.

The real executive power of the Aṣṭādhyāyī lies in the *vidhi*, *niṣedha* and *niyama sūtra*s. The *vidhi sūtra*s bring about changes in the state of the derivation. The *niṣedha* and *niyama sūtra*s are devices that prevent over-generation of *vidhi sūtra*s. They are strongly associated with specific *vidhi sūtra*s and also share some of their conditioning information.

The *paribhāṣā sūtra*s are subservient to *vidhisūtra*s. They can be thought of as algorithmic helper functions which are called from many places in a computer program. In the spirit of the *kāryakālapakṣa*, the *paribhāṣā sūtra*s are supposed to unite with *vidhi sūtra*s to create a complete *sūtra* which produces a certain effect. The *paribhāṣā sūtra*s need not be explicitly implemented because their logic can be embedded into the *vidhi sūtra*s.

The *adhikāra sūtra*s create a context for *vidhi sūtra*s to operate. From an implementation perspective, the context of the *adhikāra* can be built into the body of *vidhi*, *niṣedha* or *niyama sūtra*s and therefore *adhikāra sūtra*s need not be explicitly implemented.

[7] Vedantakeshari (2001):9-11. According to other opinions there are 7 or even as many as 8 types of *sūtra*s if *niṣedha* and *upavidhi* types are considered.

The *atideśa sūtra*s create situational analogies. By forming analogies, *atideśa sūtra*s cause other *vidhi sūtra*s to trigger. In this implementation we implement *saṃjñā*, *vidhi* and *niyama sūtra*s. We have not implemented *atideśa sūtra*s.

In traditional learning, every *paribhāṣā sūtra* is expected to be known in the place it is taught. The effective meaning of a *vidhi sūtra* is known by resorting to the methods of *yathoddeśapakṣa* or *kāryakālapakṣa*. In one opinion, in the *yathoddeśapakṣa* the boundary of the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* and the *tripādī* presents an ideological barrier which cannot be crossed over by the *paribhāṣā sūtra*s for reasons of being invisible. The *kāryakālapakṣa* has no such problem.[8]

We are inclined towards an implementation based on *kāryakālapakṣa* as it allows us to escape having to implement each and every *paribhāṣā sūtra* explicitly and yet enlist the necessary *paribhāṣā sūtra*s' numbers which go into creating *ekavākyatā* (full expanded meaning). This choice allows for swift development with less clutter. Therefore, the *paribhāṣā* and *adhikāra sūtra*s are not explicitly implemented.

Sūtras are defined as shown in Listing 5. In the derivation of the word भवति[9] no *niyama sūtra*s were encountered, so they are not implemented in this effort but could be implemented by adding a **Niyama** value constructor. The **Widhi** value constructor is used to represent all types of *sūtra*s other than *saṃjñā sūtra*s. The **Samjnyaa** value constructor is used to make *saṃjñā sūtra*s. Both the value constructors appear to be same in terms of their parameters, only the name of the constructor differentiates them. This is useful in pattern matching on *sūtra* values in the SCARE model (Section 8.4) which treats *saṃjñā sūtra*s specially.

4.1 Testing the Conditions for Application of *sūtra*s

In a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī, a *sūtra* must be able to sense certain conditions that exist in the input and it should also be able to produce an effect. These are the two basic requirements any implementable *sūtra* must satisfy. The **Testing** field in Listing 5 refers to a datatype that has testing functions **slfTest** and **condTest**. A *sūtra* will be able to produce its effect provided that **slfTest** returns **True** and **condTest** returns a function which can produce effects. More on this is explained in Section 7.1. Listing 6 shows

[8] See Kielhorn (1985), *paribhāṣā*s 2 & 3 – कार्यकालपक्षे तु त्रिपाद्यामप्युपस्थितिरिति विशेषः

[9] Ṛgvedic convention is used to show accent marks.

```
data Sutra = Widhi     { number      :: SutraNumber
                       , testing     :: Testing
                       }
           | Samjnyaa  { number      :: SutraNumber
                       , testing     :: Testing
                       }
```

Listing 5
Definition of sūtra

datatype **Testing**. Function **slfTest** is used to prevent a *sūtra* from applying *ad infinitum*. Some *sūtra*s produce an effect without any conditions. For example, **परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता** (A. 1.4.109) defines the *saṃjñā samhitā* (the mode of continuous speech) which is not pre-conditioned by anything which can be sensed in the input. This *sūtra* can get applied and reapplied continuously had it not been for function **slfTest**. The **slfTest** function in *sūtra* A. 1.4.109 allows its application only if it was not applied earlier. Unlike A. 1.4.109, some *sūtra*s produce effects which are conditioned upon things found in the input. For example, **उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः** (A. 8.4.66) will look for an *udātta* syllable followed by an *anudātta* one in *samhitā* and convert the *anudātta* into a *svarita* syllable. As long as there is no *udātta* followed by *anudātta* in the input, A. 8.4.66 will not apply. A. 8.4.66 does not run the risk of being applied *ad infinitum* because it is conditioned on things which can be sensed in the input. Therefore, function **slfTest** in A. 8.4.66 always returns **True**. Function **condTest** should test for the condition that an *udātta* is followed by an *anudātta* in *samhitā*, in which case it should return **True**. Listing 6 shows the functions which each *sūtra* is expected to implement.

If a *sūtra* is inapplicable, **condTest** returns **Nothing**, which means no effects can be produced. In case a *sūtra* is applicable **condTest** returns an *effect* function. Simply calling the *effect* function with the correct **Environment** parameter will produce an effect as part of a new **Environment**. **Effect** is simply a function that takes an **Environment** and produces a newer **Environment**. Each **Sutra** is expected to implement the functions **slfTest** and **condTest**.

```
type Effect   = TheEnv -> TheEnv
data Testing = TestFuncs {
                  slfTest   :: Environment Trace -> Bool
                 ,condTest  :: Environment Trace ->
                                  ([Attribute String], Maybe Effect)
                  }
```

Listing 6
Definition of testing functions

4.2 Organization of *sūtra*s

The *sūtra*s are implemented as Haskell modules. Every *sūtra* module exports a **details** function. The **details** function gives access to the definition of the *sūtra* and also the **slfTest** and **condTest** functions which are required in other parts of the code. Listing 7 shows a rough sketch of *sūtra* A. 1.3.9. In addition, every *sūtra* will have to implement its own **effects** function.

```haskell
module S1_3_9 where

-- imports omitted for brevity

details = Widhi (SutraNumber 1 3 9)
                (TestFuncs selfTest condTest)

selfTest :: TheEnv -> Bool
selfTest _ = True

condTest :: TheEnv -> ([Attribute String], Maybe Effect)
condTest env = -- details omitted for brevity

effects :: Effect
effects env = -- details omitted for brevity
```

Listing 7
Sūtra *module*

5 The Ecosystem for Execution of Sūtras

The next *sūtra* applicable in a derivation takes its input from the result produced by the previous one. Due to the *siddha*/*asiddha* notion between certain *sūtra*s, it can be generally said that the input for the next *sūtra* may come from any of the previously generated results. This section discusses the ecosystem in which *sūtra*s get their inputs.

5.1 Frames

As each *sūtra* applies in a derivation, some information about it is captured in a record known as a **Frame**. Some of the information, such as all the **Conflict**s, is captured for reporting. The two important constituents of **Frame** are the **Sutra** which was applied and the **State** it produced. As a derivation progresses, the output **State** from one *sūtra* becomes the input **State** of another.

Listing 8 shows **Frame** as an abstract datatype which expects two types, **conflict** and **sutra**, to create a concrete datatype. **Frame (Conflict Sutra) Sutra** is the realization of a concrete type which is, for convenience, called TheFrame. The **Trace** is merely a list of **TheFrame**s. It is meant to show a step-by-step account of the derivation.

5.2 Environment

To produce an effect, some *sūtra*s look at indicators in what is fed as input. A *sūtra* such as सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (A. 7.3.84) is expected to convert an इक् letter at the end of the *aṅga* into a *guṇa* letter, provided that a *sārvadhātuka*

```
data Frame conflict sutra = Frame {frConflicts :: [conflict]
                                  ,frSutra     :: (Maybe sutra)
                                  ,frOutput    :: State
                                  }
type TheFrame             = Frame (Competition Sutra) Sutra
type Trace                = [TheFrame]
```

Listing 8
The **Trace**

```
-- input to A. 7.3.84
[Component (encode "भू") [("dhaatu",Nothing)] []
,Component (encode "तिप्")
    [("saarwadhaatuka",Nothing),("pratyaya",Nothing)] []
]
```

Listing 9
An input to sūtra *A. 7.3.84*

```
-- output from A. 7.3.84
[Component (encode "भो") [("dhaatu",Nothing)] []
,Component (encode "तिप्")
   [("saarwadhaatuka",Nothing) ,("pratyaya",Nothing)] []
]
```

Listing 10
An output from sūtra *A. 7.3.84.*

or *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya* follows. If this *sūtra* is fed an input such as the one shown in Listing 9, all necessary conditions can be found in this input viz. there is an **इक्** at the end of the *aṅga*, followed by the *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* **तिप्**.

Now that its required conditions have been fulfilled, A. 7.3.84 produces an effect such as the one shown in Listing 10. Thus, the input becomes an environment that is looked at by the *sūtra*s to check for any triggering conditions. A *sūtra* may need to look past its input into the input of some previously triggered *sūtra*s. Generalizing this, an environment consists of outputs produced by all *sūtra*s in the derivation thus far. The **Trace** data structure (see Section 5.1) becomes a very important constituent of **Environment**.

There are *sūtra*s which produce an effect conditioned by what the speaker intends to say. **वर्तमाने लट्** (A. 3.2.123), for example, will be fed an input which may contain entities like a *dhātu* along with other *saṃjñā*s associated with it. However, the specific *lakāra*, which the *dhātu* must be cast into, can be known only from the intention of the speaker. Unless it can be sensed

```
type Wiwakshaa = [Tag]
egWiwakshaa    = [attr gana       "1"
                 ,attr purusha    "1"
                 ,attr wachana    "1"
                 ,attr lakaara    "wartamaana"
                 ,attr prayoga    "kartari"
                 ,attr samhitaa   "yes"
                 ]
```

Listing 11
Tags to describe vivakṣā

that the speaker wishes to express a *vartamāna* form, A. 3.2.123 cannot be applied. Thus, some *sūtra*s are conditioned on what is in the *vivakṣā*. As shown in Listing 11, **Wiwakshaa** is modelled as a list of name-value **Tag**s. The **attr** function is a helper which creates a **Tag**. This listing shows a *vivakṣā* for creating a 3^{rd} person, singular, present tense, active voice form of some *dhātu* in *samhitā* mode.

In the case of certain *sūtra*s the triggering conditions remain intact forever. Such *sūtra*s tend to get applied repeatedly. To allow application only once, housekeeping attributes have to be maintained. The housekeeping attributes may be checked by the **slfTest** function in the *sūtra*s and reapplication can be prevented. Consider वर्तमाने लट् (A. 3.2.123) once again. The *vivakṣā* will continue to have *vartamāna* in it. As such, A. 3.2.123 can get reapplied continuously. While producing the effect of inserting *laṭ*, A. 3.2.123 could create a housekeeping tag, say "(3.2.123)". If A. 3.2.123 were to apply only in the absence of housekeeping attribute "(3.2.123)", the reapplication could be controlled using a suitably coded **slfTest** function. Such **Housekeeping** is also part of the environment. Just like **Wiwakshaa**, it is also represented as a list of **Tag**s. The entire representation of **Environment** is shown in Listing 12. It is a parameterized type that expects a type **t** to create an environment from. **Environment Trace** is a concrete type which is given an alias of **TheEnv**.

```
data Environment t = Env { envWiwakshaa :: Wiwakshaa
                         , envHsekpg    :: Housekeeping
                         , envTrace     :: t
                         }

type TheEnv = Environment Trace
```

Listing 12
The E*nvironment*

6 Phasing

Samuel Johnson said that language is the dress of thought. Indeed, Pāṇini's generative grammar derives a correct utterance from an initial thought pattern. The seeds of the finished linguistic forms are sowed very early in the process of derivation. Morphemes are gradually introduced depending on certain conditions and are ultimately transformed into final speech forms. It seems that linguistic forms pass through definite stages. This is a crude approximation of the derivation process: laying down the seed form from semantic information in the *vivakṣā*, producing *aṅga*s, producing *pada*s and finally making some adjustments for the *samhitā* mode of utterance. At each step along the way, there could be several *sūtra*s that may apply. Grammarians call this situation a *prasaṅga*.[10] However, only one *sūtra* can be applied in a *prasaṅga*. When the most suitable *sūtra* gets applied it is said to have become *pravṛtta*. To make the resolution of a *prasaṅga* relatively simple, *sūtra*s apparently belonging to the latter stages should not get applied earlier in the derivation, even if they have scope to apply.

Phasing is a method to minimize the number of *sūtra*s that participate in a *prasaṅga*. Those *saṃjñā sūtra*s, which form the basis of certain *adhikāra sūtra*s, are deferred until later in the derivation process. For instance, **परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता** (A. 1.4.109) creates a basis for the *samhitāyām adhikāra* which begins from **तयोर्य्वावचि संहितायाम्** (A. 8.2.108). Similarly, **यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्** (A. 1.4.13) applies the *saṃjñā aṅga* to something when there is a *pratyaya* after it. The *saṃjñā aṅga* creates a basis for the *adhikāra sūtra* **अङ्गस्य** (A. 6.4.1). If the *sūtra*s, which apply certain *saṃjñā*s, are suppressed

[10] See Abhyankar and Shukla (1961) pages 271 and 273

```
data Phase a = Phase { phsName :: String -- name of phase
                     , phsNums :: [a] -- sutras in the phase
                     }
phases = [Phase "pada"          [SutraNumber 1 4 14]
         ,Phase "samhitaa"      [SutraNumber 1 4 109]
         ]
```

Listing 13
Definition of P***hase***

in the beginning of the derivation and are released subsequently, other *vidhi sūtra*s operating within certain *adhikāra*s will not participate in an untimely *prasaṅga*. For example, phasing **परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता** (A. 1.4.109) will defer *sūtra*s like **उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः** (A. 8.4.66) till a later time.

A **Phase** has a name and contains a list of *sūtra*s which make up that phase. Listing 13 defines a **Phase** and creates a list called **phases** containing two phases–"pada" and "samhitaa". The way **phases** is defined, *pada* formation phase (due to A. 1.4.14) and *samhitā* formation phase (due to A. 1.4.109) will be deferred till a later time.

7 The Process of Derivation

The details of **Sutra**s are collected in a list called the **ashtadhyayi**. For brevity, a small representation is shown in Listing 14.

```
ashtadhyayi :: [Sutra]
ashtadhyayi = [S1_3_9.details
              ,S1_3_78.details
              ,S1_4_99.details
              ,S1_4_100.details]
```

Listing 14
a***shtadhyayi*** *- a list of* sūtra*s*

```
-- remove phases from the ashtadhyayi
ashtWithoutPhases = filterSutras
                        (predByPhases allPhases)
                        ashtadhyayi

-- generate the word form using phases
generateUsingPhases :: TheEnv -> [Sutra] -> [Phase Sutra]
                                                -> TheEnv
generateUsingPhases env sutras phases =
 foldl' (gen sutras) newEnv phases
 where
  gen sutras env phase = generate env (phsNums phase ++ sutras)
  newEnv = generate env sutras

-- the returned environment will contain the derivation
finalEnv = generateUsingPhases env ashtWithoutPhases allPhases
```

Listing 15
Generation using phases

Before the process of derivation begins, *sūtra*s which are part of some phase, are removed from the **ashtadhyayi**. The generation of derived forms will continue as long as applicable *sūtra*s are found in the **ashtadhyayi**. When *sūtra*s are no longer applicable, *sūtra*s from a phase are added to the **ashtadhyayi**. Adding one phase back to the **ashtadhyayi** holds the possibility of new *sūtra*s becoming applicable. The process of derivation continues once again until no more *sūtra*s are applicable. The process of adding back *sūtra*s from other phases continues until there are no more phases left to add. Listing 15 shows this way of using phases to generate the derived form.

Function **generateUsingPhases** uses the **generate** function to actually advance the derivation. Given an **Environment** and a set of **Sutra**s, the process of generating a linguistic form will consist of picking out all the applicable **Sutra**s that have *prasaṅga*. The **Sutra**s should get prioritized so that only one **Sutra** can become *pravṛtta*. The chosen **Sutra** should be invoked to produce a new **Environment**. This process can continue until

```
generate :: TheEnv -> [Sutra] -> TheEnv
generate env sutras
  | null (envWiwakshaa env) || null (envTrace env)
                            || null sutras = env
  | otherwise =
    if (isJust chosen)
    then generate newEnv sutras
    else traceShow sutras env
    where list     = choose env sutras
          chosen   = prioritize env (testBattery env) list
          newEnv   = invoke env chosen
```

Listing 16
Generation of a derived form

no more **Sutra**s apply in which case the derivation steps are shown using **traceShow**. The function **generate** embodies this logic as shown in Listing 16.

7.1 Choosing the Applicable *sūtra*s

Given the list **ashtadhyayi** as defined in Section 7 and a starter **Environment**, each and every **Sutra** in the **ashtadhyayi** is tested for applicability. The applicability **test** is shown in Listing 17. A **Sutra** will be chosen if it clears two-stage condition checking. In the initial stage, **slfTest** checks if any **Housekeeping** attributes in the **Environment** prevent the **Sutra** from applying. If the initial stage is cleared, the second stage invokes the **condTest** function of the **Sutra**. **condTest** checks the **Trace** in the **Environment** for existence of conditions specific to the *sūtra*. In case the conditions exist, **condTest** returns a collection of **Tag**s and a function, say **eff**, to produce the effects. See Section 4.1 to read more about **slfTest** and **condTest**.

The function **choose**, shown in Listing 17, uses the **test** described above. All **Sutra**s in the **ashtadhyayi**, for which **test** returns an effects function **eff**, are collected and returned as a list. All *sūtra*s in the list are applicable and have a *prasaṅga*. This list of *sūtra*s has to be prioritized so that only one *sūtra* can be invoked.

```
choose :: TheEnv -> [Sutra] -> [(Sutra, [Tag], Effect)]
choose env ss =
  [fromJust r | r <- res, isJust (r) == True]
  where
    res = map appDetails ss
    t   = envTrace env
    appDetails     :: Sutra -> Maybe (Sutra, [Tag], Effect)
    appDetails sut = case (test env sut) of
                          (_, Nothing)      -> Nothing
                          (conds, Just eff)
                               -> Just (sut, conds, eff)

test :: TheEnv -> Sutra -> ([Tag],Maybe Effect)
test e s | null (envTrace e) = ([], Nothing)
         | otherwise = if slfTest testIfc e
                       then condTest testIfc e
                       else ([], Nothing)
  where testIfc = testing s
```

Listing 17
Choosing the applicable sūtra*s*

8 Prioritizing *sūtra*s

As the derivation progresses, many *sūtra*s can form a *prasaṅga*, for their triggering conditions are satisfied in the environment. It is the responsibility of the grammar to decide which *sūtra* becomes *pravṛtta* by ensuring that the derivation does not loop continuously.

8.1 Avoiding Cycles

It may so happen that of all the *sūtra*s in a *prasaṅga*, the one that has been chosen to become *pravṛtta*, say S_c, produces an **Environment**, say E_i, that already exists in the **Trace**. In case E_i is reproduced, a cycle will be introduced which will cause the derivation to not terminate. While prioritizing, such *sūtra*s, as producing an already produced **Environment**, must be filtered out.

8.2 Competitions for Conflict Resolution

The chosen *sūtra*s can be thought to compete with one another. If there are *n sūtra*s there will be *(n-1)* competitions. The first and the second *sūtra* will compete against one another. The winner among the two will compete against the third and so on until we are left with only one *sūtra*. The *sūtra* which triumphs becomes *pravṛtta* for it is the strongest among all those which had a *prasaṅga*. This view of conflict resolution is shown in Figure 1. S_1 to S_n are competing *sūtra*s.

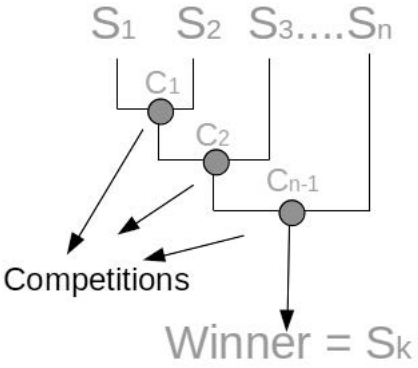

Figure 1
Competitions among sūtra*s*

We model competition as a match between two entities. The match can end in a draw or produce a winner. As shown in Listing 18, **Competition** is defined as an abstract type which contains a **Resolution**. The **Resolution** gives the **Result** and has a provision to note a **Reason** for that specific outcome of the match.

The actual competition is represented as a function which takes two **Sutra**s and produces a **Resolution** as shown in Listing 19.

8.3 Competitions and Biases

A *sūtra* S_i is eliminated as soon as it looses out to another *sūtra* S_j and never participates in any other competition in the *prasaṅga*. One might object to this methodology of conducting competitions by suggesting that

```
{-
   Following are abstract types.
   Concrete realizations such as 'Conflict Sutra' and
   'Resolution Sutra' are used in code.
-}
data Conflict    a = Conflict a a (Resolution a)
data Resolution  a = Resolution (Result a) Reason
data Result      a = Draw | Winner a
type Reason        = String
```

Listing 18
The **Conflict** *between* sūtra*s*

```
type Competition a = Sutra -> Sutra -> Resolution Sutra
```

Listing 19
Match between sūtra*s*

S_i could have debarred another *sūtra* S_k later on, therefore it is important to keep S_i in the fray. In fact, the objector could claim that all *sūtra*s must compete with one another before a *sūtra* can become *pravṛtta*. We note that the objector's method of holding competitions would have been useful if the competition between S_i and S_k would produce a random winner every time. In fact, the competitions in this grammar are biased. They don't give both the *sūtra*s equal chance of winning and this is intentional in the design of Pāṇini's grammar. In the presence of biases, what is the use of conducting fair competitions? Therefore the proposed method of holding competitions should be acceptable.

The biases are introduced by the maxim **पूर्वपरनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानाम् उत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः**.[11] One *sūtra* is stronger than another one by way of four tests, namely, *paratva*, *nityatva*, *antaraṅgatva* and *apavādatva*. The *paratva* test says that, among any two *sūtra*s, the one which is placed later in the Aṣṭādhyāyī wins. According to the *nityatva* test, among two competing *sūtra*s, one that has *prasaṅga* inspite of the other being applied first, is the winner. The

[11] See Kielhorn (1985):१९, *paribhāṣā* 38.

```
testBattery  :: TheEnv -> [Competition Sutra]
testBattery e | null (envTrace e) = []
              | otherwise = [ (scareTest e)
                            , (apawaada e)
                            , (antaranga e)
                            , (nitya e)
                            , (para e)
                            ]
  where trace = envTrace e

-- various tests. details not shown for brevity
scareTest    :: TheEnv -> Competition Sutra
para         :: TheEnv -> Competition Sutra
nitya        :: TheEnv -> Competition Sutra
antaranga    :: TheEnv -> Competition Sutra
apawaada     :: TheEnv -> Competition Sutra
```

Listing 20
A battery of tests to choose a winning sūtra

principle of *antaraṅgatva* dictates that of two conflicting *sūtra*s, the one that wins, relies on relatively fewer *nimitta*s (conditions) or *nimitta*s which are internal to something. Finally, the test of *apavādatva* teaches that, among two conflicting *sūtra*s, a special *sūtra* wins over a general one to prevent *niravakāśatva* (total inapplicability) of the special *sūtra*. The four tests are such that a latter one is stronger determiner of the winning *sūtra* than the prior ones. Test of *apavādatva* has highest priority and *paratva* has the lowest. If the test of *apavādatva* produces a winner the other three tests need not be applied. If *antaraṅgatva* produces a winner, the other two tests need not be administered. If *nityatva* produces a winner we need not check *paratva*. In the worst-case scenario all the four tests have to be applied one after another to a pair of conflicting *sūtra*s.

To seek a winning *sūtra* among two that compete with each other, a prioritization function administers a battery of tests, beginning with *apavādatva* (See Listing 20).

```
scareTest :: TheEnv -> Sutra -> Sutra -> Resolution Sutra
scareTest e s1@(Samjnyaa _ _) _ =
              Resolution (Winner s1) "SCARE"
scareTest e _ s2@(Samjnyaa _ _) =
              Resolution (Winner s2) "SCARE"
scareTest e s1 s2       = Resolution Draw          "SCARE"
```

Listing 21
SCARE Test

8.4 Sūtra-Conflict Assessment and Resolution Extension (SCARE)

The maxim पूर्वपरनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानाम् उत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः, introduces four methods of conflict resolution as explained in Section 8.3. In tradition, these methods expect that *saṃjñā*s have already been applied by resorting to either *kāryakālapakṣa* or *yathoddeśapakṣa*. However, computation differs from tradition, in that the assumptions made in traditional approach need to be explicitly executed in computation. In a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī, methods introduced by the maxim will work provided that all *saṃjñā*s have already applied. Somehow *saṃjñā*s need to apply before any of the methods in the maxim have applied. SCARE prioritizes *saṃjñā sūtra*s higher than any other type of *sūtra*. When any other type of *sūtra* competes with a *saṃjñā sūtra*, the latter wins. In case *saṃjñā sūtra*s compete, all of them will eventually get a chance to apply. Since SCARE is required to differentiate between *saṃjñā* and non-*saṃjñā* sūtras, the **Sutra** datatype has an explicit value constructor called **Samjnyaa**. Listing 21 shows the implementation of **scareTest**.

8.5 Determination of *apavāda sūtra*s

An *apavāda* relationship holds between a pair of *sūtra*s when the general provision of one *sūtra* is overridden by the special provision of another *sūtra*. Arbitrary pairs of *sūtra*s may not always have an *apavāda* relation between them. There has to be a reason for an *apavāda* relationship to exist between two *sūtra*s. The *niṣedha* and *niyama sūtra*s suggest something which can

run counter to what other *sūtra*s say. Therefore they are called *apavāda*s of other *sūtra*s.

A *niṣedha sūtra*, say **न विभक्तौ तुस्माः** (A. 1.3.4), is considered an *apavāda* of the general one such as **हल् अन्त्यम्** (A. 1.3.3). A *niṣedha sūtra* directly advises against taking an action suggested by another *sūtra*.[12] Another type of rule, the *niyama sūtra*, does the work of regulating some operation laid down by another rule.[13] A *niyama sūtra* such as **धातोः तन्निमित्तस्य एव** (A. 6.1.80) is considered an *apavāda* of a more general rule such as **वान्तो यि प्रत्यये** (A. 6.1.79).

Wherever an *apavāda* relationship holds between two *sūtra*s, it is static and unidirectional. Also, there can be *apavāda*s of *apavāda*s. Since the corpus of Pāṇini's rules is well known, the *apavāda* relationships can be worked out manually to build a mapping of the *apavāda*s. Thus, A. 1.3.4 is considered an *apavāda* of A. 1.3.3 and A. 6.1.80 is considered an *apavāda* of A. 6.1.79.

Listing 22 shows how *apavāda*s are setup. The datatype **Apawaada** records a main *sūtra* and notes all the *apavāda*s of the main *sūtra*. **allApawaadas** is a list of **Apawaada**s which is converted into a map **apawaadaMap** for faster access. Function **isApawaada** is used to check if *sūtra* s1 is an *apavāda* of *sūtra* s2. The **apawaada** function in Listing 20 uses the **isApawaada** function to return an *apavāda* or returns a draw if *apavāda* relationship does not exist between *sūtra*s.

9 Visibility

The canonical term *siddha* means that the output from one *sūtra* A is visible and can possibly trigger another *sūtra* B. The effects of A are visible to B. The *sūtra*s in the *tripādī* are not *siddha* in the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*. This means that even if *sūtra*s from the *tripādī* have applied in a derivation, the results produced are not visible to the *sūtra*s in the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*. In other words, the **State** produced by certain *sūtra*s, cannot trigger *sūtra*s in a specific region of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Listing 23 shows the visibility as dictated by **पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्** (A. 8.2.1). The entire derivation thus far is captured as a **Trace** containing frames *Fn* thru *F1*. The problem is this: Given a *sūtra*, say *Si*, the latest **Frame** *Fj* is

[12] पूर्वसूत्रकार्यनिषेधकसूत्रं निषेधसूत्रम् ।

[13] सिद्धे सति आरभ्यमाणो विधिः नियमाय कल्पते ।

```haskell
data Apawaada = Apawaada { apwOf :: SutraNumber
                         , apwApawaadas :: [SutraNumber]
                         }

allApawaadas = [Apawaada (SutraNumber 1 3 3)
                         [(SutraNumber 1 3 4)]
               ]

apawaadaMap = M.fromList [(apwOf a, apwApawaadas a)
                         | a <- allApawaadas]

-- | Is sutra s1 an apawaaad of s2?
isApawaada :: SutraNumber -> SutraNumber -> Bool
isApawaada s1 s2 = case M.lookup s2 apawaadaMap of
                     Just sns -> s1 `elem` sns
                     _        -> False
```

Listing 22
Setting up apavāda*s*

```
visibleFrame :: Sutra -> Trace -> Maybe TheFrame
visibleFrame _ [] = Nothing
visibleFrame s (f@(Frame _ (Just s1) _ _):fs) =
                        if curr < s8_2_1
                        then if top < s8_2_1
                               then Just f
                               else visibleFrame s fs
                        else if top > curr
                               then visibleFrame s fs
                               else Just f
  where  s8_2_1 = SutraNumber 8 2 1
         curr   = number s
         top    = number s1
```

Listing 23
Visibility

required such that *Fj* contains *sūtra Sk* whose output **State** is visible to *Si*. If *Si* is from the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*, frames from the head of the **Trace** are skipped as long as they contain *sūtra*s from *tripādī*. Such frames will be *asiddha* for *Si*. If, however, *Si* is from *tripādī*, frames from the trace are skipped so long as the *sūtra* in the frame has a number higher than *Si*. This is because in the *tripādī* latter *sūtra*s are *asiddha* to prior ones. The foregoing logic is implemented in function **visibleFrame**.

10 Conclusion and Future Work

A computational Aṣṭādhyāyī can potentially become a good pedagogical resource to teach grammatical aspects of Sanskrit. As a building block, a computational Aṣṭādhyāyī can be used to build other systems like morphological analyzers and dependency parsers.

From an implementation perspective, resorting to *kāryakālapakṣa* allows *paribhāṣā* and *adhikāra sūtra*s to be merged into the logic of *vidhi* or *niyama sūtra*s. While displaying the derivation after it is completed, the concerned *vidhi* and *niyama sūtra*s can always enlist numbers of the *paribhāṣā* and *adhikāra sūtra*s which they have united with. This allows for faster de-

velopment of the computational Aṣṭādhyāyī without having to implement seemingly trivial *sūtra*s in the paradigm used to implement *sūtra*s as noted in Section 4.2.

It could be suboptimal to represent all grammatical entities as **Component**s having **Warna**s and **Tag**s. To a certain extent, it increases the number of **Tag**s applied to **Component**s. For example, since *pratyaya*s are expressed as a **Component**s, a 'pratyaya' **Tag** has to be applied. Functional languages have extremely powerful type systems. To leverage the type system, **Component**s can be implemented as typed grammatical entities. For instance, a **Component** can have more value constructors for **Upasarga**, **Dhaatu** and **Pratyaya**, to name a few.

Abstracting the input as *vivakṣā* does away with the need of applying heuristics to determine what needs to be derived. However, our choice of representing **Wiwakshaa** as a simple list of **Tag**s is an oversimplification. The *vivakṣā* could be a complex psycholinguistic artifact which may contain elements such as the *kāraka*s, hints for using specific *dhātu*s, argument structure of *dhātu* etc. It may have a sophisticated data structure. A thorough study of semantic aspects of Aṣṭādhyāyī is necessary to know what *vivakṣā* may look like in its entirety.

In the **बाधबीजप्रकरणम्**, Kielhorn (1985) discusses many variations under each of the four methods introduced in the *para-nitya paribhāṣā*. Those variations should be plugged into the framework discussed in Section 8. Yet, there may be instances of derivations where the maxim **पूर्वपरनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानाम् उत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः** may not be honoured and a better way is required to resolve *sūtra* conflicts in totatality. Effects such as *vipratiṣedha* and *pūrvavipratiṣedha* also need to be included in the SCARE.

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PAIAS: *Pāṇini Aṣṭādhyāyī* Interpreter As a Service

Sarada Susarla, Tilak M. Rao *and* Sai Susarla

Abstract: It is widely believed that *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the most accurate grammar and word-generation scheme for a natural language there is. Several researchers attempted to validate this hypothesis by analyzing *Aṣṭādhyāyī's sūtra* system from a computational / algorithmic angle. Many have attempted to emulate *Aṣṭādhyāyī's* word generation scheme. However, prior work has succeeded in taking only small subsets of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pertaining to specific constructs and manually coding their logic for linguistic analysis.

However, there is another school of thought that *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself (along with its associated corrective texts) constitutes a complete, unified, self-describing solution for word generation (*kṛt*, *taddhita*), compounding (*samāsa*) and conjugation (*sandhi*). In this paper, we describe our ongoing effort to directly compile and interpret *Aṣṭādhyāyī's sūtra* corpus (with its associated data sets) to automate its *prakṛti-pratyaya*-based word transformation methodology, leaving out *kārakas*. We have created a custom machine-interpretable language in JSON for *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, a Python-based compiler to automatically convert *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* into that language, and an interpreter to reproduce *Aṣṭādhyāyī's prakriyā* for term definitions, meta-rules and *vidhis*. Such an interpreter has great value in analyzing the generative capability of *Pāṇinian* grammar, assessing its completeness or anomalies and the contributions of various commentaries to the original methodology. We avoid manually supplying any data derivable directly from *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Unlike existing work that aimed at fast interpretation of rules, we focus initially on fidelity to *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

We have started with a well-annotated online *Aṣṭādhyāyī* resource. We are able to automatically enumerate the character sequences denoted by *saṃj nās* defined in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and determine which *paribhāṣā* sūtras apply to which *vidhi sūtras*. We are in the process of developing a generic *rūpa-siddhi* engine starting from a *prakṛti-pratyaya*

sequence. Our service named *PAIAS*[1] provides programmatic access to *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, its data sets and their interpretation via open RESTful API for third-party tool development.

1 Introduction

There is growing interest and activity in applying computing technology to unearth the knowledge content of India's heritage literature, especially in Saṃskṛt language. This has led to several research efforts to produce analysis tools for Saṃskṛt language content at various levels - text, syntax, semantics and meaning Goyal, Huet, et al. (2012), Oilver Hellwig (2009), Huet (2002), Kulkarni (2016), and Kumar (2012). The word-generating flexibility and modular nature of the Saṃskṛt grammar makes it at once both simpler and difficult to produce a comprehensive dictionary for the language: simpler because it allows auto-generation of numerous variants of words, and difficult because unbounded nature of Saṃskṛt vocabulary makes a comprehensive static dictionary impractical. Yet, a dictionary is essential for linguistic analysis of Saṃskṛt documents. *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* comes to the rescue for Saṃskṛt linguistic analysis by offering a procedural basis for word generation and compounding to produce a dynamic, semi-automated dictionary. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is considered a monumental work in terms of its ability to codify the conventions governing the usage of a natural language into precise, self-contained generative rules. Ever since the advent of computing, researchers have been trying to automate the rule engine of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to realize its potential. However, due to the sheer size of the rule corpus and its complexity, to date, only specific subsets of its rule base have been digested manually to produce word-generation tools pertaining to specific grammar constructs Goyal, Huet, et al. (2012), Krishna and Goyal (2015), Patel and Katuri (2016), and Scharf and Hyman (2009).

However, this approach limits the tools' coverage of numerous word forms and hence their usefulness for syntax analysis of the vast Saṃskṛt corpus. Interpreting *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* as separate subsets is complex and unnatural due to intricate interdependencies among rules and their triggering conditions. *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* has a more modular, unified mechanism (*prakriyā*)[2] for word generation via rules for joining *prakṛti* (stems) with

[1] Pronounced like '*payas*' meaning milk.

[2] In this paper, we use the IAST convention for Sanskrit words.

numerous pratyayas based on the word sense required. Most aspects of the joining mechanism are common across conjugation (*sandhi*), compounding (*samāsa*) and new word derivation (e.g., *kṛt* and *taddhita* forms). However, commentaries such as S*iddhānta Kaumudī* (SK) have arranged the rules for the purpose of human understanding of specific grammatical constructs. For the purpose of computational tools, we believe the direct interpretation of *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* offers a more natural and automatable approach than SK-based approaches.

With this view, we have taken up the problem of relying solely on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its associated *sūtras* for deriving all Saṃskṛt grammatical operations of word transformation (or *rūpa-siddhi*). Our approach is to compile the *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra* text into executable rules automatically (incorporating interpretations made by commentaries), and to minimize the manual coding work to be done per *sūtra*. We have built a web-based service called PAIAS with a RESTful API for programmatic access to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* engine (i.e., the *sūtra* corpus and its associated data sets) and to enable its execution for word transformation and other purposes. We adopted a service-oriented architecture to cleanly isolate functionality from end-user presentation, so numerous tools and presentation interfaces can evolve for Saṃskṛt grammar employing appropriate programming languages.

In this paper, we describe our ongoing work and its approach, and the specific results obtained so far. In section 2, we set the context by contrasting our approach to relevant earlier work. In section 3, we give an overview of the project's goals and guiding design principles. In section 4, we describe how we prepared the source *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for use in PAIAS. In section 5, we explain our methodology for *Aṣṭādhyāyī* interpretation including the high-level workflow, *sūtra* compilation scheme and rule interpreter. In section 6, we outline how PAIAS enumerates several entity sets referred throughout *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In section 7.3, we describe our methodology to interpret *paribhāṣā sūtras*. In section 8, we provide details of our implementation and its status. In section 9, we illustrate the operation of the interpreter by showing how our engine automatically expands *pratyāhāras*. Finally we conclude and outline future work in Section 10.

2 Related Work

Aṣṭādhyāyī and its interpretation for Saṃskṛt grammatical analysis and word synthesis has been studied extensively Goyal, Huet, et al. (2012), Goyal, Kulkarni, and Behera (2008), Krishna and Goyal (2015), Patel and Katuri (2016), Satuluri and Kulkarni (2013), Scharf and Hyman (2009), and Subbanna and Varakhedi (2010). For the purpose of this paper, we assume the reader is familiar with *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its various concepts relevant to computational modeling. For a good overview of those concepts, the reader is referred to earlier publications Goyal, Kulkarni, and Behera (2008) and Petersen and Oliver Hellwig (2016). In their *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.0 project, Petersen and Oliver Hellwig (2016) have developed a richly annotated electronic representation of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* that makes it amenable to research and machine-processing. We have achieved a similar objective via manual splitting of sandhis and word-separation within compounds, and by developing a custom *vibhakti* analyzer for detecting word recurrence across *vibhakti* and *vacana* variations.

Petersen and Soubusta (2013) have developed a digital edition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* They have created a relational database schema and web-interface to support custom views and sophisticated queries. We opted for a hierarchical key-value structure (JSON) to represent *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as it enables a more natural navigational exploration of the text unlike a relational model. We feel that the size of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is small enough to fit in DRAM of modern computers making efficiency benefits of the relational model less relevant. We used a document database (MongoDB) due to the schema flexibility and extensibility it offers along with powerful navigational queries. Scharf (2016) developed perhaps the most comprehensive formalization to date of Pāṇini's grammar system including the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in XML format with the express purpose of assisting the development of automated interpreters. In his formalization, the rules are manually encoded in a pre-interpreted form via spelling out the conditions, contexts, and actions of each rule. In contrast, our attempt is to derive those from the rule's text itself. Scharf's encoded rule information enables validation of our rule interpretation. We could also leverage its other databases that form part of Pāṇini's grammar ecosystem.

The first step to interpret the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is to understand the terms and metarules that *Pāṇini* defines in the text itself. T. Ajotikar, A. Ajotikar, and Scharf (2015) explains some of *Pāṇini's* techniques that an interpreter

needs to incorporate, and illustrated how Scharf (2016) captures them. Unlike earlier efforts at processing *Aṣṭādhyāyī* that have manually enumerated the terms and their definitions including pratyāhāras Mishra (2008), our approach is to extract them from the text itself automatically.

Several earlier efforts attempted to highlight and emulate various techniques used in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for specific grammatical purposes. They typically select a particular subset of *Aṣṭādhyāyī's* engine and code its semantics manually to reproduce a specific *prakriyā*. For brevity, we only discuss the most recent work that comes close to ours. Krishna and Goyal (2015) have built an object-oriented class hierarchy to mimic the inheritance structure of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules. They have demonstrated this approach for generating derivative nouns. Our goal and hence approach differ in two ways, namely, to interpret *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* faithfully as opposed to achieving specific noun and verb forms, and to mechanize the process of converting *sūtras* into executable code to the extent possible. However, the learnings and insights from earlier work on interpreting *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Mishra (2008) will apply to our work as well, and hence can be incorporated into our engine.

Patel and Katuri (2016) have built a *subanta* generator that imitates the method given by *siddhānta kaumudī*. Their unique contribution is a way to order the *sūtras* for more efficient interpretation. However, they also encode the semantic meaning of individual *sūtras* manually, and do not suggest a method to mechanize *sūtra* interpretation from its text directly. Satuluri and Kulkarni (2013) have attempted to generate *samāsa* compounds by emulating the relevant subset of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Subbanna and Varakhedi (2010) have emulated the exception model used in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. For this, they have emulated a small subset of its *sūtras* relevant to that aspect.

3 Design Goals and Scope

The objective of our project is to develop a working interpreter for *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* that emulates its methodology faithfully by mechanizing the interpretation of *sūtra* text as much as possible. To guide our design, we set the following principles:

Fidelity: We focus on reproducing the *prakriyā* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra* corpus (by taking the semantic adjustments from relevant *vyākhyānas* as appropriate). We do not focus on optimizing the interpretation engine for speedy execution as of now.

Reuse: We would like to provide a powerful query interface to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its data sets to enable sophisticated analytics and learning aids.

Extensibility: We would also like to promote the development of an extensible and interoperable framework for *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by providing a programmatic interface to its interpreter engine. This framework should support plugging in functionality developed by third parties in multiple programming languages and methodologies.

The specific contributions of this paper include

- A programmatic interface to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with a powerful query language for sophisticated search,
- A mechanism to automatically extract definitions of *saṃj nās* (both statically and dynamically defined) by interpreting their *sūtra* text,
- A machine-processable language and its interpreter to transform the bulk of *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra* text into executable code, and a mechanism of interpretation that tracks word transformation state persistently, and
- An extensible framework that supports interoperability among techniques for *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra* interpretation developed by multiple researchers to accelerate tool development.

4 Preparing the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for machine-processing

We have started with a well-annotated and curated online resource for *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Sarada Susarla and Sai Susarla (2012) available as a spreadsheet due to its amenability to augmentation and scripted manipulation. Table 1 outlines its schema. The spreadsheet assigns each *sūtra* a canonical ID string in the format APSSS (e.g., 11076 to denote the 76th *sūtra* in 1st *pāda* of 1st *adhyāya*). To enable machine-processing, each *sūtra* is provided with its words split by *sandhi* and the individual words in a *samāsa* separated by hyphens and tagged with simple morphological attributes such as type (*subanta*, *tiṅanta* or *avyaya*), *vibhakti* and *vacana* to enable auto-extraction. The *adhikāra sūtras* are also explicitly tagged with their influence given as

a *sūtra* range. For each *sūtra*, the *padas* that are inherited from earlier *sūtras* through *anuvṛtti* are listed along with their source *sūtra* id and *vibhakti* modification in the *anuvṛtta* form if any.

We auto-convert this spreadsheet into a JSON JSON (2000) dictionary and use it as the basis for the PAIAS service. Table 2 shows an example JSON description of sūtra 1.2.10 with all the abovementioned features illustrated.

```
{
``Adhyaaya" : ``Adhyaaya # adhyAyaH",
``Paada" : ``Paada # pAdaH",
``sutra_num" : ``sutra_num sU. saM.",
``sutra_krama" : ``sutra_krama sU. kra. saM",
``Akaaraadi_krama" : ``Akaaraadi_krama akArAdi kra. saM",
``Kaumudi_krama" : ``Kaumudi_krama kaumudI kra. saM",
``sutra_id" : ``sutra_id pUrNa sU. saM.",
``sutra_type" : ``sutra_type sutralakShaNam",
``Term" : ``Term saMj~nA",
``Metarule" : ``Metarule paribhAShA",
``Special_case" : ``Special_case atideshaH",
``Influence" : ``Influence adhikAraH",
``Commentary" : ``Commentary vyAkhyAnam",
``sutra_text" : ``sutra_text sutram",
``PadacCheda" : ``PadacCheda padchChedaH",
``SamasacCheda" : ``SamasacCheda samAsachChedaH",
``Anuvrtti" : ``Anuvrtti pada sutra #
                anuvRRitti-padam sutra-sa~NkhyA",
``PadacCheda_notes" : ``PadacCheda_notes"
}
```

Table 1
Aṣṭādhyāyī Database Schema

```
``12010" : {
``Adhyaaya" : 1,
``Paada" : 2, ``sutra_num" : 10,
``sutra_krama" : 12010, ``Akaaraadi_krama" : 3913,
``Kaumudi_krama" : 2613,
``sutra_id" : "1.2.10",
``sutra_type" : [ ``atideshaH" ], ``Commentary" : ``...",
``sutra_text" : ``halantAchcha |",
``PadacCheda" : [
   { ``pada" : ``halantAt", ``pada_split" : ``hal-antAt",
        ``type" : ``subanta", ``vachana" : 1,
        ``vibhakti" : 5 },
   { ``pada" : ``cha", ``type" : ``avyaya",
             ``vachana" : 0, ``vibhakti" : 0 }
  ],
``Anuvrtti" : [
   { ``sutra": 12005, ``padas": [``kit"] },
   { ``sutra": 12008, ``padas": [``san"] },
   { ``sutra": 12009, ``padas": [``ikaH", ``jhal"] }
  ]
}
```

Table 2
Aṣṭādhyāyī Database Schema

5 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Interpreter: High-level Workflow

The input to our *Aṣṭādhyāyī* engine is a sequence of tagged lexemes that we call *pada* descriptions or *pada_desc*s, and its output is one or more alternate sequences of tagged lexemes denoting possible word transformations. A pada_desc is a dictionary of tag-value pairs in JSON format. The tag values can be user-supplied (in case of human-assisted analysis), system-inferred or user-endorsed. Table 2 shows a *sūtra* description where the *padacCheda* section represents the *sūtra* as a sequence of pada_descs. An example tag is a *pada* 'type' such as *subanta*, *tiṅanta*, *nipāta*, *avyaya, pratyaya*, *saṃj nā* etc. Each application of an *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra*, referred to in this paper as *'prakriyā'*, modifies the input pada_desc sequence by adding/editing/removing pada_descs to denote word-splitting, morphing or merging operations based on the semantics of the *sūtra*.

For instance, when applying the *saṃj nā sūtra* for the *saṃj nā* '*it*', we tag a given input word with a tag called '*it_varnas*' whose value is the offset of the '*it*' *varṇas* found in the word. Such tags can also be used to store intermediary states of grammar transformations for reference by subsequent operations. This persistent tracking of the transformation state of words offers the power required for interpreting *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* faithfully. The need for such facility to carry over internal state from one *sūtra* to another has been identified by Patel and Katuri (2016) for their *subanta* generator tool.

In order to transform tagged lexemes, the first step is to identify the occurrence of pre-determined patterns in input lexemes which are denoted by explicit terms (*saṃj nās*) in *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras*. Instead of handcoding those pattern definitions into the interpreter, our approach is to automatically extract them from the *sūtras* themselves and interpret them at *prakriyā* time. To accomplish this, we have devised a machine-processable representation scheme for various *sūtras*, which we elucidate in Section 6. Likewise, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* provides a set of 23 *paribhāṣā sūtras* or metarules (augmented with approx. 100 more metarules in *paribhāṣendu-śekhara* treatise). The purpose of these metarules is to modify the operation of the *vidhi sūtras*. In Section 7.3, we describe how we manually encode metarules as (condition, action) pairs such that we can mechanically determine which *paribhāṣās* apply to a given *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra*. Since *paribhāṣās* operate on *vidhi sūtra* texts, their applicability can be pre-determined *a priori* instead of at *prakriyā* time.

At a high-level, our approach to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* interpretation involves the following manual steps:

- Splitting of *sandhis* and *samāsa* in the *sūtra* text to facilitate detection of word recurrences.
- Enumerating the *anuvṛtta padas* of each *sūtra* (from earlier *sūtras*).
- Coding of each of the 23 *paribhāṣā sūtras* into condition-action pairs.
- Preparation of a *vibhakti* suffix table that covers *subantas* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for use in morphological analysis of *sūtra* words.
- Coding of custom functions to interpret the meaning of some technical words used in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but not defined therein (e.g., *adarśanam*, *ādiḥ*, *antyam*, etc.).
- Adding special case interpretation of the *sūtra* '*halantyam*' as '*hali antyam*' to break the cyclic dependency for *pratyāhāra* generation (as explained in Section 9).

In the next section, we outline the preprocessing steps needed for *Aṣṭādhyāyī* interpretation.

5.1 Preparing the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Interpreter

To prepare the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* engine for rule interpretation, we automatically preprocess the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* database as follows.

1. We first perform morphological analysis of each word of every *sūtra* to extract its *prātipadikam*. This is required to identify recurrence of a word in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* regardless of *vibhakti* and *vacana* variations. We describe this step in Section 5.2.

2. For each *sūtra*, we generate a canonical *sūtra* text that we refer to as its '*mahāvākya*' as follows. We expand the *sūtra's* text to include all *anuvṛtta-padas* inherited from earlier *sūtras*. We represent a *mahāvākya* as a list of *pada* descriptions, each with its morphological analysis output.

3. We auto-extract the definitions of all terms (*saṃj nās*) used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. These come in different forms and need to be handled differently. We describe this step in Section 6.

4. We compile *saṃj nā* and *vidhi sūtras* into rules to be interpreted at *prakriyā* time.

5. We determine the *vidhi sūtras* where each of the *paribhāṣā sūtras* apply, by checking their preconditions. Then we modify the *vidhi sūtras.*

6. Finally, we create an optimized condition hierarchy for rule-checking by factoring the preconditions for all the *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* into a decision tree. This step is still work in progress and is out of the scope of this paper.

5.2 Morphological Analysis of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Words

To detect recurrences of a *sūtra* word at different locations in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (e.g. through *anuvṛtti* or embedded references) despite their *vibhakti* and *vacana* variations, we need the *prātipadikam* of each word. Since most *Aṣṭādhyāyī* words are *subantas* specific to the treatise and not found in typical Saṃskṛt dictionaries, we developed a simple suffix-based *vibhakti* analyzer for this purpose. Since our *Aṣṭādhyāyī* spreadsheet already has words tagged by their *vibhakti* and *vacana*, our *vibhakti* analyzer takes them as hints and finds possible matches in predefined *vibhakti* tables based on various common word-endings. Once a match is found, it emits an analysis that includes possible alternative *prātipadikas* along with their *liṅga* and word-ending. We store the *subanta* analysis for each *Aṣṭādhyāyī* word and store it in the *padacCheda* section of the *sūtra* JSON entry for ready reference.

With this technique, we are able to determine the *prātipadikam* accurately for all the technical terms used in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and use it for detecting word recurrences. Though the tool generated multiple options for *liṅga*, that ambiguity doesn't hurt for our purpose of detecting word recurrence since the *prātipadikam* is unique.

Then we extract term (*saṃj nā*) definitions from the *saṃj nā sūtras* as described in Section 6.

6 Extracting Saṃjñā Definitions from *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Aṣṭādhyāyī's word transformation method consists of detecting pre-defined patterns denoted by *saṃj nās* or terms and performing associated transformations. These terms denote either a set of explicitly enumerated member elements or conditional expressions to be dynamically checked at *prakriyā*

time. Hence during preprocessing stage, we create a term definition database where each term is defined as a list of member elements or as a compiled rule. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself defines four types of terms (in increasing order of extraction complexity):

1. Terms defined in an *adhikāra* cum *saṃj nā sūtra* denoting a set of elements enumerated explicitly in subsequent *vidhi sūtras* (e.g., *pratyaya*, *taddhita*, *nipāta*). The term itself becomes an *anuvṛtta pada* in all *vidhi sūtras* in its *adhikāra*. Moreover, those *sūtras* refer to both the term and its member elements in *prathamā vibhakti*. Hence, to extract the definition, we pick *prathamā vibhakti* terms excluding (a) terms defined in *saṃj nā sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and (b) a manually prohibited list of words meant to convey colloquial meaning. With this method, we were able to successfully extract all the *pratyayas*, *taddhitas*, *nipātas*, *samāsas* from *Aṣṭādhyāyī* automatically, and verify their authenticity with those identified in Dikshita (2010).

2. Terms with explicit name defined in *saṃj nā sūtras* denoting a set of elements enumerated explicitly (e.g., *vṛddhi*). In this case, the elements are listed in *prathamā vibhakti* and hence can be extracted directly from the *sūtra*.

3. Terms with an explicit name defined in *saṃj nā sūtras*, and denoting a condition to be computed at *prayoga* time (e.g., '*it*').

4. Terms whose name (*saṃj nā*) and its members (*saṃj ni*) are both dynamically computed quantities (e.g., *pratyāhāras* such as '*ac*' and '*hal*')

The last two variants require interpreting the *sūtra* text in different ways as described in Section 7. During *Aṣṭādhyāyī prakriyā*, when an input pada_desc needs to be checked for match with a *saṃj nā*, we have two options. If the *saṃj nā* is represented as a list of member elements, then all *padas* in the pada_desc that appear as members of a list will be annotated with the *saṃj nā* name. For instance, when checking the word '*rāma*' against '*guṇa*' *saṃj nā*, the pada_desc of the '*rāma*' word will be augmented with a property named '*guṇa*' whose value is the index of the last '*a*' alphabet in the '*rāma*' word, i.e, 3.

7 Compiling Rules from sūtras

In this section, we describe a mechanism we have devised for transforming *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* into machine-interpretable rules. This is a core contribution of our work as it enables direct interpretation of *sūtras*. We have implemented this mechanism for *saṃj nā* and *paribhāṣā sūtras* first because (i) they form a crucial prerequisite to the rest of the engine, and (ii) because they have not been studied by earlier work as systematically as the interpretation of *vidhi sūtras*. Moreover *Aṣṭādhyāyī's paribhāṣā sūtras* state the mechanism for interpreting *vidhi sūtras* explicitly. Our *vidhi sūtra* interpretation is a work in progress and will not be discussed further.

Our *sūtra* interpretation scheme is based on some grammatical conventions we have observed in the *sūtra* text. First, the bulk of *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras* employ *subanta padas* and *avyayas*, and use *tiṅanta padas* sparingly. Second, *saptamī vibhakti* is used to indicate the context/condition in which a *sūtra* applies. Third, each *sūtra* word either denotes a *saṃj nā* (or its negation), a predefined function (e.g. *ādiḥ*, *antyam*, etc), a set of terms or characters (e.g., *cuṭū*), or joining *avyayas* (e.g., *saha*, *ca*, vā etc.). Finally, whenever multiple words of the same *vibhakti* occur, one of them is a *viśeṣya* and others are its viśeṣaṇa*s*.

Hence we compile each *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra* into a hierarchical expression via specially defined operators, called a rule. The rule is either atomic, i.e., a pada_desc describing a *sūtra* word, or composite, coded as a JSON list. If pada_desc, it is interpreted via a special operator called INTERPRET described below. If list, its first element is a predefined operator, and the rest are its arguments. The arguments can in turn be pada_descs or sub-rules.

7.1 Special Operators

This section describes several special operators that we have defined to form rules.

INTERPRET: This operator interprets a single *sūtra* word on the input tagged lexemes. It checks whether the pattern it denotes (e.g., '*it*') applies to any of the input lexemes (e.g., '*hal*'). If the *sūtra* word is a *saṃj nā* (e.g., '*it*'), the interpreter interprets its rule recursively and tags the lexemes with the result (e.g., locations of '*it*' *varṇas).* If the *sūtra* word is one of a predefined set of words with special meaning, the interpreter invokes its detector function. For instance, *ādiḥ* of the

lexeme '*hal*' is '*h*'. Otherwise, the *sūtra* word denotes a set of terms or characters, in which case the interpreter returns whether the lexeme is a member of that set. For instance, if the *sūtra* word 'cuṭū' is interpreted against input lexeme '*c*', it returns True because *cuṭū* denotes consonants in the *ca-varga* and *ṭa-varga*, i.e., {*ca, cha, ja, jha, na, ṭa, ṭha, a, ḍha, ṇa*}.
If the *sūtra* word is a negation such as *ataddhita* or *apratyayaḥ*, INTERPRET applies the negation before returning the result.

The following conjunct operators are used to compose larger rules:

PIPE: This operator takes a sequence of rules and invokes them by feeding the output of a rule invocation as input to the subsequent rule. The pipe exits when one of the stages return empty, and returns the output of the last rule. This is used to process all *sūtra padas* of the same *vibhakti*. For instance, when interpreting the pipe ['PIPE', '*ādiḥ*', '*cuṭū*'] against the lexeme '*hal*', the output of '*ādiḥ*' namely '*h*' is compared against 'cuṭū' membership, which returns None.

IF: This operator takes a list of rules. If all of them evaluate to something other than None, it returns the input tagged lexeme set as is, otherwise None. This is used to encapsulate *saptamī vibhakti padas* that indicate the enabling context for a *sūtra* to apply (e.g., *upadeśe*). It is also used to encapsulate a *ṣaṣṭhī vibhakti padam* in a *saṃj nā sūtra* which indicates the *saṃj ni* (definition of a *saṃj nā*).

PAIR: This operator represents a pair of elements mentioned in a *sūtra* along with the *avyaya* '*sa*ha'. The *prathamā vibhakti pada* sequence describes the first element and the tṛtīyā *vibhakti pada* sequence denotes the last element. An example is shown in Figure 3 for the *sūtra* '*ādirantyena sahetā*'. If the pair denotes a sequence, then it describes the first and last elements.

GEN_SAMJNA: This operator handles a *saṃj nā* defined as a computed expression such as '*ak*', '*hal*', '*sup*' etc. It matches the input tagged lexeme against the rule for the *saṃj nā*. Upon a match, it invokes the rule for the '*saṃj ni*' by passing the *saṃj nā* as a parameter. For instance, the *sūtra* '*ādirantyena sahetā*' gets compiled into the following rule:

- [GEN_SAMJNA, {'*saṃj ni*' : None, '*saṃj nā*' : [PAIR, '*ādiḥ*', [PIPE, '*antyam*', '*it*']] }]

Since there is no explicit *saṃj ni* in this *sūtra*, we apply a special *pratyāhāra* expander function to generate the character sequence from the input pair. Figure 3 shows the hierarchical representation of the *sūtra* text that leads to the above rule.

PROHIBIT: This function prohibits applying a *sūtra* under a matched sub-condition. It is not the same as negation of a match condition. This is used to process the *sūtra* word '*na*' in a *sūtra*. For instance, when processing the '*it*' *saṃj nā sūtra* '*na vibhaktau tusmāh*', as shown in Figure 1, this function removes any '*it*' *varṇa* tagging done while processing its sub-conditions denoted by the words '*hal*', '*antyam*' and '*tusmāh*'.

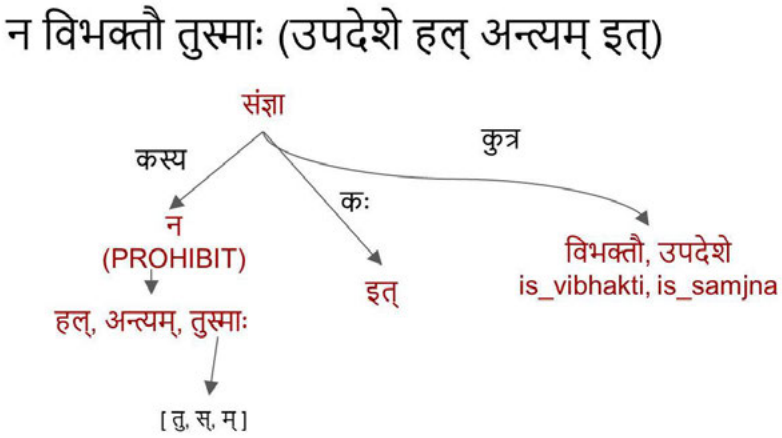

Figure 1
Rule Hierarchy for sūtra 'na vibhaktau tusmāh'.

7.2 Compiling Rules from *Saṃj nā sūtras*

Saṃj nā sūtras come in two flavors:

1. those that explicitly list a term and its definition in *prathamā vibhakti* with some other conditions e.g., *(upadeśe pratyayasya ādiḥ it)* cuṭū, and

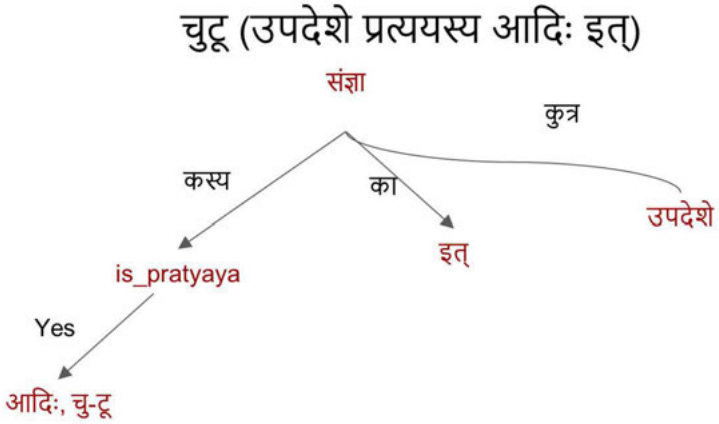

Figure 2
Rule Hierarchy for sūtra 'cuṭū'.

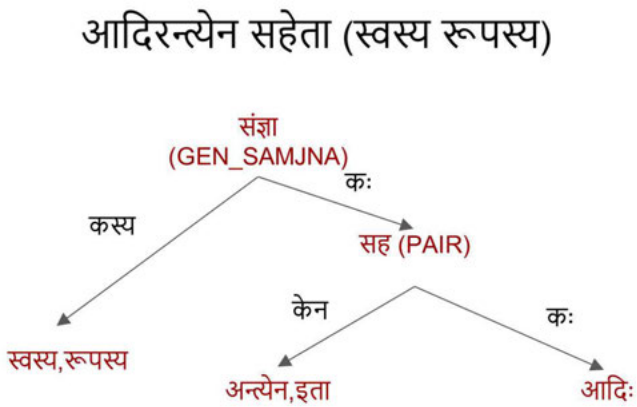

Figure 3
Rule Hierarchy for sūtra 'ādirantyena sahetā'.

2. those that describe the *saṃj nā* name as a computed expression and its denoted items in *ṣaṣṭhīi vibhakti*, e.g., *ādiḥ antyena itā saha* (*svasya rūpasya*).

In the above representation of the *sūtra* texts, we denote words that are inherited by *anuvṛtti* in parentheses.

Figure 2 shows a tree representation for a *sūtra* of the first flavor. A *saṃj nā sūtra* has three components: the term denoted by the edge labeled '*kA*', its definition denoted by '*kasya*', and the context in which the definition applies, denoted by '*kutra*'. *saptamī vibhakti padas* in the *sūtra* denote the context. The *saṃj nā* term, if explicitly present in the *sūtra* will be in *prathamā vibhakti* with its defining words also in *prathamā*. In that case, an executable version of the *sūtra* is a representation of the tree as a hierarchical list. All words in the same *vibhakti* in the *sūtra* have *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya* relation.

Figure 3 shows the tree representation for a *sūtra* of the second flavor. In this, the *ṣaṣṭhī vibhakti* word should be interpreted as a filter or qualifier for the *prathamā vibhakti* words, not as the *saṃj ni* (the definition). This *sūtra* also has *tṛtīyā vibhakti padas* joined by '*saha*', which can be interpreted as sequence generation operator. This operator takes *prathamā vibhakti padas* to indicate start of the sequence and *tṛtīyā vibhakti padas* to indicate end of sequence.

Figure 4 shows another *sūtra* of the second flavor, where the *saṃj nā* and *saṃj ni* definition are both parameterized. It has a *pada* that is a negation of *pratyaya*. Matching this *sūtra* requires a pre-defined function that checks if given word is a *pratyaya*. The *saṃj ni* in this case is the set of *savarṇas* of x.

7.3 Interpreting *Paribhāṣā sūtras*

A *paribhāṣā sūtra* describes how to interpret *sūtras* whose text matches a given condition. It can be represented as a set of actions guarded by conditions. It is applied to transform *vidhi sūtras* prior to compiling them into rules. The condition indicates the *sūtra* to which the *paribhāṣā* applies, expressed in terms of properties of the words in the *sūtra* text. The actions indicate how the matching *sūtra* should be transformed prior to interpretation.

For instance, consider the *sūtra* '*ādyantau ṭakitau*'. It describes that if a *vidhi sūtra* contains '*ṭit*' or '*kit*' *pada* (i.e., which has *varṇa* '*ṭ*' or '*k*' as

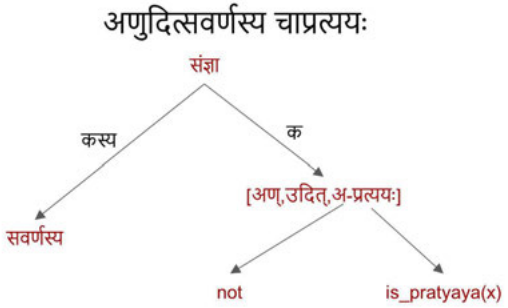

Figure 4
Rule Hierarchy for sūtra 'aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ'.

'*it*'), then the *sūtra* should be expanded to add extra words '*ṣaṣṭhyantasya ādiḥ*' or '*ṣaṣṭhyantasya antaḥ*' respectively to the *sūtra* text. We express this logic in our interpreter by coding the *paribhāṣā* as shown in Algorithm 1. Here, the condition is expressed as a rule-matching query with new operators SAMJNA, PRATYAYA, IT_ENDING, AND and NOT. It applies if a *vidhi sūtra* has an individual *pada* (in its *padacCheda*) which is not a *saṃj nā* or *pratyaya* word, but has 'ṭ' as its '*it*' *varṇa*. In that case, the *sūtra's* text must be augmented with two additional words '*ṣaṣṭhyantasya ādiḥ*'. That matching *vidhi sūtra* will then be compiled into a rule and then interpreted during word transformation *prakriyā time*. Similarly, if the *sūtra* word has '*k*' as its '*it*' *varṇa*, then the additional words will be '*ṣaṣṭhyantasya antaḥ*'.

As another example, the *paribhāṣā sūtra* '*midaco'ntyāt paraḥ*' has the following effect. If a *vidhi sūtra* has '*m*' as '*it*' (other than in a *pratyaya* or *saṃj nā* word), then the words '*ṣaṣṭhyantasya antyāt acaḥ paraḥ*' should be added to the *sūtra* text.

We manually define the condition action pairs for each of the 23 *paribhāṣā sūtras* as shown in Algorithm 1. At initiation time, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* engine checks these conditions on each of the *vidhi sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and transforms them accordingly prior to the rule compilation step.

In our current implementation, we have handcoded the `condition--action` pairs for about half of the *paribhāṣās* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and are able to successfully identify the *sūtras* to which they apply. This is because of our ability to identify the various listable *saṃj nās*, which are needed in formulating the conditions. However, processing of *vidhi sūtras* is future work.

Algorithm 1 Codifying *paribhāṣā sūtra* '*ādyantau ṭakitau*'.

```
paribhasa_defs = {
    ...
  str(11046) : [
   {
     ``cond" : {
         ``PadacCheda" :
            [AND, [[NOT, SAMJNA], [NOT, PRATYAYA],
              [IT_ENDING, { ``varna" : ``T" } ]]],
         ``sutra_type" : [``vidhiH"]
     },
    ``action" : [
       sutra_add_pada, { ``pada" : ``ShaShThyantasya",
            ``vibhakti" : 6, 'type' : ``subanta"},
       sutra_add_pada, { ``pada" : ``AdiH",
            ``vibhakti" : 1, `type' : ``subanta"}
     ]
   },
   {
     ``cond" : {
        ``PadacCheda" :
             [AND, [[NOT, SAMJNA], [NOT, PRATYAYA],
                    [IT_ENDING, { ``varna" : ``k"} ]]],
         ``sutra_type" : [``vidhiH"]
      },
      ``action" : [
          sutra_add_pada, { ``pada" : ``ShaShThyantasya",
               ``vibhakti" : 6, `type' : ``subanta"},
          sutra_add_pada, { ``pada" : ``antaH",
               ``vibhakti" : 1, `type' : "subanta"}
      ]
   }
 ],
 ...
}
```

8 Implementation

We have implemented PAIAS as a Python library and a Flask web microservice that provides RESTful API access to its functionality. The API-based interface provides a flexible, reliable and reusable foundation for open collaborative development of higher-level tools and user interfaces in multiple programming languages to accelerate research on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, while ensuring interoperability of those tools. The code is available on GitHub at `https://github.com/vedavaapi/ashtadhyayi` and will soon be available as a pip installable module.

The module comes bundled with the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* spreadsheet along with *dhātu pātha* and other associated data sets. Upon first invocation after a clean install, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* module computes *mahāvākyas* for all *sūtras*, compiles *sūtras* into machine-executable rules, builds *saṃj nā* definitions, extracts listable terms such as *Pratyayas* etc, and transforms *vidhi sūtras* by applying the matching *paribhāṣā sūtras*. It then stores all this derived state persistently in JSON format in a MongoDB database. This enables fast access to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* engine subsequently. Our current implementation does not handle the transformation and interpretation of *vidhi sūtras* yet.

Figure 2 shows an example Python script using the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* library. We have also devised a powerful query interface to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for sophisticated search. Figure 3 shows a Python script to find unique words that occur in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* grouped by *vibhakti*. The query condition can be specified as a JSON dictionary supporting a hierarchical specification of desired attributes as shown in this example.

Algorithm 2 Example usage of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Service.

```
from ashtadhyayi.utils import *
from ashtadhyayi import *

def a():
    return ashtadhyayi()

# Provide mahaavaakya of given sutra as individual words
def mahavakya(sutra_id):
    s = a().sutra(sutra_id)
    return s['mahavakya_padacCheda']

# Show all vidhi sutras where given paribhasha sutra
  applies
def paribhasha(sutra_id):
   p = get_paribhasha(sutra_id)
   if not p:
    print ''Error: Paribhasha description not found for",
      sutra_id
        return []
    matches = []
    for s_id in p.matching_sutras():
        s = a().sutra(s_id)
         out = dict((k, s[k]) for k in
         ('sutra_krama', 'sutra_text', 'sutra_type'))
        matches.append(out)
    return matches

# Return praatipadikam of given pada taking vibhakti and
  vachana hints.
def praatipadika(pada, vibhakti=1, vachana=1):
    pada = sanscript.transliterate(pada, sanscript.SLP1,
            sanscript.DEVANAGARI)
    return Subanta.analyze({'pada': pada,
           'vibhakti' : vibhakti,
           'vachana' : vachana})
```

Algorithm 3 Example script to extract unique words of various *vibhaktis* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

```
from ashtadhyayi.cmdline import *

a = ashtadhyayi()
myfilter = {'PadacCheda' : {'vibhakti' : 1 } }
result = {}
for v in [0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7]:
    myfilter['PadacCheda']['vibhakti'] = v
    v_padas = []
    for s_id in a.sutras(myfilter):
        s = a.sutra(s_id)
        for p in s['PadacCheda']:
            if 'vibhakti' not in p:
                continue
            if p['vibhakti'] != v:
                continue
            v_padas.append(p['pada'])
    result[v] = sorted(set(v_padas))
print_dict(result)
```

9 Evaluation: Putting it all together

In this section, we illustrate the automated operation of the PAIAS engine via by showing the expansion of a *pratyāhāra* '*ac*' into its denoted *varṇas*. *pratyāhāra* expansion is an essential step to enable the rest of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* interpretation.

***sūtra* # (APSSS)**	***Mahāvākya* Representation**	**Generated rule**
13002	it = upadeśe(7) ac(1) anunāsikaḥ(1)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa"], [PIPE, "ac", "anunāsikaḥ"]]
13003.1	it = upadeśe(7) hali(7) antyam(1)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa", "hal"], [PIPE, "antyam"]]
13003.2	it = upadeśe(7) hal(1) antyam(1)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa"], [PIPE, "hal", "antyam"]]
13004	it = upadeśe(7) na(0) vibhaktau(7) tusmāḥ(1)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa", "vibhakti"], [PROHIBIT, "tu-s-ma"]]
13005	it = upadeśe(7) ādiḥ(1) ṇiṭuḍavaḥ(1)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa"], [PIPE, "ādiḥ", "ṇi-ṭu-ḍu"]]
13006	it = upadeśe(7) ādiḥ(1) ṣaḥ(1) pratyayasya(6)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa"], [PIPE, "pratyaya", [PIPE, "ādiḥ", "ṣaḥ"]]
13007	it = upadeśe(7) ādiḥ(1) pratyayasya(6) cuṭū(1)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa"], [PIPE, "pratyaya", [PIPE, "ādiḥ", "cu-ṭu"]]
13008	it = upadeśe(7) ādiḥ(1) pratyayasya(6) laśaku(1) ataddhite(7)	[PIPE, [IF, "upadeśa", [NOT, "taddhita"]], [PIPE, "pratyaya", [PIPE, "ādiḥ", "la-śa-ku"]]
11071	pratyāhāra = svasya(6) rūpasya(6) ādiḥ(1) antyena(3) saha(0) itā(3)	[GEN_SAMJNA, {'saṃj ni' : None, 'saṃj nā' : [PAIR, 'ādiḥ', [PIPE, 'antyam', 'it']] }]
11060	lopa = iti(0) adarśanam(1)	[PIPE, "adarśanam"]

Table 3
Mahāvākya representations produced by PAIAS engine from specific saṃj nā sūtras relevant to pratyāhāra expansion.

Our engine accomplishes '*ac*' expansion as follows. First, it compiles all *saṃj nā sūtras* into *mahāvākyas* and then into machine-interpretable rules.

Table 3 shows the *mahāvākya* representations and corresponding rules generated by our engine for specific *sūtras* relevant to *pratyāhāra* expansion, namely '*it*' and dynamically computed *saṃj nā* names. The engine maintains a terms_db database that caches the set of lexemes denoted by each *saṃj nā*. At start time, the engine resets this database and populates it with the lexemes of all *saṃj nās* that are listed explicitly in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. During pada_desc tagging, whenever the occurrence of a *saṃj nā* needs to be detected, the engine checks the terms_db cache first before attempting to interpret the *saṃj nā*'s rules.

9.1 Expansion of *pratyāhāra* '*hal*'

Pratyāhāras are computed *saṃj nā* names. To expand them, the engine should be able to interpret the *saṃj nā sūtras* for '*it*', especially, the *sūtra* '*halantyam*'. However, to break its cyclic dependency on the expansion of *pratyāhāra* '*hal*', this *sūtra* should be interpreted twice - first as a *samāsa* with *vigraha* '*hali antyam*', where '*hali*' is the *saptamī vibhakti* form of the *māheśvara sūtra* '*hal*', and second as '*hal antyam*'. As a result of the first interpretation (*sūtra* 13003.1), the engine adds the *varṇa* '*l*' as the definition of the '*it*' *saṃj nā* in terms_db cache. During the second interpretation of '*it*' as '*upadeśe hal antyam*', the engine recursively checks if '*hal*' is a *saṃj nā*. This in turn matches with *sūtra* 11071 because '*l*' in '*hal*' gets tagged as '*it_varṇa*'. Hence '*hal*' gets detected as a computed *saṃj nā*, which denotes the set of *varṇas* from '*ādi*' of '*hal*' i.e., *'h*' upto the but not including the last *'l*' in '*upadeśa*' i.e., the *māheśvara sūtra* character sequence. Hence the *saṃj nā* '*hal*' and its denoted character sequence i.e., all consonants of the Saṃskṛt alphabet get added to the terms_db cache. When unwinding the recursion back to continue the second interpretation of *sūtra* 13003, this time, the ending *hal varṇa* in each *māheśvara sūtra* gets an *'it_varṇa*' tag.

9.2 Expansion of *pratyāhāra 'ac*'

Next, when trying to interpret the input lexeme '*ac*', the engine looks to tag the lexeme's constituent parts by matching them with the definitions of known *saṃj nās*. This time, the *sūtra* 13003.2 applies, causing the '*c*' to be tagged as an '*it_varṇa*' because *'c*' is a member of the '*hal*' set in the terms_db cache. Since there is no explcit *saṃj nā* called '*ac*', the engine

checks to see if '*ac*' is a dynamically computed *saṃj nā* name by applying *sūtra* 11071 '*ādiḥ antyena saha itā*'.

This time, when computing the *varṇa* set as part of *sūtra* 11071, the last '*hal*' *varṇa* in each *māheśvara sūtra* needs to be suppressed. To accomplish this, we had to manually code the interpretation of a single *vidhi sūtra* '*tasya lopaḥ*'. To do so, we had to manually rewrite it as '*itaḥ lopaḥ*' because our engine does not yet have the logic to interpret *vidhi sūtras* automatically. The engine reduces the definition of '*lopaḥ*' to be '*adarśanam*' from *sūtra* 11060. We manually wrote a function to interpret the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* word '*adarśanam*' to suppress the emission of its referrent lexeme - here the one with the *'it_varṇa*' tag.

Thus the engine is able to generate the *varṇa* sequence for '*ac*' *pratyāhāra* as '*a i u e o ai au*'. The terms_db cache serves two purposes: i) to break infinite recursions in expansion of *saṃj nā* definitions that are possible in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and ii) to speedup subsequent processing of a *saṃj nā* once it has been expanded.

10 Future Directions

We recognize that generating an automated interpretation engine for *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a complex and long-term task due to the need to validate and adjust the methodology manually, and the thousands of *sūtras* involved. However, our attempt is to rely on the precision of *Aṣṭādhyāyī's* exposition to mechanise large parts of the work. Our second objective is to provide a robust foundational platform so multiple researchers can work collaboratively and leverage each other's innovations to accelerate the task. To this end, we would like to work closely with other researchers to incorporate existing approaches to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* interpretation and its validation. This is especially true for *vidhi sūtras* which constitute the bulk of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

We hope that our programmatic interface to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its semantic functionality enables interoperable applications and deeper exploration of the grammatical structure of Saṃskṛt literature by the larger computer science community. Certain directions include data-driven analysis of the relative usage of Saṃskṛt grammar constructs in Saṃskṛt literature, vocabulary and its evolution over time, *kāraka* analysis via a mix of data-driven and first-principles approaches. A robust grammar engine provides a sound

basis for such projects. Another area of future research would be to explore the engine's applicability for modeling other natural languages.

11 Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented a programmatic interface to the celebrated Saṃskṛt grammar treatise *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with the goal to evolve a direct interpreter of its *sūtras* for Saṃskṛt word generation and transformation in all its variations. Our initial experience indicates that the consistent structure and conventions of *Aṣṭādhyāyī's sūtras* make them amenable to mechanized *sūtra* interpretation with fidelity. However, much more work needs to be done to fully validate the hypothesis. Having a flexible, reusable and extendible interface to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* provides a sound basis for collaborative research and application development.

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Yogyatā as an absence of non-congruity

Sanjeev Panchal *and* Amba Kulkarni

Abstract: Yogyatā or mutual congruity between the meanings of the related word is an important factor in the process of verbal cognition. In this paper, we present the computational modeling of yogyatā for automatic parsing of Sanskrit sentences. Among the several definitions of yogyatā we modeled it as an absence of non-congruity. We discuss the reasons behind our modeling.

Due to lack of any syntactic criterion for viśeṣaṇa (adjectives) in Sanskrit, parsing Sanskrit texts with adjectives resulted in a high number of false positives. Hints from the vyākaraṇa texts helped us in the formulation of a criterion for viśeṣaṇa with syntactic and ontological constraints, which provided us a clue to decide the absence of non-congruity between two words with respect to the adjectival relation. A simple two-way classification of nouns into dravya and guṇa with further sub-classification of guṇas into guṇavacanas was found to be necessary for handling adjectives. The same criterion was also necessary to handle the ambiguities between a *kāraka* and *non-kāraka* relations. These criteria together with modeling *yogyatā* as an absence of non-congruity resulted in 81% improvement in precision.

1 Introduction

Three factors viz. ākāṅkṣā (expectancy), yogyatā (congruity) and sannidhi (proximity) play a crucial role in the process of śābdabodha (verbal cognition). These factors have been found to be useful in the development of a Sanskrit parser as well. The concept of subcategorisation of modern Linguistics comes close to the concept of ākāṅkṣā. Subcategorization structures provide syntactic frames to capture different syntactic behaviors of verbs. Sanskrit being an inflectional language, the information of various relations is encoded in suffixes rather than in positions. These suffixes express the expectancy, termed as ākāṅkṣā in the Sanskrit literature. Kulkarni, Pokar,

and Shukl (2010) describe how the ākāṅkṣā was found to be useful in the proposition of possible relations between words. Sannidhi has been found to be equivalent to the weak non-projectivity principle (Kulkarni, P. Shukla, et al. 2013c). In this paper, we will discuss the role of the third factor viz. yogyatā, in building a Sanskrit parser.

The concept of selection restriction is similar to the concept of yogyatā. The expectancy, or the ākāṅkṣā, proposes a possible relation between the words in a sentence. Such a relation would hold between two words only if they are meaning-wise compatible. It is the selection restriction or yogyatā which then comes into force to prune out incongruent relations, keeping only the congruent ones. Katz and Fodor (1963) proposed a model of selection restrictions as necessary and sufficient conditions for semantic acceptability of the arguments to a predicate. Identifying a selection restriction that is both necessary and sufficient is a very difficult task. Hence there were attempts to propose alternatives. One such alternative was proposed by Wilks (1975) who viewed these restrictions as preferences rather than necessary and sufficient conditions. After the development of WordNet, Resnik (1993) modeled the problem of induction of selectional preferences using the semantic class hierarchy of WordNet. Since then there is an upsurge in the field of computational models for the automated treatment of selectional preferences with a variety of statistical models and Machine learning techniques. In recent times, one of the ambitious projects to represent World Knowledge was taken up under the banner of Cyc. This knowledgebase contains over five hundred thousand terms, including about seventeen thousand types of relations, and about seven million assertions relating these terms.[1] In spite of the availability of such a huge knowledge base, we rarely find Cyc being used in NLP applications.

The first attempt to use the concept of yogyatā in the field of Machine Translation was by the Akshar Bharati group (Bhanumati 1989) in the Telugu-Hindi Machine Translation system. Selectional restrictions were used in defining the `Kāraka Charts` that provided a subcategorization frame as well as semantic constraints over the arguments of the verbs. On similar lines `Noun Lakṣaṇa Charts` and `Verb Lakṣaṇa Charts` were also used for disambiguation of noun and verb meanings. These charts expressed selectional restrictions using both ontological concepts as well as semantic

[1] `http://www.cyc.com/kb`, accessed on 30th August, 2017

properties. An example `Kāraka chart` for the Hindi verb `jānā` (to go) is given in table 1.

case relation	necessity	case marker	semantic constraint
apādānam (source)	desirable	se	not (upādhi:vehicle)
karaṇam (instrument)	desirable	se	(upādhi:vehicle)
karma(object)	mandatory	0/ko	-
kartā (agent)	mandatory	0	-

Table 1
Kāraka Chart for the verb jānā (to go)

Here upādhi is an imposed property. The first row in Table 1 states a constraint that a noun with case marker `se` has a kāraka role of apādānam (source) provided it is not a vehicle. The ontological classification was inspired by the ontology originated from the vaiśeṣika school of philosophy. The parsers for Indian languages were further improved. Bharati, Chaitanya, and Sangal (1995) mentions the importance of two semantic factors viz. animacy and humanity, in parsing, that removes the ambiguity among the kartā and karma(roughly subject and object). This hypothesis was further strengthened with experimental verification by Bharati, Husain, et al. (2008).

In the next section, we first state the importance of yogyatā in parsing, as a filter to prune out meaningless parses. Since yogyatā deals with the compatibility between meanings, and a word expresses meanings at different levels, we also discuss the mutual hierarchy among these various meanings. In the third section, we look at various definitions of yogyatā offered in the tradition, and decide the one that is suitable for implementation. In the same section, we evolve strategies to disambiguate relations based on yogyatā. Finally, the criteria evolved for disambiguation are evaluated. The evaluation results are discussed in section four, followed by the conclusion.

2 Yogyatā as a filter

Necessary condition for understanding a sentence is that a word having an expectancy for another word should become nirākāṅkṣa (having no further

expectancy) once a relation is established between them. Further, such related words should also have mutual compatibility from the point of view of the proposed relation. If they are not, then the expectancy of such words will not be put to rest and there would not be any verbal cognition. Therefore the role of yogyatā in verbal cognition is very important. The purpose of using yogyatā in parsing is not to make a computer 'understand' the text, but to rule out incompatible solutions from among the solutions that fulfill the ākāṁkṣās. For example, in the sentence

Skt: *yānam vanam gacchati.*
Gloss: vehicle{neut., sg., nom./acc.} forest{neut., sg., nom./acc.} go{present, 3rd per., sg.}

There are 6 possible analyses, based on the ākāṅkṣā. They are

1. `yānam` is the kartā and `vanam` is the karma of the verb gam,
2. `yānam` is the karma and `vanam` is the kartā of the verb gam,
3. `yānam` is the kartā of the verb gam and `vanam` is the viśeṣaṇa of `yānam`,
4. `yānam` is the karma of the verb gam and `vanam` is the viśeṣaṇa of `yānam`,
5. `yānam` is the viśeṣaṇa of `vanam` which is the kartā of the verb gam,
6. `yānam` is the viśeṣaṇa of `vanam` which is the karma of the verb gam.

If the machine knows that the kartā of an action of going should be movable, and that the designation of `yāna` is movable, but that of `vana` is not movable, then mechanically it can rule out the second analysis. The words `yānam` and `vanam` on account of the agreement between them have the potential to be viśeṣaṇas of each other. But the semantic incompatibility between the meanings of these words rules out the last four possibilities, leaving only the first correct analysis.

As another example, look at the sentence

Skt: *Rāmeṇa bāṇena Vālī hanyate.*
Gloss: Rama{ins.} arrow{ins.} Vali{nom.} is_killed.

`Rāma` and `bāṇa`, both being in instrumental case, can potentially be a kartā as well as a karaṇam of the verb `han` (to kill). If the machine knows that `bāṇa` can be used as an instrument in the act of killing, while `Rāma` being the name of a person, can not be a potential instrument in the act of

killing, it can then filter out the incompatible solution: `Rāma` as a karaṇam and `bāṇa` as a kartā.

Look at another sentence *payasā siñcati* (He wets with water). Here *payas* (water) is in instrumental case, and is a liquid, and hence is compatible with the action of `siñc` (to wet). But in the sentence *vahninā siñcati* (He wets with fire), `vahni` (fire) is not fit to be an instrument of the action of wetting, and as such it fails to satisfy the yogyatā. But now imagine a situation where a person is in a bad mood, and his friend without knowing it starts accusing him further for some fault of his, instead of uttering some soothing words of the console. Third-person watching this utters *kim vahninā siñcasi* (Why are you pouring fire?) - a perfect verbalization of the situation. The words, here, are like a fire to the person who is already in a bad mood. This meaning of `vahni` is its extended meaning. Thus, even if a relation between primary meanings does not make sense, if the relation between extended meanings makes sense, we need to produce the parse. Therefore, in addition to the primary meanings, the machine also, sometimes, needs access to the secondary/extended meanings of the words.

2.1 Word and its Meanings

Every word has a significative power that denotes its meaning. In Indian theories of meaning, this significative power is classified into three types viz. abhidhā (the primary meaning), lakṣaṇā (the secondary or metaphoric meaning) and vyañjanā (the suggestive meaning). In order to use the concept of yogyatā in designing a parser, we should know what is the role of each of these meanings in the process of interpretation.

The secondary meaning comes into play when the primary meaning is incompatible with the meanings of other words in a sentence. The absence of yogyatā is the basic cause for this signification. Indian rhetoricians accept three conditions as necessary for a word to denote this extended or metaphoric sense. These three conditions are[2]

1. inapplicability / unsuitability of the primary meaning,
2. some relation between the primary meaning and the extended meaning, and

[2] *mukhyārthabādhe tadyoge rūḍhito'tha prayojanāt |*
anyo'rtho lakṣyate yat sā lakṣaṇāropitā kriyā ||
`(KP II 9)`

3. definite motive justifying the extension.

In addition to these two meanings, there is one more meaning, called vyañjanā or the suggestive meaning. This corresponds to the inner meaning of any text/speaker's intention. In order to understand this meaning, consider a sentence *gato'stam arkaḥ* which literally means 'the sun has set'. Every listener gets this meaning. In addition to this meaning, it may also convey different signals to different listeners. For a child playing in the ground, it may mean 'now it is getting dark and it is time to stop playing and go home', for a Brahmin, it may mean 'it is time to do the sandhyā-vandana', and for a young man it may mean 'it is time to meet his lover'. This extra meaning co-exists with the primary meaning. It does not block the primary meaning. Therefore vyaṅgārtha (suggestive meaning) exists in parallel with the primary/secondary meaning.

Since the suggestive meaning is in addition to the primary/secondary meaning, and is optional, and also is different for different listeners, it involves subjectivity for processing. Hence it is not possible to objectively process this meaning for any utterance.[3] This also puts an upper limit on the meaning one can get from a linguistic utterance without the interference of subjective judgments. In summary, we observe that these three meanings are not in the same plane. Lakṣaṇā comes into play only when abhidhā fails to provide a suitable meaning for congruent interpretation. And the suggestive meaning can co-exist with the abhidhā as well as the lakṣaṇā, and as such, is outside the scope of automatic processing.

3 Modeling Yogyatā

Yogyatā is the compatibility between the meanings of related words. This meaning, as we saw above, can be either a primary or a metaphoric one. The absence of any hindrance in the understanding of a sentence implies there is yogyatā or congruity among the meanings. There have been different views among scholars about what yogyatā is. According to one definition, yogyatā is *artha-abādhaḥ*[4] (that which is not a hindrance to meaning). It

[3]One of the reviewers commented that taking into account the advents in Big Data and Machine Learning techniques, it may even be possible to process such meanings by machines in the future. However, we are of the opinion that machine would need semantically annotated corpus for learning, which does not yet exist.

[4]All the meanings we will be discussing below are found in NK p. 675.

is further elaborated as *bādhaka-pramā-virahaḥ* or *bādhaka-niścaya-abhāvaḥ* (absence of the decisive knowledge of incompatibility). There are other attempts to define it as an existing qualifying property. One such definition is *sambandha-arhatvam* (eligibility for mutual association), and the other one is *paraspara-anvaya-prayojaka-dharmavattvam* (a property of promoting mutual association). The first set of definitions presents yogyatā as an absence of incompatibility whereas the second set of definitions present it as the presence of compatibility between the meanings.

Let us see the implications of modeling yogyatā through these two lenses.

1. We establish a relation only if the two morphemes are mutually congruous.
   In this case, we need to take care of not only the congruity between primary meanings but even between the metaphoric/secondary meanings.
2. We establish a relation if there is no incongruity between the two meanings.

The first possibility ensures that the precision is high and there is less chance of Type-1 error, i.e. of allowing wrong solutions. The second possibility, on the other hand, ensures that the recall is high and there is less chance of Type-2 error, viz. the possibility of missing any correct solution. But there is a chance that we allow some unmeaningful solutions as well. If we decide to go for the first possibility, we need to handle both the primary as well as secondary meanings, and we need to state precisely under what conditions the meanings are congruous. And this means modeling congruity for each verb and for each relation. This is a gigantic task, and there is a possibility of missing correct solutions if we do not take into account all the possible extensions of meanings. Therefore, we decided to go for the second choice allowing a machine to do some mistakes of choosing incongruous solutions but we did not want to throw away correct solutions even by mistake. This decision is in favor of our philosophy of sharing the load between man and machine. Our aim is to provide access to the original text by reducing the language learning load. So we can not afford to miss a possible solution. Thus at the risk of providing more solutions than the actual possible solutions, we decided to pass on some load to the reader of pruning out irrelevant solutions manually.

In the first step, we decided to use yogyatā only in those cases where a case marker is ambiguous between more than one relation. We noticed the following three cases of ambiguities with reference to the relations.

1. viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva (adjectival relation)
   Here both the viśeṣya and viśeṣaṇa agree in gender, number and case, and hence only on the basis of the word form, we can not tell which one is viśeṣya and which one is viśeṣaṇa.
2. a kāraka and a non-kāraka relation as in
   a. karaṇam (instrument) and hetu (cause), with an instrumental case marker,
   b. sampradānam (beneficiary), prayojanam (purpose) and tādarthya (being intended for), with a dative case marker,
   c. apādānam (source) and hetu (cause), with an ablative case marker.
3. śaṣṭhī sambandha (a genitive relation) and a viśeṣaṇa (an adjective)
   When two words are in the genitive case, it is not clear whether there is an adjectival relation between them, or a genitive relation.

We now discuss each of these three cases below.

3.1 Viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva (Adjectival relation)

We come across a term samānādhikaraṇa (co-reference) in Pāṇini to denote an adjective (Joshi and Roodbergen 1998, p. 6). One of the contexts in which the term samānādhikaraṇa is used is the context of an agreement between an adjective and a noun.[5] For example, *dhāvantaṁ mṛgaṁ* (a running deer), or *sundaraḥ aśvaḥ* (a beautiful horse). Pāṇini has not defined the term samānādhikaraṇa, either. The term samānādhikaraṇa (co-reference) literally means 'having the same locus'. Patañjali in the Samartha-āhnika discusses the term sāmānādhikaraṇya (co-referential) (literally a property of being in the same locus). In the example, *sundaraḥ aśvaḥ* (a beautiful horse), both the qualities of saundarya (beauty) and aśvatva (horse-ness) reside in an aśva (horse), which is the common locus. Similarly, in the case of *ācāryaḥ droṇaḥ*, or *agne gṛhapate* (O Agni! house-holder), both the words ācārya as well as droṇa refer to the same individual, so do agni

[5] sāmānādhikaraṇyam ekavibhaktitvam ca. dvayoścaitad bhavati. kayoḥ. Viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyayoḥ vā sañjñā-sañjñinorvā (MBh 1.1.1)

and gṛhapati. This is true of various other relation-denoting terms such as `guru`, `śiṣya`, `pitā`, `putra`, etc. and upādhis (imposed / acquired properties) such as `rājā`, `mantrī`, `vaidya`, etc. From all this discussion, we may say sāmānādhikaraṇya (the property of having the same locus) is the semantic characterisation of a viśeṣaṇa.

In Sanskrit, there is no syntactic / morphological category as a viśeṣaṇa (an adjective). The gender, number and case of a viśeṣaṇa follows that of a viśeṣya (the head). From the point of view of analysis this provides a syntactic clue for a possible viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva between two words such as in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* (a white cloth). This agreement is just a necessary condition, and not sufficient. Because, a viśeṣaṇa, in addition to agreeing with the viśeṣya should also be semantically fit to be a qualifier of the viśeṣya. For example, there can be two words say `yānam` (a vehicle) and `vanam` (a forest), that match perfectly in gender, number and case, but we can not imagine a viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva between `yāna` and `vana`. Is it only the semantics that rules out such a relation or are there any clues, especially syntactic ones, that help us to rule out a viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva between such words?

In search of clues:

Pāṇini has not defined the terms viśeṣya and viśeṣaṇa. Patañjali uses two terms dravya (substance) and guṇa (quality) while commenting on the agreement between a viśeṣya and a viśeṣaṇa.

> *yad asau dravyaṁ śrito bhavati guṇaḥ tasya yat liṅgam vacanam ca tad guṇasya api bhavati.* `(MBh under A4.1.3 Vt VI.)`
> A quality assumes the gender and number of the substance in which it resides.

But then what is this guṇa?

We come across the description of guṇa by Kaiyyaṭa.

> *sattve niviśate apaiti pṛthag jātiṣu dṛśyate*
> *ādheyaḥ -ca-akriyājaḥ-ca saḥ asattva-prakṛti-guṇaḥ*
> `(MBh A4.1.44)`
> Guṇa is something which is found in things / substances *(sattve*

> *niviśate)*, which can cease to be there *(apaiti)*, which is found in different kinds of substances *(pṛthag jātiṣu)*, which is sometimes an effect of an action and sometimes not so *(ādheyaḥ-ca-akriyājaḥ-ca)*, and whose nature is not that of a substance *(asattva-prakṛti)*.

Thus guṇa is something which is not a substance since it resides in other things. It is not universal since it is found in different kinds of substances. It is not an action, since guṇa is sometimes an effect of an action, as in the case of the color of a jar and sometimes not, as in the case of the magnitude of a substance. This characterisation of guṇais very close to the vaiśeṣika's concept of guṇa (Raja 1963).

Then, is this vaiśeṣika guṇa a viśeṣaṇa?

Patañjali commenting on the word guṇa under A2.2.11 provides an example contrasting two types of guṇas. While both `śukla` and `gandha` are qualities (guṇa) according to the vaiśeṣika ontology, the usage *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* (a white cloth) is possible, while `gandham candanam` (fragrance sandalwood) is not. Thus, only some of the vaiśeṣika guṇas have a potential to be a viśeṣaṇa, and not all.

If viśeṣaṇa is not a vaiśeṣika guṇa, what is it?

The characterisation of guṇa by Bhartṛhari in `Guṇa-samuddeśa` includes bhedakam as one of the characteristics of guṇa. But, in addition, guṇa, according to him, is also capable of expressing the degree of quality in a substance through a suffix. He defines guṇa as

> *saṁsargi bhedakaṁ yad yad savyāpāraṁ pratīyate*
> *guṇatvaṁ paratantratvāt tasya śāstra udāhṛtam* `VP III.5.1`
> Whatever rests on something else (saṁsargi), differentiates it (bhedaka), and is understood in that function (savyāpāra) is, being dependent, called `quality` in the śāstra. (Iyer 1971)

According to Bhartṛhari, apart from being a differentiator, a guṇa has another important characteristic, viz. that such a distinguishing quality can

also express the degree of excellence through some suffix (such as a comparative suffix `tarap`, or a superlative suffix `tamap`). This concept of guṇa of Bhartṛhari, thus is different from the concept of the guṇa of a vaiśeṣika. This definitely rules out the case of gandha, since we can not have gandhatara but we can have śuklatara to distinguish the white-ness between two white cloths.

Another clue from Pāṇini

We have another hint from Pāṇini through Patañjali. While in A4.1.3, Patañjali has used the terms dravya and guṇa in connection with agreement, in A1.2.52, he uses the term guṇavacana while describing a viśeṣaṇa

> *guṇavacanānāṁ śabdānām-āśrayataḥ liṅgavacanāni bhavanti-iti* (A1.2.52).
>
> The words which are guṇavacanas take the gender and number of the substance in which they reside.

The term guṇavacana is used for those words which designate quality and then a substance in which this quality resides (Cardona 2009). In the example, *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ*, since śukla in addition to being a quality (white color), can also designate a substance, such as a paṭa (cloth), which is (white) in color, it is a guṇavacana word. But gandha (fragrance) designates only quality, and can not be used to designate a substance that has a fragrance, and hence is not a guṇavacana.

Is guṇavacana necessary and sufficient to describe a viśeṣaṇa?

Let us look at the examples above. It definitely rules out yānaṁ and vanaṁ to be qualifiers of each other, since neither of them is quality. But then what about dhāvan (the one who is running) in *dhāvan bālakaḥ* (a running boy)? Is dhāvan a guṇavacana?

Guṇavacana is a technical term, used by Pāṇini to define an operation of elision of `matup` suffix in certain quality denoting words such as 'sukla etc. So technically, a word such as `dhāvan`, though it designates a substance, is not a guṇavacana. This is clear from Patañjali's commentary on A1.4.1[6] where he

[6]The Vārtika *guṇvacanam ca* is followed by several other vārttikas, of which the following two are relevant. *samāsa-kṛt-taddhita-avyaya-sarvanāma-asarvaliṅgā jātiḥ* ||41 || *saṁkhyā ca* ||42 ||

states that compounds (samāsa), primary derivatives (kṛdantas), secondary derivatives (taddhitāntas), indeclinables (avyaya), pronouns (sarvanāma), words referring to universals (jāti), numerals (saṁkhyā) can not get the designation guṇavacana, since the latter saṁjñās (technical terms) supersede the previous ones.[7]

The very fact that Kātyāyana had to mention that words belonging to all the latter categories are not guṇavacana, indicates that all these categories of words have the potential to get the guṇavacana designation, but Pāṇini did not intend to assign this sañjñā to these words. Whatever may be the reason, but this list of various categories, in fact, provides us a morphological clue for a word to be a viśeṣaṇa.

Here are some examples of viśeṣaṇas belonging to these different grammatical categories.

1. Samāsa (a compound)
   Bahuvrīhi (exo-centric) compounds refer to an object different from the components of the compound, and thus typically act as adjectives. For example, `pītāmbaraḥ` is made up of two components pīta (yellow) and ambara (cloth), but it refers to the 'one wearing a yellow-cloth' (and is conventionally restricted to Viṣṇu). An example of tat-puruṣ (endo-centric) compound as a viśeṣaṇa is *parama-udāraḥ* (extremely noble).
2. Kṛdanta (an adjectival participle)
   Nouns derived from verbs act as qualifiers of a noun. For example, in the expression *dhāvantam mṛgam* (a running deer), dhāvantam, a verbal noun, is a viśeṣaṇa. Only certain kṛdanta suffixes such as `śatṛ`, `śānac`, `kta`, etc. produce nouns that can be viśeṣaṇas, and not all.
3. Taddhita (a secondary derivative)
   Taddhitas with certain suffixes derive new nouns such as *bhāratīya* (Indian), *dhanavān* (wealthy), *guṇin* (possessing good qualities), etc. that denote a substance, as against certain other taddhita words such as *manuṣyatā* (humanity), *vārddhakya* (senility) etc. which derive new words designating qualities.
4. Sarvanāma (a pronoun)
   Pronouns also act as qualifiers. For example, in the expression *idam pustakam* (this book), *idam* is a viśeṣaṇa.

[7] *gaṇavacanasaǰñāyāḥ ca etābhiḥ bādhanaṁ yathā syāt iti*

5. Jāti (a universal)
   In an expression *āmraḥ vṛkṣaḥ* (a mango tree), both the words `āmraḥ` and `vṛkṣaḥ` are common nouns. But one is a special and the other one is a general one. So the designation of `āmra` is a subset of the designation of `vṛkṣa`. Only in such cases, where there is a parājāti-aparājāti (hypernymy-hyponymy) relation, the one denoting an aparājāti (hyponymy) qualifies to be a viśeṣaṇa of the other one.
6. Saṁkhyā (a numeral)
   In an expression ekaḥ puruṣaḥ (a man), the word `ekaḥ` designates a number, which is a viśeṣaṇa of `puruṣa`.

There are still two more classes of words that are not covered in the above list, but which can be viśeṣaṇas. They are: words denoting an acquired property or an imposed property, and the relation-denoting terms. For example, `ācāryaḥ` in *ācāryaḥ droṇaḥ*, is an imposed property and `putraḥ` in *Daśarathasya putraḥ rāmaḥ* is a relation denoting term.

In summary, samastapada, certain kṛdantas, certain taddhitāntas, saṁkhyā, sarvanāma, ontological categories such as parā-aparā jātis, semantico-syntactic property such as guṇavacana and finally semantic properties such as relation denoting terms and upādhis, all these serve as characterisations of a viśeṣaṇa. This characterization is only a necessary condition, and not sufficient since it does not involve any mutual compatibility between the words. However, it brings in more precision in the necessary conditions for two words to be in viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva.

3.1.1 Deciding a Viśeṣya

Once we have identified the words that are mutually compatible with regard to an adjectival relation, the next thing is to decide the viśeṣya (head) among them. The commentary on A2.1.57 is useful in deciding the viśeṣya. This sūtra deals with the compound formation of two words that are in viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva. In Sanskrit compound formation, the one which is subordinate gets a designation of upasarjana. This provides us a clue about which word classes are subordinate to which ones. A noun may refer to a substance through an expression expressing the class character (jāti) such as utpalam (a flower), or through an action associated with it (kriyāvacana), as in dhāvan (running), or through a guṇavācaka such as nīlam. If there are two words designating common nouns, one denoting a special and the other one general, then the one which denotes a special type of common noun is

subordinate.[8] For example, in *āmraḥ vṛkṣaḥ*, āmra is a special kind of tree, and hence is a viśeṣaṇa and vṛkṣa is its viśeṣya. If one word designates a common noun and the other one either a guṇavacana or a kriyāvacana, then the word denoting the common noun becomes the viśeṣya.[9] Thus in *nīlam utpalam*, utpalam is the viśeṣya. In *pācakaḥ brāhmaṇaḥ* (cook Brahmin), brāhmaṇaḥ is the viśeṣya. When one of the words designate a guṇavacana and the other a kriyāvacana, or both the words designate either guṇavacanas or kriyāvacanas, then either of them can be a viśeṣya, as in khañjaḥ kubjaḥ (a hump-backed who is limping) or kubjaḥ khañjaḥ (a limping person with hump-back), similarly as in khañjaḥ pācakaḥ (a limping cook) or pācakaḥ khañjaḥ (a limping person who is a cook), etc.

On the basis of the above discussion, we have the following preferential order for the viśeṣya.

jātivācaka > {guṇvacana, kṛdanta}.

We saw earlier that a *viśeṣaṇa* can be any one of the following: a pronoun, a numeral, a kṛdanta, a taddhitānta, a samasta-pada, guṇavācaka, jāti, relation denoting terms, and an upādhi. So adding all these categories to the above preferential order, we get,

jātivācaka > upādhi > taddhitānta > guṇavacana > numeral > kṛdanta > pronoun.[10]

3.1.2 Flat or Hierarchical Structure?

After we identify all the words that have a samānādhikaraṇa relation between them, and mark the viśeṣya (the head) among them, the next task is to know whether a viśeṣaṇa is related to this viśeṣya directly, or through other viśeṣaṇas.

If there are n viśeṣaṇas, and all of them are related to the viśeṣya directly, then it results in a flat structure. But if a viśeṣaṇa is related to the viśeṣya

[8] *sāmānyajāti-viśeṣajātiśabdayoḥ samabhivyāhāre tu viṣeṣajātireva viśeṣaṇam. under A2.1.57, in BM*

[9] *jātiśabdo guṇakriyāśabdasamabhivyāhāre viśeṣyasamarpaka eva na tu viśeṣaṇa samarpakaḥ, svabhāvāt*, under A2.1.57, in BM

[10] This preferential order is purely based on some observations of the corpus, and needs further theoretical support, if there is any.

through other viśeṣaṇas, then there are exponentially large number of ways in which n viśeṣaṇas can relate to the viśeṣya. For example, if there are three words say `a`, `b` and `c`, of which `c` is the viśeṣya. Then computationally, there are three ways in which the other two words may relate to `c`.

1. Both `a` and `b` are the viśeṣaṇa of `c`. (This results in a flat structure.)
2. `a` is a viśeṣaṇa of `b` and `b` that of `c`.
3. `b` is a viśeṣaṇa of `a` and `a` that of `c`.

In positional languages like English, only the first two cases are possible. For example, consider the phrase 'light red car', which may either mean a car which is red in color and is light in weight, or a car which is light-red in color. In the second case, light-red is a compound.

Sanskrit being a free word order language, one can imagine, computationally, a possibility for the third type as well. The relation between the adjectival terms being that of sāmānādhikaraṇya (co-referential), semantically, only a flat structure is possible with adjectives. The other two cases of hierarchical structures result in compound formation in Sanskrit.

This is also supported by Jaimini's Mīmāṁsā sūtra

> *guṇānām ca parārthatvāt asambandhaḥ samatvāt syāt.* (MS 3.1.22)
> In as much as all subsidiaries are subservient to something else and are equal in that respect, there can be no connection among themselves.
> (Jha 1933)

Thus, a viśeṣaṇa is not connected to another viśeṣaṇa. The associated structure is a flat one, with all the viśeṣaṇas being connected to the viśeṣya.

3.2 Distinguishing a kāraka from a non-kāraka:

In Sanskrit, some case markers denote both a kāraka relation as well as a non-kāraka relation, as we saw earlier. In a sentence, if a verb denotes an action, then nouns denote the participants in such an action. These participants, which are classified into 6 types, viz. kartā, karma, karaṇam, sampradānam, apādānam, and adhikaraṇam are collectively called as kārakas. Other nouns in the sentence, which do not participate directly in the action,

express non-kāraka relations such as hetu (cause), prayojanam (purpose), etc. We get a clue to distinguish between the nouns which are related by a kāraka relation and those which are related by a non-kāraka one in the `Aruṇādhikāra` of the `Śābara bhāṣya`. There it is mentioned that

> *na ca amūrta-arthaḥ kriyātāḥ sādhanam bhavatīti* (SB; p 654)
> No unsubstantial object can ever be the means of accomplishing an act.

Thus anything other than dravya can not be a kāraka. As we saw earlier, the guṇavacanas also can designate a dravya. And thus, all the dravyas and the guṇavacanas are qualified to be a kāraka. And the rest, i.e. nouns which denote either a guṇa which is not a guṇavacana or a kriyā (verbal nouns), may have a non-kāraka relation with a verb.

Let us see some examples.

Skt: *rāmaḥ daśarathasya ājñayā rathena vanam gacchati.*
Gloss: Rama {nom.} Dasharatha{gen.} order{ins.} ratha{ins.} forest{acc.} goes.
Eng: On Dasharatha's order, Rama goes to the forest by a chariot.

Skt: *rāmaḥ adhyayanena atra vasati.*
Gloss: Rama {nom.} study{ins.} here lives.
Eng: Rama lives here in order to study.

In the first sentence ājñā (order) is the cause for Rama's going to forest, ratha (chariot) is the instrument (or vehicle) for his going and in the second sentence adhyayana is the cause of Rāma's stay.

Since both hetu as well as karaṇam demand a 3^{rd} case suffix, ākāṅkṣā would establish a relation of karaṇam between `ājñayā` and `gacchati`,[11] between `rathena` and `gacchati` and also between `adhyayana` and `gacchati`. Now with the above definition of a kāraka, adhyayana, being a verbal noun (a kṛdanta) in the sense of bhāva, represents an abstract concept and therefore it does not designate a dravya (a substance). Hence it can not be a karaṇam. Similarly `ājñā`, which is a *guṇa* (according to *Vaiśeṣika* ontology, being a

[11] To be precise, the relation is between the meaning denoted by the nominal stem ājñā and the one denoted by the verbal root gam.

śabda), can not be a *karaṇa*. Thus the use of congruity helps in pruning out impossible relations.

On the same grounds, establishment of apādānam and sampradānam relations between a non-dravya[12] denoting noun and a verb can also be prevented.

3.3 Congruous substantive for a Ṣaṣṭhī (genitive)

Pāṇini has not given any semantic criterion for the use of the genitive relation. His rule is *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* (A2.3.50) which means, in all other cases that are not covered so far, the genitive case suffix is to be used. The relation marked by the ṣaṣṭhī (genitive) case marker falls under the utthāpya (aroused) ākāṁkṣā. This is a case of uni-directional expectancy. Thus, there is no syntactic clue to which noun the word in genitive case would get attached. All other nouns in the sentence are potential candidates for a genitive relation to join with. The clue is, however, semantic. Patañjali in the `Mahābhāṣya` on A2.3.50 provides some semantic clues. He says there are hundreds of meanings of śaṣṭhī. Some of them are sva-svāmi-bhāva as in *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* (a king's man), avayava-avayavī-bhāva as in *vṛkṣasya śākhā* (branch of a tree) etc. So in order to establish a genitive relation, we need the semantic inputs. However, there are certain constraints. They are

1. A genitive connecting a verbal noun expressing bhāva such as lyuṭ etc. expresses a kāraka[13] relation and not the genitive one, as in *rāmasya gamanam*.
2. A genitive always connects with a viśeṣya, and never with a viśeṣaṇa, since there is a samānādhikaraṇa relation between the viśeṣya and viśeṣaṇa. For example, in the expression *rāmasya vīreṇa putreṇa*, the genitive relation of `rāmasya` is with `putreṇa` and not with `vīreṇa`.

Lexical resources such as Sanskrit WordNet[14] and Amarakośa[15] that are marked with the semantic information of part-whole relation, janya-janaka-bhāva, ājīvikā relation etc. help in identifying the genitive relations with confidence. When both the words refer to dravyas (substantives), then also there is a possibility of a genitive relation. So note that, while for other

[12] To be precise, a non-dravya and non-guṇavacana.

[13] *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* (A2.3.65)

[14] `http://www.cfilt.iitb.ac.in/wordnet/webswn/english_version.php`

[15] `http://scl.samsaadhanii.in/amarakosha/index.html`

relations, we look for the absence of non-congruity for ruling out the relations, in the case of genitives, instead, we look for the presence of congruity, to prune out impossible relations. We took this decision, since we found it difficult to describe the non-congruity in the case of genitive relations.

Ambiguity between a genitive and an adjectival relation

Further, we come across an ambiguity in the genitive relation, in the presence of adjectives. Look at the following two examples.

Skt: *vīrasya Rāmasya bāṇam*
Gloss: brave{gen.} Rama{gen.} arrow
Eng: An arrow of brave Rama

and

Skt: *Rāmasya putrasya pustakam*
Gloss: Rama{gen.} son{gen.} book
Eng: A book of Rama's son

In the first example, *vīra* being a guṇavacana, with the earlier characterisation of an adjective, vīra would be marked an adjective. while in the second one there is a kinship relation.

4 Evaluation

As stated earlier, ākāṅkṣā states the possibility of relations between two words. The mutual compatibility between the meanings further helps in pruning out the incompatible relations. We classified the content nouns into two classes: dravya and guṇa. Guṇas being further marked if they are guṇavacanas. We tested the mutual compatibility only when the suffix is ambiguous. To be precise, the yogyatā is used only to disambiguate between a kāraka versus non-kāraka relation, to establish the viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa-bhāva, and to establish a genitive relation. This ensured that we do not miss the metaphoric meanings. In the case of kāraka relations, if the noun denotes a guṇavacana, then the possible kāraka relation, on the basis of expectancy is

pruned out. Similarly, in the case of adjectival relations, the relations with a non-guṇavācaka guṇa is pruned out.

The performance of the system with and without yogyatā was measured to evaluate the impact of yogyatā. The corpus for evaluation of sentences consists of around 2300 sentences. It includes sentences with various grammatical constructions, a few passages from school text book, `Bhagavadgītā`, and a sample from Māgha's `Śiśupālavadham`. The ślokas in `Bhagvadgītā` as well as in `Śiśupālavadham` were converted to a canonical form.[16] The sentences with conjunction were not considered for the evaluation, since the nouns in conjunction conflict with the adjectives, and the criteria for handling conjunction are under development. The statistics showing the size of various texts, the average word length and the average sentence length is given in Table 2.

Type	Sents	Words	characters	avg sntlen	avg wrd len
Text books	260	1,295	9,591	4.98	7.40
Syntax	937	3,339	25,410	3.56	7.61
Māgha's SPV	66	623	5,851	9.40	9.39
Bhagvadgītā	940	5,698	42,251	6.06	7.41
Total	2,203	10,955	83,103	3.77	7.58

Table 2
Corpus Characteristics

All these sentences were run through a parser, first without using the conditions of yogyatā and second times using the conditions of yogyatā. In both cases, the parser produced all possible parses. We also ensured that the correct parse is present among the produced solutions. Table 3 shows the statistics providing the number of solutions with and without using the filter of yogyatā. The number of parses produced was reduced drastically. This improved the precision by 63% in textbook stories, by 67% in the grammatical constructs, and by 81% in case of the text from Bhagvadgītā and Māgha's kāvya. Better results in the case of these texts pertains to the fact that these texts have more usage of adjectives and non-kāraka relations as against the textbook sentences, and artificial grammatical constructs.

[16] All the ślokas were presented in their anvita form, following the traditional Daṇḍānvaya method, where the verb typically is at the end, and viśeṣaṇas precede the viśeṣyas.

Corpus type	Sents	avg sols without yogyata	avg sols with yogyata	improvement in precision
Text books	260	39.76	14.56	63%
Syntax	937	19.5	6.33	67%
Literary	66	11,199	2,107	81%
BhG	940	2,557	478	81%
Total	2203	1439.54	268.85	81%

Table 3
Improvement

5 Conclusion

Yogyatā or mutual congruity between the meanings of the related words is an important factor in the process of verbal cognition. In this paper, we presented the computational modeling of yogyatā for automatic parsing of Sanskrit sentences. Among the several definitions of *yogyatā*, we modeled it as an absence of non-congruity.

Due to lack of any syntactic criterion for viśeṣaṇa (adjectives) in Sanskrit, parsing Sanskrit texts with adjectives resulted in a high number of false positives. Hints from the vyākaraṇa texts helped us in the formulation of a criterion for viśeṣaṇa with syntactic and ontological constraints, which provided us a hint to decide the absence of non-congruity between two words with respect to the adjectival relation. A simple two-way classification of nouns into dravya (substance) and guṇa (quality) with further classifications of guṇas into guṇavacanas was found to be necessary for handling adjectives. The same criterion was also found useful to handle the ambiguities between a *kāraka* and *non-kāraka* relations. These criteria together with modeling *yogyatā* as an absence of non-congruity resulted in 81% improvement in precision.

Finally, the fact that there can not be an adjective of an adjective, having identified a viśeṣya, there is only one way all the viśeṣaṇas can connect with the viśeṣya. This theoretical input provided much relief from a practical point of view, in the absence of which possible solutions would have been exponential.

6 Abbreviations

A: Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, See Pande, 2004
Aa.b.c : adhyāya(chapter),pāda(quarter),sūtra number in Aṣṭādhyāyī
BM: Bālamanoramā, see Pande, 2012
MBh: Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, see Mīmāṁsaka
KP: Kāvyaprakāśa, see Jhalakikar
MS: Mīmāṁsā sūtra, through SB
NK: Nyāyakośa, see Jhalkaikar
PM: Padamañjarī, see Mishra
SB: Śābara Bhāṣya, see Mīmāṁsaka, 1990
VP: Vākyapadīyam, see Sharma, 1974

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An 'Ekalavya' Approach to Learning Context Free Grammar Rules for Sanskrit Using Adaptor Grammar

Amrith Krishna, Bodhisattwa Prasad Majumder, Anil Kumar Boga, *and* Pawan Goyal

Abstract: This work presents the use of Adaptor Grammar, a non-parametric Bayesian approach for learning (Probabilistic) Context-Free Grammar productions from data. In Adaptor Grammar, we provide the set of non-terminals followed by a skeletal grammar that establishes the relations between the non-terminals in the grammar. The productions and the associated probability for the productions are automatically learnt by the system from the usages of words or sentences, i.e., the dataset. This facilitates the encoding of prior linguistic knowledge through the skeletal grammar and yet the tiresome task of finding the productions is delegated to the system. The system completely learns the grammar structure by observing the data. We call this approach the 'Ekalavya' approach. In this work, we discuss the effect of using Adaptor grammars for Sanskrit at word-level supervised tasks such as compound type identification and also in identifying the source and derived words from corpora for derivational nouns. In both of the works, we show the use of sub-word patterns learned using Adaptor grammar as effective features for their corresponding supervised tasks. We also present our novel approach of using Adaptor Grammars for handling Structured Prediction tasks in Sanskrit. We present the preliminary results for the word reordering task in Sanskrit. We also outline our plan for the use of Adaptor grammars for Dependency Parsing and Poetry to Prose Conversion tasks.

1 Introduction

The recent trends in Natural Language Processing (NLP) community suggest an increased application of black-box statistical approaches such as deep learning. In fact, such systems are preferred as there has been an increase in the performance of several NLP tasks such as machine translation, sentiment analysis, word sense disambiguation, etc. (Manning 2016). In fact, MIT Technology Review reported the following regarding Noam Chomsky's opinion about the extensive use of 'purely statistical methods' in AI. The report says that "derided researchers in machine learning who use purely statistical methods to produce behavior that mimics something in the world, but who don't try to understand the meaning of that behavior." (Cass 2011).

Chomsky quotes, "It's true there's been a lot of work on trying to apply statistical models to various linguistic problems. I think there have been some successes, but a lot of failures. There is a notion of success ... which I think is novel in the history of science. It interprets success as approximating un-analyzed data." (Pinker et al. 2011). Norvig (2011), in his reply to Chomsky, comes in defense of statistical approaches used in the community. Norvig lays emphasis on the engineering aspects of the problems that the community deals with and the performance gains achieved in using such approaches. He rightly attributes that, while the generative aspects of a language can be deterministic, the analysis of a language construct can lead to ambiguity. As probabilistic models are tolerant to noise in the data, the use of such approaches is often necessary for engineering success. It is often the case that the speakers of a language deviate from the laid out linguistic rules in usage. This can be seen as noise in the dataset, and yet the system we intend to build should be tolerant to such issues as well. The use of statistical approaches provides a convenient means of achieving the same. But, the use of statistical approaches does not imply discarding of the linguistic knowledge that we possess. Manning (2016) quotes the work of Paul Smolensky, "Work by Paul Smolensky on how basically categorical systems can emerge and be represented in a neural substrate (Smolensky and Legendre 2006). Indeed, Paul Smolensky arguably went too far down the rabbit hole, devoting a large part of his career to developing a new categorical model of phonology, Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993)." This is an example where the linguistics and the statistical computational models had a successful synergy, fruitful for both the domains.

The Probabilistic Context-Free Grammars (PCFGs) provide a convenient platform for expressing linguistic structures with probabilistic prioritization of the structures they accept. It has been shown that PCFGs can be learned automatically using statistical approaches (Horning 1969). In this work, we look into Adaptor grammar (Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater 2007), a non-parametric Bayesian approach for learning grammar from the observations, say, sentences or word usages in the language. When given a skeletal grammar along with the fixed set of non-terminals, Adaptor grammar learns the right-hand side of the productions and the probabilities associated with them. The grammar does so just by observing the dataset provided to it, and hence the name 'Ekalavya' approach.

The use of Adaptor grammars for linguistic tasks provides the following advantages for a learning task.

1. Adaptor grammars in effect output valid PCFGs, which in turn are context-free grammars, and thus are valid for linguistic representations.

2. It helps to encode linguistic information which is already described in various formalisms via the skeletal grammars. Thus domain knowledge can effectively be used. The only restriction here might be that the expressive power of the grammar is limited to that of a Context-Free Grammar.

3. By leveraging the power of statistics, we can obtain the likelihood of various possible parses, in case of structural ambiguity during an analysis of a sentence.

4. While the proposed structures might not be as competitive in performance as with the black-box statistical approaches such as the deep learning approaches, the interpretability of the Adaptor grammar-based systems is a big plus. Grammar experts can look into the individual production rules learned by the system. This frees the experts from coming up with the rules in the first place. Additionally, by looking into the production rules, understandable to any domain expert with the knowledge of context-free grammars, it can be validated whether the system has learned patterns that are relevant to the task or not.

In Section 2, we discuss the preliminaries regarding Context-Free Grammars, Probabilistic CFGs, and Adaptor Grammar. In Section 3, we discuss the use of Adaptor grammars in various NLP tasks for different languages. We then describe the work performed in Sanskrit with Adaptor grammars in Section 4. We then discuss future directions in Sanskrit tasks, specifically for multiple structured prediction tasks.

2 Preliminaries - CFG and Probabilistic CFG

Context-Free Grammar was proposed by Noam Chomsky who initially termed it as phrase structure grammar. Formally, a Context-Free Grammar $\mathcal{G}$ is a 4-tuple (V, Σ, R, S), where V is a set of non-terminals, Σ is a finite set of terminals, R is the set of productions from V to $(V \cup \Sigma)^*$, where $*$ is the 'Kleene Star' operation. S is an element of V which is treated as the start symbol, which forms the root of the parse trees for every string accepted by the grammar. Using the notation $\mathcal{L}_X$ for the language generated by non-terminal X, the language generated by the grammar $\mathcal{G}$ is $\mathcal{L}_S$.

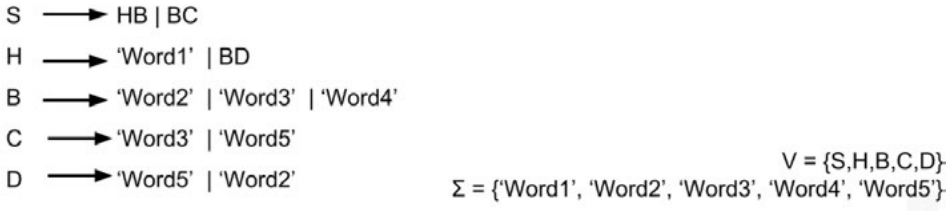

Figure 1
An example of a Context Free Grammar

The productions in Context-Free Grammars are often handcrafted by expert linguists. it is common to have large CFGs for many of the real-life NLP tasks. It is common that a given string can have multiple possible parses for the given grammar. This is due to the fact that a Context-Free Grammar contains all possible choices that can be produced from a given Non-terminal (O'Donnell 2015). The grammar neither provides a deterministic parse nor prioritizes the parses. This leads to structural ambiguity in the grammar. Probabilistic Context-Free Grammars (PCFGs) have been introduced to weigh the probable trees when the ambiguity arises, and thus provide a means for prioritizing the desired rules. A PCFG is a 5-tuple

$(V, \Sigma, R, S, \theta)$, where θ, denotes a vector of real numbers in the range of $[0, 1]$ indexed by productions of R, subject to noting R_X for the set of productions of X in R, for all X in V we require

$$\sum_{\rho \in R_X} \theta_\rho = 1$$

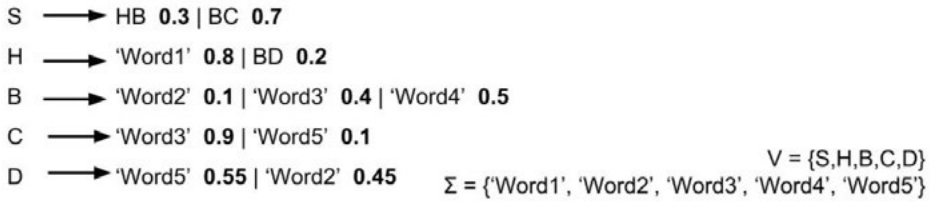

Figure 2

Example of a Probabilistic Context Free Grammar corresponding to CFG shown in Figure 1

The probabilities associated with all the productions of a given non-terminal should add up to 1. The probability of a given tree is nothing but the product of the probabilities associated with the rules which are used to construct the tree. A given vector θ_X denotes the parameters of a multinomial distribution that have the non-terminal X on their left-hand side (LHS) (O'Donnell 2015).

Note that PCFGs make two strong conditional independence assumptions (O'Donnell 2015):

1. The decision about expanding a non-terminal depends only on the non-terminal and the given distribution for that non-terminal. No other assumptions can be made.

2. Following from the first assumption, a generated expression is independent of other expressions.

There are numerous techniques suggested for the estimation of weights for the productions in PCFG. The Inside-Outside algorithm is a maximum likelihood estimation approach based on the unsupervised Expectation maximization parameter estimation method. Summarily, the algorithm starts by initializing the parameters with a random set of values and then iteratively

modifies the parameter values such that the likelihood of the training corpus is increased. The process continues until the parameter values converge, i.e., no more improvement of the likelihood over the corpus is possible.

Another way of estimating parameters is through the Bayesian Inference approach (Johnson, T. Griffiths, and Goldwater 2007). Given a corpus of strings $\mathbf{s} = s_1, s_2.....s_n$, we assume a CFG $\mathcal{G}$ generates all the strings in the corpus. We take the dataset $\mathbf{s}$ and infer the parameters θ using Bayes' theorem

$$P(\theta|\mathbf{s}) \propto P_{\mathcal{G}}(\mathbf{s}|\theta)P(\theta)$$

where,

$$P_{\mathcal{G}}(\mathbf{s}|\theta) = \prod_{i=1}^{n} P_{\mathcal{G}}(s_i|\theta)$$

Now, the joint posterior distribution for the set of possible trees $\mathbf{t}$ and the parameters θ can be obtained by

$$P(\mathbf{t}, \theta|\mathbf{s}) \propto P(\mathbf{s}|\mathbf{t})P(\mathbf{t}|\theta)P(\theta) = (\prod_{i=1}^{n} P(s_i|t_i)P(t_i|\theta))P(\theta)$$

To calculate the posterior distribution, we assume that the parameters in θ are drawn from a known distribution termed as the prior. We assume that each non-terminal in the grammar has a given distribution which need not be the same for all. For a non-terminal, the multinomial distribution is indexed by the respective productions and since we use Dirichlet prior over here, each production probability $\theta_{X\to\beta}$ has a corresponding Dirichlet parameter $\alpha_{X\to\beta}$. Now, either through Markov Chain Monte Carlo Sampling approaches (Johnson, T. Griffiths, and Goldwater 2007) or through variational inference or a hybrid approach, the parameters are learnt (Zhai, Boyd-Graber, and Cohen 2014).

However, this approach as well does not deal with the real bottleneck, which is to come up with relevant rules which can solve a task for a given corpus. For large datasets, the CFGs could have a large set of rules and it is often cumbersome to come up with rules by experts alone. Non-Parametric Bayesian Approaches have been proposed as modifications for PCFGs. Roughly, the Non-parametric Bayesian approaches can be seen as learning a single model that can adapt its complexity to the data (Gershman and David M Blei 2012). The term non-parametric does not imply that

there are no parameters associated with the learning algorithm, but rather it implies that the number of parameters is not fixed, and increases with an increase in data or observations.

The most general version of learning PCFGs goes by the name of Infinite HMM or Infinite PCFG (Johnson 2010). In infinite PCFG, say for the model described in Liang et al. (2007), we are provided with a set of atomic categories and a combination of these categories as rules. Now, depending on the data, the learning algorithm learns the productions and the number of possible non-terminals along with the probabilities associated with them (Johnson 2010). Another variation that is popular with the Non-Parametric Grammar induction models is the Adaptor grammar (Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater 2007). Here, the number of non-terminals remains fixed and is set manually. But, the production rules and their corresponding probabilities are obtained by inference. The productions are obtained for a subset of non-terminals which are 'adapted', and it uses a skeletal grammar to obtain the linguistic structures.

An Adaptor Grammar is a 7-tuple $\mathcal{G} = (V, \Sigma, R, S, \theta, A, C)$. Here $A \subseteq V$ denotes non-terminals which are adapted, i.e., productions for the non terminals in A will automatically be learnt from data. C is the Adaptor set, where C_X is a function that maps a distribution over trees $\mathcal{T}_X$ to a distribution over distributions over $\mathcal{T}_X$ (Johnson 2010).

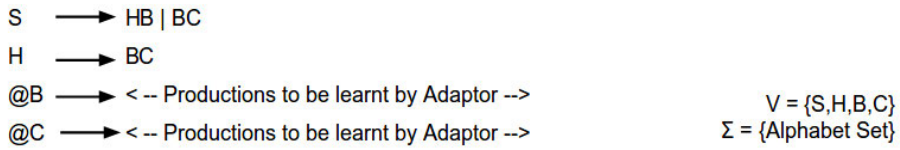

Figure 3

Example of an Adaptor Grammar. The non-terminals marked with an '@' show that they are adapted. The productions will be learnt from data, where each production is a variable length permutation of subset of the elements in the alphabet set

The independence assumptions that exist for PCFGs are not anymore valid in the case of Adaptor Grammars (Zhai, Boyd-Graber, and Cohen 2014). Here the non-terminal X is defined in terms of another distribution H_X. Now the adaptors for each of the non-terminal X, C_X, can be based on Dirichlet Process or a generalisation of the same, termed as Pitman-Yor

Process. Here $TD_X(G_{Y_1}, G_{Y_2}....., G_{Y_m})$ is a distribution over all the trees rooted in the non-terminal X

$$H_X = \sum_{X \rightarrow Y_1 ... Y_m \in R_X} \theta_{X \rightarrow Y_1 ... Y_m} TD_X(G_{Y_1}, G_{Y_2}....., G_{Y_m})$$

$$G_X \sim C_X(H_X)$$

3 Adaptor Grammar in Computational Linguistics

Adaptor Grammar has been widely used in multiple morphological and syntactic tasks for various languages. Adaptor Grammar has been initially shown for word segmentation task in English (Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater 2007). A sentence with no explicit word boundaries was given as observations and the task was to predict the actual words in the sentence. The task is similar to tasks for variable-length motif identification.

Adaptor Grammars has been introduced by Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater (2007) as a non-parametric Bayesian framework for performing inference of syntactic grammar of a language over parse trees. A PCFG (Probabilistic Context-Free Grammar) and an adaptor function jointly define an Adaptor grammar. The PCFG learns the grammar rules behind the data generation process and the adaptor function maps the probabilities of the generated parse trees to substantially larger values than of the same under the conditionally independent PCFG model.

Adaptor grammars have been very effectively used in numerous NLP related tasks. Johnson (2010) has drawn connections between topic models and PCFGs and then proposed a model with combined insights from adaptor grammars and topic models. While LDA defines topics projecting documents to lower-dimensional space, Adaptor grammar defines the distribution over trees. The author also projects a hybrid model to identify topical collocations using the power of PCFG encoded topic models. Adaptor grammars are also used in named entity structure learning. Zhai, Kozareva, et al. (2016) has used adaptor grammars for identifying entities from shopping-related queries in an unsupervised manner.

The word segmentation task is essentially identifying the individual words from a continuous sequence of characters. This is seen as a challenging task in computational cognitive science as well. Johnson (2008a) used Adaptor Grammar for word segmentation on the Bantu Language,

'Sesotho'. The author specifically showed how the grammar with additional syllable structure yields a better F-score for word segmentation task than the usual collocation grammar. A similar study has been carried out by Kumar, Padró, and Oliver González (2015). The authors present the mechanism to learn complex agglutinative morphology with specific examples of three of four Dravidian languages, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada. Furthermore, the authors specifically have stressed upon the task of dealing with *sandhi* using finite-state transducers after producing morphological segment generation using Adaptor grammars. Adaptor grammar succeeds in leveraging the knowledge about the agglutinative nature of the Dravidian language but refrains from modeling the specific morphotactic regularities of the particular language. Johnson also demonstrates the effect of *syllabification* on word segmentation task using PCFGs (Johnson 2008b). Johnson further motivates the usability of the aforementioned unsupervised approaches for word segmentation and grammar induction tasks by extracting the collocational dependencies between words (Johnson and Demuth 2010).

Due to their generalizability, Adaptor grammars have been used extensively in NLP. Hardisty, Boyd-Graber, and Resnik (2010) achieves state-of-the-art accuracy in perspective classification using adaptive Naïve Bayes model – the adaptor grammar-based non-parametric Bayesian model. Besides this, adaptor grammar has been proven to be effective in grammar induction (Cohen, David M Blei, and Smith 2010). Grammar induction is an unsupervised syntax learning task. The authors achieved considerable results along with the finding that the variational inference algorithm (David M. Blei, Kucukelbir, and McAuliffe 2017) can be extended to the logistic normal prior instead of the Dirichlet prior. Neubig et al. (2011) proposed an unsupervised model for phrase alignment and extraction where they claimed that their method can be thought of as an adaptor grammar over two languages. Zhai, Kozareva, et al. (2016) has presented a work, where the authors attempted to identify relevant suggestive keywords to a typed query so as to improve the results for search in an e-commerce site. The authors previously presented a new variational inference approach through a hybrid of Markov chain Monte Carlo and variational inference. It has been reported that the hybrid scheme has improved scalability without compromising the performance on typical common tasks of grammar induction.

Botha and Blunsom (2013) presented a new probabilistic model that extends Adaptor grammar to make it learn word segmentation and mor-

pheme lexicons in an unsupervised manner. Stem derivation in Semitic languages such as Arabic achieves better performance using this mildly context-sensitive grammar formalism. Again, Eskander, Rambow, and Yang (2016) recently investigated with Adaptor Grammars for unsupervised morphological segmentation to establish a claim of language-independence. Keeping aside other baselines such as morphological knowledge input from external sources and other cascaded architectures, adaptor grammar proved to be outperforming in a majority of the cases.

Another use of Adaptor grammar has been seen in the identification of native language (Wong, Dras, and Johnson 2012). Authors used adaptor grammar in identifying n-gram collocations of an arbitrary length over a mix of Parts of Speech tags and words to feed them as a feature in the classifier. By modeling the task with syntactic language models, the authors showed that extracted collocations efficiently represent the native language. Besides grammar induction, Huang, Zhang, and Tan (2011) further uses Adaptor grammar for machine transliteration. The PCFG framework helps to learn syllable equivalent in both languages and hence aids in the automatic phonetic translation. Furthermore, Feldman et al. (2013) recently explored a Bayesian model to understand how feedback from segmented words can alter the phonetic category learning of infants due to access to the knowledge of the joint occurrence of word-pairs.

As an extension to the standard Adaptor Grammar, O'Donnell (2015) presented Fragment Grammars which were built as a generalization of Adaptor Grammars. They generalize Adaptor Grammars by scoping the productivity and abstraction to occur at any point within individual stored structures. The specific model has adopted 'stochastic memoization' as an efficient substructure storing mechanism from the Adaptor grammar framework. It further memoizes partial internal computations via a lazy evaluation version of the original storage mechanism given by Adaptor Grammar.

4 Adaptor Grammar for Sanskrit

Adaptor Grammars have also been used for Sanskrit as well, mainly as a means of obtaining variable-length character n-grams to be used as features for classification tasks. Below, we describe two different applications, compound type identification, as well as identifying the *Taddhita* suffix for derivational nouns.

4.1 Variable Length Character n-grams for compound type identification[1]

Krishna, Satuluri, Sharma, et al. (2016) used adaptor grammars for identifying patterns present in different types of compound words. The underlying task was, given a compound word in Sanskrit, to identify the type of the compound. The problem was a multi-class classification problem. The classifier needed to classify a given compound into one of the four broad classes, namely, *Avyayībhāva*, *Dvandva*, *Bahuvrīhi*, *Tatpuruṣa*.

The system is developed as an ensemble-based supervised classifier. We used the Random Forests classifier with an easy ensemble approach to handle the class imbalance problem persisting in the data. The classifier had a majority of its labels in *Tatpuruṣa*. The presence of *Avyayībhāva* was the least. The classifier incorporated rich features from multiple sources. The rules from *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pertaining to compounds that are of conditional nature i.e. contains those containing selectional constraints were encoded as a feature. This was encoded by applying those selectional restrictions over the input compounds. Variable-length character n-grams for each class of compounds were obtained from adaptor grammar. Each filtered production from the compound class-specific grammar was used as a feature. We also incorporated noun pairs that follow the knowledge structure in Amarakośa as mentioned in Nair and A. Kulkarni (2010). We used a selected subset of relations from Nair and A. Kulkarni (2010).

We capture semantic class-specific linguistic regularities present in our dataset using variable-length character n-grams and character n-gram collocations shared between compounds using adaptor grammars.

We learn 3 separate grammars namely, G1, G2, and G3, with the same skeletal structure as Figure 4a, but with different data samples belonging to *Tatpuruṣa*, *Bahuvrīhi* and *Dvandva* respectively. We did not learn grammar for *Avyayībhāva*, due to insufficient data samples for learning the patterns. We use a '$' marker to indicate the word boundary between the components, where the components were in sandhi split form. A '#' symbol was added to mark the beginning and end of the first and the final components, respectively. We also learn a grammar G4, where the entire dataset is taken together along with additional 4000 random pair of words

[1]The work has been done as part of the compound type identification work published in Krishna, Satuluri, Sharma, et al. (2016). Please refer to the aforementioned work for a detailed explanation of the concepts described here.

from the Digital Corpus of Sanskrit, where none of the words appeared as a compound component in the corpus. The co-occurrence or the absence of it was taken as the proxy for compatibility between the components. The skeletal grammar in Figure 4b has two adapted non-terminals, both marked by '@'. Also, the adapted non-terminal 'Word' is a non-terminal appearing as a production to the adapted non-terminal 'Collocation'. The '+' symbol indicates the notion of one or more occurrence of 'Word', as used in regular expressions. This is not standard to use the notation in productions as per context-free grammar. This is ideally achieved using recursive grammars in CFGs with additional non-terminals. But, in order to present a simpler representation of skeletal grammar, we followed this scheme. In subsequent representations, we will be using recursiveness instead of the '+' notation.

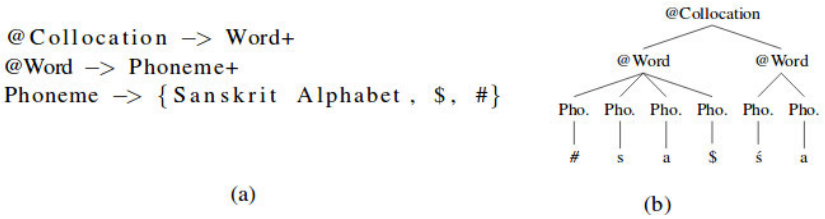

Figure 4

a) Skeletal grammar for the adaptor grammar b) Derivation tree for an instance of a production '#sa$ śa' for the non-terminal @Collocation

Every production in the learned grammars has a probability to be invoked, where the likelihood of all the productions of a non-terminal, sums to one. To obtain discriminative productions from G1, G2, and G3, we find conditional entropy of the productions with that of G4 and filter only those productions above a threshold. We also consider all the unique productions in each of the Grammars in G1 to G3. We further restrict the productions based on the frequency of the production in the data and the length of the sub-string produced by the production, both of them were kept at the value of three.

We show an instance of one such production for a variable-length character n-gram collocation. Here, for the adapted non-terminal @Collocation, we find that one of the production finally derives '#sa$ śa', which actually is derived as two @Word derivations as shown in the Figure 4b. We use this as a regular expression, which captures some properties that need to be satisfied by the concatenated components. The particular production

mandates that the first component must be exactly *sa*, as it is sandwiched between the symbols # and $. Now, since *śa* occurs after the previous substring which contains $ the boundary for both the components, *śa* should belong to the second component. Now, since as per the grammar both the substrings are independent @word productions, we relax the constraint that both the substrings should occur immediately one after the other. We treat the same as a regular expression, such that *śa* should occur after *sa*, and any number of characters can come in between both the substrings. For this particular pattern, we had 22 compounds, all of those belonging to *Bahuvrīhi*, which satisfied the criteria. Now, compounds where the first component is '*sa*' are mostly *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, and this is obvious to Sanskrit linguists. But here, the system was not provided with any such prior information or possible patterns. The system learned the pattern from the data. Incidentally, our dataset consisted of a few compound samples belonging to different classes as well where the first component was '*sa*'.

4.1.1 Experiments

Dataset - We obtained a labeled dataset of compounds and the decomposed pairs of components from the Sanskrit studies department, UoHyd[2]. The dataset contains more than 32,000 unique compounds. The compounds were obtained from ancient digitised texts including *Śrīmad Bhagavat Gīta*, *Caraka saṃhitā* among others. The dataset contains the *sandhi* split components along with the compounds. With more than 75% of the dataset containing *Tatpuruṣa* compounds, we down-sample the *Tatpuruṣa* compounds to a count of 4000, to match with the second-highest class, *Bahuvrīhi*. We find that the *Avyayībhāva* compounds are severely under-represented in the data-set, with about 5% of the *Bahuvrīhi* class. From the dataset, we filtered 9,952 different data-points split into 7,957 data points for training and the remaining as a held-out dataset.

Result - To measure the impact of different types of features we incorporated, we train the classifier incrementally with different feature types. We report the results over the held-out data. At first, we train the system with only *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules and some additional hand-crafted rules. We find that the overall accuracy of the system is about 59.34%. Then we augmented the classifier by adding features from *Amarakoṣa*. We find that the overall accuracy of the system has increased to 63.81%. We then finally add the adaptor

[2] `http://sanskrit.uohyd.ac.in/scl/`

Class	P	R	F
A	0.92	0.43	0.58
B	0.85	0.74	0.79
D	0.69	0.39	0.49
T	0.68	0.88	0.77

Table 1
Classwise performance of the Random Forests Classifier.

grammar-based features which have increased the performance of the system to an accuracy of 74.98 %. The effect of adding adaptor grammar features was more visible for the improvement in the performance of *Dvandva* and *Bahuvrīhi*. Notably, the precision for *Dvandva* and *Bahuvrīhi* increased by absolute values 0.15 and 0.06 respectively, when compared to the results before adding adaptor grammar-based features. Table 1 presents the result of the system with the entire feature set per Compound class. The addition of adaptor grammar features has resulted in an overall increase in the performance of the system from 63.81 % to 74.91 %. The patterns for adaptor grammar were learned only using the data from the training set and the held-out data was not used. This was done so as to ensure no over-fitting of data takes place. Also, we filtered the productions with length less than 3 and which do not occur many times in the grammar.

4.2 Distinctive Patterns in Derivational Nouns in Taddhita[3]

Derivational nouns are a means of vocabulary expansion in a language. A new word is created in a language where an existing word is modified by an affix. Taddhita is a category of such derivational affixes which are used to derive a *prātipadika* from another *prātipadika*. The challenge here is to identify Taddhita *prātipadika*s from corpora in Sanskrit and also to identify their source words.

Pattern-based approaches often result in false positives. The edit distance, a popular distance metric to compare the similarity of two given strings, between the source and derived words due to the patterns tends to vary from 1 to 6. For example, consider the word '*rāvaṇi*' derived from

[3]The work has been done as part of the Derivational noun word pair identification work published in Krishna, Satuluri, Ponnada, et al. (2017). Please refer to the aforementioned work for a detailed explanation of the concepts described here.

'*rāvaṇa*', where the edit distance between the words is just 1. But, '*Āśvalāyana*' derived from '*aśvala*' has an edit distance of 6. Also, the word 'kālaśa' is derived from the word 'kalaśa', but 'kāraṇa' is not derived from 'karaṇa'. Similarly 'stutya' is derived from 'stu' but using a kṛt affix. But, dakṣiṇā (South direction) is used to derive dākṣhiṇātya (Southern) with a taddhita affix. If we have to use vṛddhi as an indicator, which is the only difference between both the examples, then there are cases such as kāraka derived from kṛ for kṛt and aṣvaka is derived from aṣva using taddhita. All these instances show the level of ambiguity that can arise in deciding the pairs of source and derived words using taddhita. All the aforementioned examples show the need for knowledge of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*(or the knowledge of affixes), semantic relation between the word pairs or a combination of these to resolve the right set of word pairs.

The approach proposed in Krishna, Satuluri, Ponnada, et al. (2017) first identifies a high recall low precision set of word pairs from multiple Sanskrit Corpora based on pattern similarities as exhibited by the 137 affixes in Taddhita. Once the patterns are obtained, we look for various similarities between the word pairs to group them together. We use rules from *Aṣṭādhyāyī* , especially from the Taddhita section. But since we could not incorporate rules of semantic and pragmatic nature, to compensate for the missing rules, we tried to identify patterns from the word pairs, specifically the source words, to be used. We use Adaptor Grammar for the purpose.

Currently, we do not identify the exact affix that leads to the derivation of the word. Also, since the affixes are distinguished not just by the visible pattern, but also by the 'it' markers, it is challenging to identify the exact affix. So, we group all those affixes that result in similar patterns into a single group. All the word pairs that follow the same pattern belong to one group. To further increase the group size, we group all those entries that differ by vṛddhi and guṇa also into the same group. Such distinctions are not considered while forming a group. Effectively we only look into the pattern at the end of the 'derived word'. We call all such collection of groups based on the patterns as our 'candidate set'.

For every distinct pattern in our candidate set, we first identify the word pairs and then create a graph with the given word pairs. A word pair is a node and edges are formed between nodes where they match different set of similarities. The first set of similarities are based on rules directly from *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, while the second set of node similarities were using character n-grams using Adaptor grammars. Once the similarities were found, we

apply the Modified Adsorption approach (Talukdar and Crammer 2009) on the graph. The modified adsorption is a semi-supervised label prorogation approach where labels are provided to a subset of nodes and then propagated to the remaining nodes based on the similarity they share with other nodes.

Figure 5 shows a sample construction of the graph for the word pairs, where words differ by a pattern 'ya'. Here every pair obtained by pattern matching is a node. Now, Modified Adsorption is a semi-supervised approach. So, we need a limited number of labeled nodes. The nodes marked in grey are labeled nodes. They are called as seed nodes. The label here is just binary, i.e. a word pair can either be a true Taddhita pair or not. Now, edges are formed between the word pairs. Modified Adsorption provides a means of designing the graph explicitly, while many of its predecessors relied more on nearest-neighbor based approaches (Zhu and Ghahramani 2002). Also, the edges can be weighted based on the closeness between different nodes. Once the graph structure is defined, we perform the modified adsorption. In this approach, the labels from the seed nodes are propagated through the edges, such that the labels from seed nodes are propagated to other unlabelled nodes as well. The highly similar nodes should be given similar labels or else the optimization function penalizes any other label assignments. We use three different means of obtaining similarities between the nodes. The first such set of similarity is the rules in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* that the pair of nodes have a match with. The second set of similarity is the sum of probabilities of productions from adaptor grammar, which are matched for a pair of nodes. The third is the word vector similarity between the source words in the node pairs. For a detailed working of the system and a detailed explanation of each set of features please refer to Krishna, Satuluri, Ponnada, et al. (2017). Here, we republish the working of the second set of features obtained using Adaptor grammar and the results of the model thereafter.

Character n-grams similarity by Adaptor Grammar - Pāṇini had an obligation to maintain brevity, as his grammar treatise was supposed to be memorized and recited orally by humans (Kiparsky 1994). In *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Pāṇini uses character sub-strings of varying lengths as conditional rules for checking the suitability of the application of an affix. We examine if there are more such regularities in the form of variable-length character n-grams that can be observed from the data, as brevity is not a concern for us. Also, we assume this would compensate for the loss of some of the information which Pāṇini originally encoded using pragmatic rules. In order to identify

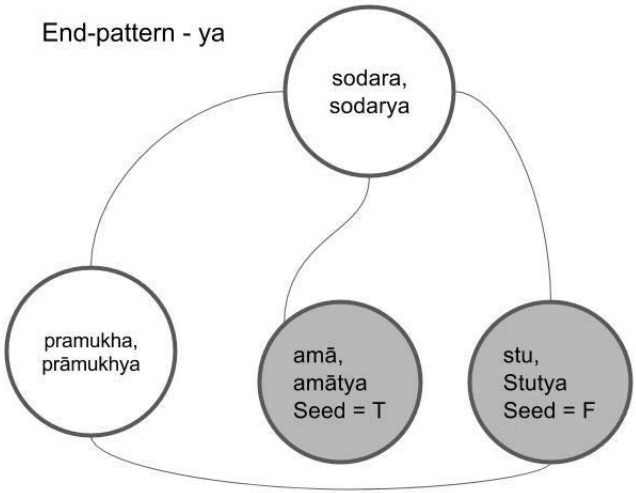

Figure 5

Graph structure for the group of words where derived words end in 'ya'. Nodes in grey denote seed nodes, where they are marked with their class label. The Nodes in white are unlabelled nodes.

the regularities in the pattern in the words, we use Adaptor grammar.

In Listing 1, 'Word' and 'Stem' are non-terminals, which are adapted. The non-terminal 'Suffix' consists of the set of various end-patterns.

$Word \rightarrow Stem\ Suffix$
$Word \rightarrow Stem$
$Stem \rightarrow Chars$
$Suffix \rightarrow a|ya|.....|Ayana$
Listing 1: Skeletal CFG for the Adaptor grammar

The set $\mathcal{A}_2$ captures all the variable-length character n-grams learned as the productions by the grammar along with the probability score associated with the production. We form an edge between two nodes in G_{i2}, if there exists an entry in $\mathcal{A}_2$, which are present in both the nodes. We sum the probability value associated with all such character n-grams common to the pair of nodes $v_j, v_k \in V_i$, and calculate the edge score $\tau_{j,k}$. If the edge score

is greater than zero, we find the sigmoid of the value so obtained to assign the weight to the edge. The expression for calculating $\tau_{j,k}$ in the equation given below uses the Iverson bracket (Knuth 1992) to show the conditional sum operation. The equation essentially makes sure that the probabilities associated with only those character n-grams get summed, which are present in both the nodes. We define the edge score $\tau_{j,k}$, weight set W_{i2} and Edge set E_{i2} as follows.

$$\tau_{j,k} = \sum_{l=1}^{|\mathcal{A}_2|} a_{k_2,l}[a_{k_2,l} = a_{j_2,l}]$$

$$E_{i2}^{v_k,v_j} = \begin{cases} 1 & \tau_{j,k} > 0 \\ 0 & \tau_{j,k} = 0 \end{cases}$$

$$W_{i2}^{v_k,v_j} = \begin{cases} \sigma(\tau_{j,k}) & \tau_{j,k} > 0 \\ 0 & \tau_{j,k} = 0 \end{cases}$$

As mentioned, we use the label distribution per node obtained from phase 1 as the seed labels in this setting.

4.2.1 Experiments

As we mentioned, we use three different set of similarity sets for weighting the edges. But, in Modified Adsorption (MAD) the edge weight requires to be a scalar. This implies a similarity score between a pair of nodes using one similarity function can be used at a time. hence, we chose to apply the similarity weights sequentially on the graph. An alternative would have been to obtain a weighted average of the different similarity scores. But, our pipeline approach can be seen as a means of bootstrapping our seeds set. In Modified Adsorption, we need to provide seed labels, which are labels for some of the nodes. In reality, the seed nodes do not have a binary assignment of the labels, rather a distribution of the labels (Talukdar and Crammer 2009). So after the run of each similarity set, we get a label distribution for each of the nodes in the graph. This label distribution is used to generate seed nodes in the subsequent run of the modified adsorption. The seed nodes also get modified during the run of the algorithm.

Dataset - We use multiple lexicons and corpora to obtain our vocabulary $\mathcal{C}$. We use IndoWordNet (M. Kulkarni et al. 2010), the Digital Corpus of

Sanskrit[4], a digitized version of the Monier Williams[5] Sanskrit-English dictionary, a digitized version of the Apte Sanskrit-Sanskrit Dictionary (Goyal, G. P. Huet, et al. 2012) and we also utilize the lexicon employed in the Sanskrit Heritage Engine (Goyal and G. Huet 2016). We obtained close to 170,000 unique word lemmas from the combined resources.

Results - In Krishna, Satuluri, Ponnada, et al. (2017), we report results from 11 of the patterns from a total of more than 80 patterns we initially obtained. Due to the lack of enough evidence in the form of data-points we did not attempt the procedure for others. Here, we only show results for 5 of the patterns, which were selected based on the size of evidence from the corpora we obtain. Since we use each of the similarity set sequentially, we have outputs at each of the phase of the sequences. The result of the system after incorporating *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules is $MADB1$, while that after incorporating Adaptor grammar ngrams is $MADB2$ and the final result after the word vector similarity is MAD. Now, since we have 5 different patterns, we have an index i sub-scripted to the systems to denote the corresponding patterns. We additionally use a baseline called as Label Propagation (LP), based on the algorithm by Zhu and Ghahramani (2002). We can find that the systems which incorporates adaptor grammar are the MAD and $MADB2$. Both the systems are the best and second best performing systems respectively.

Table 2 shows the results of our system. We compare the performance of 5 different patterns, selected based on the number of candidate word pairs available for the pattern. The system proposed in the work MAD_i performs the best for all the 5 patterns. Interestingly, $MADB2_i$ is the second best-performing system in all cases. The system uses 3 kinds of similarity measures in a sequential pipeline of which adaptor grammar comes as the second feature set. To understand the impact of adding adaptor grammar-based features, we can compare the results with that of $MADB1_i$. The system shows the result for each of the patterns before using adaptor grammar-based features.

A baseline using the label propagation algorithm was also used. The motive behind the label propagation baseline was to measure the effect of Modified adsorption on the task. In Label Propagation, we experimented with the parameter K with different values, $K \in \{10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60\}$, and found that $K = 40$, provides the best results for 3 of the 5 end-patterns.

[4] `http://kjc-sv013.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de/dcs/`

[5] `http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/monier/`

Pattern	System	P	R	A
a	MAD	0.72	0.77	73.86
	MADB2	0.68	0.68	68.18
	MADB1	0.49	0.52	48.86
	LP	0.55	0.59	55.68
aka	MAD	0.77	0.67	73.33
	MADB2	0.71	0.67	70
	MADB1	0.43	0.4	43.33
	LP	0.75	0.6	70
in	MAD	0.74	0.82	76.47
	MADB2	0.67	0.70	67.65
	MADB1	0.51	0.56	51.47
	LP	0.63	0.65	63.23
ya	MAD	0.7	0.72	70.31
	MADB2	0.61	0.62	60.94
	MADB1	0.53	0.59	53.12
	LP	0.56	0.63	56.25
i	MAD	0.55	0.52	54.76
	MADB2	0.44	0.38	45.24
	MADB1	0.3	0.29	30.95
	LP	0.37	0.33	38.09

Table 2
Comparative performance of the four competing models.

The values for K are set by empirical observations. We find that for those 3 patterns (‘*a*’,‘*in*’,‘*i*’), the entire vertex set has *vṛddhi* attribute set to the same value. For the other two (‘*ya*’,‘*aka*’), $K = 50$ gave the best results. Here, the vertex set has nodes where the *vṛddhi* attribute is set to either of the values. For a better insight towards this finding, the notion of the pattern that we use in the design of the system needs to be elaborated. A pattern is effectively the substrings that remain in both the source word and derived word after removing the portions which are common in both. This pattern is the visible change that happens in the derivation of a word. To reduce the number of distinct patterns we did not consider the pattern changes that occur due to *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* as distinct patterns, rather we abstracted them out. Now, multiple affixes may lead to the generation of the same set of patterns. In the case of pattern, rather end-pattern, (Krishna, Satuluri, Ponnada, et al. 2017), ‘a’, the effect may be the result of application of one of the following affixes such as *aṇ añ* etc. Here, all the affixes of pattern ‘a’

lead to *vṛddhi*. But for the pattern 'ya', the affixes may or may not lead to a *vṛddhi*. We report the best result for each of the system in Table 2.

5 Inference of Syntactic Structure in Sanskrit

In this section, we are reporting an ongoing work, where we investigate the effectiveness of using Adaptor grammar for inference of syntactic structures in Sanskrit. We experiment with the effect of Adaptor Grammar in capturing the 'natural order' or the word order followed in prose. For this task, we use a dataset of Sanskrit sentences which are in prose order. The dataset consists of 2000 sentences from Pañcākhyānaka and more than 600 sentences from Mahābhārata, . For this experiment, we only consider the morphological classes of the words involved in the sentences. Currently, we use the morphological tags as used in the Sanskrit Library.[6] We keep 500 of the sentences for testing and the remaining 2000 are used for identifying the patterns. Some of the constructs had one or two words, which we ignore for the experiment.

We learn the necessary productions in grammar and then evaluate the grammar on the 500 test sentences. We calculate the likelihood of generating each of the sentences. In order to test the likelihood of the correct sentence, we also generate all possible permutations of the morphological tags in each of the test sentences. For sentences of length > 5, we break them into sub-sequences of 5 and find the permutations of the sub-sequences and concatenate them again. This is used as a means of sampling the possible combinations as the explicit enumeration of all the permutations are computationally costly. From the generated candidate set we find the likelihood of the ground truth sentence and rank them. We report our results based on two measures.

1. **Edit Distance (ED)** - The edit distance of the top-ranked sentence among the candidate set for a given sentence with that of the ground truth. Edit distance is roughly described as the minimum number of operations required to convert one string to another based on a fixed set of operations with predefined costs. We use the standard Levenshtein distance (Levenshtein 1966), where the three operations are 'insert', 'delete' and 'substitution'. All the 3 operations have a

[6] `http://sanskritlibrary.org/helpmorphids.html`

cost of 1. We compare the ground truth sentence with the predicted sentence that has the highest likelihood to obtain the measure. The predicted sentences with a lower Edit Distance implies a better result.

2. **Mean Reciprocal Rank (MRR)** - Mean Reciprocal Rank is the average of reciprocal ranks for each of the queries. Here a test sentence is treated as a query. The different permutations are the retrieved results for the query. So from the ranked retrieved list, we find the inverse of the rank of the gold standard sentence. The better the MRR Score, the better the result.

$$\frac{1}{|Q|}\sum_{i=1}^{|Q|}\frac{rel_i}{rank_i}$$

We first attempt the same skeletal grammars as proposed by Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater (2007) for capturing the syntactic regularities. We used both the 'unigram' and 'collocation' grammar as mentioned in the work. Figures 6 and 7 show the first two grammars that we have used for the task.

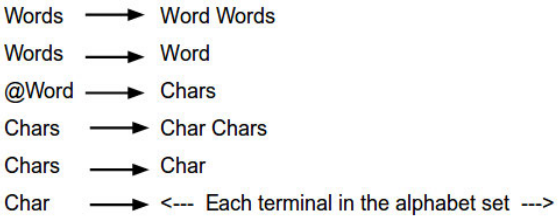

Figure 6
Unigram grammar as used in Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater (2007)

With these grammars, we experimented with various hyper-parameter settings. Since both the grammars are right recursive grammars, the length of the productions so learnt from the grammar varied greatly. Though this is beneficial for identifying the word lengths, the association with the morphological tags cannot be much longer. Secondly, the number of productions to be learnt is user-defined hyper-parameter. We find that due to the possible varying length size of strings and fewer observations, the main morphological patterns that were learnt as the productions were not repeated enough in the observations to be statistically significant.

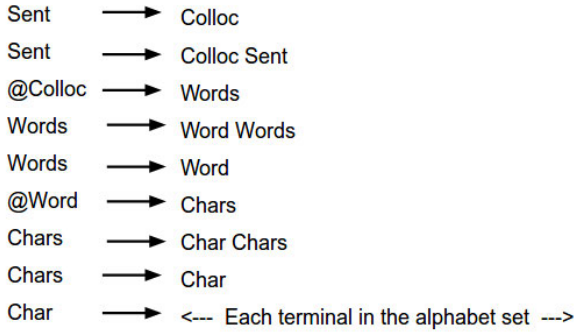

Figure 7

Collocation grammar as used in Johnson, T. L. Griffiths, and Goldwater (2007)

Figure 8

Modified grammar by eliminating the recursiveness in the Adapted nonterminal '@Word'.

We modified both the grammars to restrict the length of the productions to a maximum of 4 and limited the number of productions to be learnt. We show the modification done to the adapted non-terminal 'word' in both the grammars. This restricts the number of productions that 'word' can learn. The modified portion can be seen in Figure 8.

The results for all the four grammars are shown in Table 3. It can be seen that there is considerable improvement in the Mean Reciprocal Rank and the edit distance measures for the task with the restricted grammar. On our manual inspection of the patterns learnt from all the grammars, it was observed that the initial skeletal grammars were essentially over-fitting the training instances due to longer lengths. The modified grammars could reduce the Edit distance to almost half and double the Mean Reciprocal

Grammar	MRR	ED
Unigram	0.2923	4.87
Collocation	0.3016	4.66
Modified Unigram	0.4025	3.21
Modified Collocation	0.5671	2.20

Table 3
Results for the word reordering task.

Rank for the task.

For example, consider the sentence 'tatra budhaḥ vrata caryā samāptau āgacchat (ā agacchat)' from Mahābhārata. Consider the corresponding sequence of morphological tags as shown, 'i m1s iic f3s f7s i ipf[1]_a3s'.[7] We filter out the 'iic' tags as the 'iic' tag stands for the compound component. It can be seen as part of the immediate next noun tag following it. We do not filter out the 'i' tags as of now, where 'i', stands for the indeclinable. So in effect the tag sequence is 'i m1s f3s f7s i ipf[1]_a3s'. The 'Collocation' Grammar had the following sequence as the most likely output 'i f7s i m1s f3s ipf[1]_a3s' with an edit distance of 4. In the 'Modified Collocation' Grammar the predicted sequence is 'i m1s f3s i f7s ipf[1]_a3s'. The edit distance of the sentence is 2. Here, it can be seen that just 2 tags have swapped their position. The tags 'i' and 'f7s' have changed their positions, but are still at adjacent positions to each other. The fourth and fifth words in the original sentence have changed to become the fifth and fourth words in the predicted sentence.

The results shown here are preliminary in nature. What excites us the most is the provision this framework provides to incorporate the syntactic knowledge which is explicitly defined in our grammar formalisms. With this work, we plan to extend the work to two immediate tasks. First, we plan to extend the word-reordering task to the poetry to prose conversion task. Currently, the task is to convert a bag of words into its corresponding prose or the 'natural order'. But we will investigate the regularities involved in poetry apart from the aspects of meter and incorporate the regularities to guide the grammar in picking up those patterns. We can also attempt to learn the conditional probabilities for the syntactic patterns in both poetry

[7]We follow the notations from Sanskrit Library - `http://sanskritlibrary.org/helpmorphids.html`

and prose. Second, we will be performing the Dependency parse analysis of given sentences at a morphological level. Goyal and A. Kulkarni (2014) presents a scheme for converting Sanskrit constructs in constituency parse structure to Dependency parse structure. Headden III, Johnson, and McClosky (2009) provides some insights into the use of PCFGs and lexical evidence for unsupervised dependency parsing. Currently, we will be working only on the projective dependency parsing. We will be relying on the Dependency Model with Valence to define our PCFG formalism for dependency parsing.

6 Conclusion

The primary goal of this work was to look into the applicability of the Adaptor Grammars, a non-parametric Bayesian approach for learning syntactic structures from observations. In this work, we introduced the basic concepts of the Adaptor grammars, various applications in which the grammar is used in NLP tasks. We provide detailed descriptions of how adaptor grammar is used in word-level vocabulary expansion tasks in Sanskrit. The adaptor grammars were used as effective sub-word n-gram features for both Compound type identification and Derivational noun pair identification. We further showed the feasibility of using adaptor grammar for syntactic level analysis of sentences in Sanskrit. We plan to investigate the feasibility of using the Adaptor grammars for dependency parsing and poetry to prose conversion tasks at the sentence level.

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the use of the morphologically tagged database of the Pañcākhyānaka and Mahābhārata produced under the direction of Professor Peter M. Scharf while laureate of a Blaise Pascal Research Chair at the Université Paris Diderot 2012–2013 and maintained by The Sanskrit Library.

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A user-friendly tool for metrical analysis of Sanskrit verse

Shreevatsa Rajagopalan

Abstract: This paper describes the design and implementation of a tool that assists readers of metrical verse in Sanskrit (and other languages/literatures with similar prosody). It is open-source, and available online as a web application, as a command-line tool and as a software library. It handles both *varṇavṛtta* and *mātrāvṛtta* metres. It has many features for usability without placing strict demands on its users. These include allowing input in a wide variety of transliteration schemes, being fairly robust against typographical or metrical errors in the input, and "aligning" the given verse in light of the recognized metre.

This paper describes the various components of the system and its user interface, and details of interest such as the heuristics used in the identifier and the dynamic-programming algorithm used for displaying results. Although originally and primarily designed to help readers, the tool can also be used for additional applications such as detecting metrical errors in digital texts (its very first version identified 23 errors in a Sanskrit text from an online corpus), and generating statistics about metres found in a larger text or corpus. These applications are illustrated here, along with plans for future improvements.

1 Introduction

1.1 Demo

As a software tool is being discussed, it seems best to start with a demonstration of a potential user interaction with the tool. Suppose I wish to learn about the metre of the following *subhāṣita* (which occurs in the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* attributed to Bhāsa):

kāṣṭhād agnir jāyate mathya-mānād-
bhūmis toyaṃ khanya-mānā dadāti |
sotsāhānāṃ nāstyasādhyaṃ narāṇāṃ
mārgārabdhāḥ sarva-yatnāḥ phalanti ||

Then I can visit the tool's website, `http://sanskritmetres.appspot.com`, enter the above verse (exactly as above), and correctly learn that it is in the metre *Śālinī*. More interestingly, suppose I do not have the verse correctly: perhaps I am quoting it from memory (possibly having misheard it, and unaware of the line breaks), or I have found the text on a (not very reliable) blog, or some errors have crept into the digital text, or possibly I just make some mistakes while typing. In such a case, possibly even with an unreasonable number of mistakes present, I can still use the tool in the same way. Thus, I can enter the following error-ridden input (which, for illustration, is encoded this time in the ITRANS convention):

```
kaaShThaad agni jaayate
mathyamaanaad bhuumistoya khanyamaanaa /
daati sotsaahaanaaM naastyasaadhyaM
naraaNaaM maargaabdhaaH savayatnaaH phalantiihi //
```

Here, some syllables have the wrong prosodic weight (*laghu* instead of *guru* and vice-versa), some syllables are missing, some have been introduced extraneously, not a single line of the input is correct, and even the total number of syllables is wrong. Despite this, the tool identifies the metre as Śālinī. The output from the tool, indicating the identified metre, and highlighting the extent to which the given verse corresponds to that metre, is shown in Figure 1. The rest of this paper explains how this is done, among other things.

1.2 Background

A large part of Sanskrit literature, in *kāvya*, *śāstra* and other genres, is in verse (*padya*) rather than prose (*gadya*). A verse in Sanskrit (not counting some modern Sanskrit poets' experimentation with "free verse" and the like) is invariably in metre.

Computer tools to recognize the metre of a Sanskrit verse are not new. A script in the Perl programming language, called `sscan`, written by John Smith, is distributed among other utilities at the `http://bombay.`

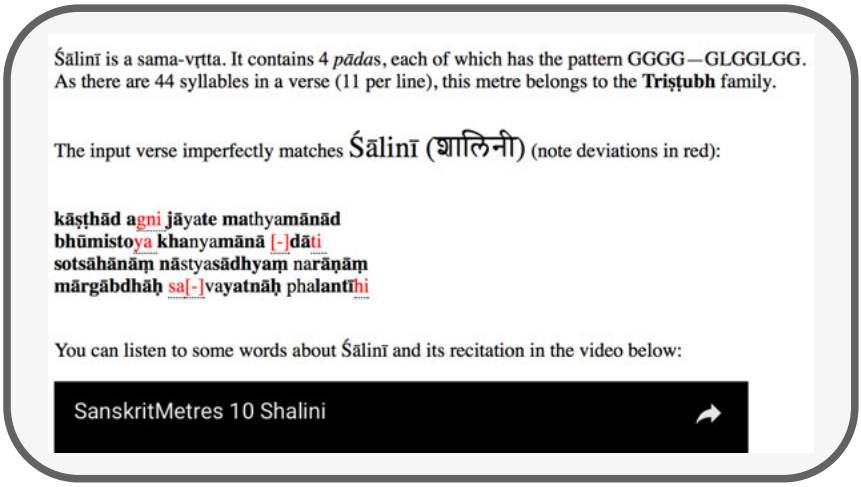

Figure 1

A screenshot of the output from the tool for highly erroneous input. Despite the errors, the metre is correctly identified as Śālinī. The guru syllables are marked in bold, and the deviations from the expected metrical pattern (syllables with the wrong weight, or missing or superfluous syllables) are underlined (and highlighted in red).

indology.info website, and although the exact date is unknown, the timestamp in the ZIP file suggests a date of 1998 or earlier for this file (Smith 1998?). This script, only 61 lines long (38 source lines not including comments and description) was the spark of inspiration that initiated the writing of the tool being described in the current paper, in 2013. Other software or programs include those by Murthy (2003?), by A. Mishra (2007) and by Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf (2015). A general introduction to metre and Sanskrit prosody is omitted in this paper for reasons of space, as the last of these papers (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015) quite excellently covers the topic.

Like these other tools, the tool being discussed in this paper recognizes the metre given a Sanskrit verse. It is available in several forms: as a web application hosted online at http://sanskrit-metres.appspot.com, as a commandline tool, and as a Python library; all are available in the source-code form at https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit. It is being described here for two reasons:

1. It has some new features that I think will be interesting (see section 1.4), some of which distinguish it from other tools. The development of this tool has thrown up a few insights (see Section 4) which may be useful to others who would like to develop better tools in the future.

2. A question was raised about this tool (P. Scharf 2016), namely:

   > "An open-source web archive of metrically related software and data can be found at https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit with an interface at http://sanskritmetres.appspot.com/. The author and contributors to this archive and data were unknown at the time and not included in our literature review. No description of the extent, comprehensiveness, and effectiveness of the software has been found."

   I took this as encouragement that such a description may be desirable / of interest to others.

1.3 The intended user

The tool can be useful for someone trying to read or compose Sanskrit verses, and for someone checking a text for metrical errors. In other words, the tool

can be used by different kinds of users: a curious learner, an editor working with a text (checking verses for metrical correctness), a scholar investigating the metrical signature of a text, or an aspiring poet. To make these concrete, consider the following "user stories" as motivating examples.

- **Devadatta** is learning Sanskrit. He knows that Sanskrit verse is written in metre and that this is supposed to make it easier to chant or recite. But he knows very little about various metres, so that when he looks at a verse, especially one in a longer metre like *Śārdūla-vikrīḍitam* or *Sragdharā*, he cannot quickly recognize the metre. All he sees is a string of syllables, and he has no idea where to pause (*yati*), how to recite, or even where to break at *pādā*s if they are not indicated clearly in the text he is reading. With this tool, these problems are solved, and he can focus on understanding and appreciating the poetry, now that he can read it aloud rhythmically and melodically and savor its sounds.

- **Chitralekha** is a scholar. She works with digital texts that, though useful to have, are sometimes of questionable provenance and do not always meet her standards of critical editions. Errors might have crept into the texts, and she has the idea that some instances of scribal emendation or typographical errors (such as omitted letters, extraneous letters, or transposed letters) are likely to cause metrical errors as well. With this tool, she can catch a great many of them (see Section 3). Sometimes, she is interested in questions about prosody itself, such as: what are all the metres used in this text? Which ones are the most common? How frequently does the poet X use a particular "poetic license" of scansion? What are the rules governing *Anuṣṭubh* (*Śloka*), typically? This tool can help her with such questions too.

- **Kamban** would like to write poetry, like his famous namesake. He has a good command of vocabulary and grammar and has some poetic imagination, but when he writes a verse, especially in an "exotic" (to him) metre, he is sometimes unsure whether he has got all the syllables right. With this tool, he enters his tentative attempt and sees whether anything is off. He knows that the metres will soon become second-nature to him and he will not need the tool anymore, but still he

wishes he could have more help—such as choosing his desired metre, and knowing what he needs to add to his partially composed verse.

With the names of these users as mnemonics, we can say that the tool can be used to *discover*, *check*, and *compose* metrical verse and facts about them.

1.4 User-friendly features

As mentioned earlier, the tool has several features for easing the user's job:

1. It accepts a wide variety of input scripts (transliteration schemes). Unlike most tools, it does not enforce the input to be in any particular input scheme or system of transliteration. Instead, it accepts IAST, Harvard-Kyoto, and ITRANS transliteration, Unicode Devanāgarī, and Unicode Kannada scripts, without the user having to indicate which input scheme is used. The tool is agnostic to the input method used, as it converts all input to an internal representation based on SLP1 (P. M. Scharf and Hyman 2011). It is straightforward to extend to other scripts or transliteration methods, such as SLP1 or other Indic scripts.

2. It is highly robust against typographical errors or metrical errors in the verse that is input. This is perhaps the most interesting feature of the tool and is useful because the text in the "wild" is not always error-free.

3. It can detect the metre even from partial verses—even if the user is not aware that the verse one is looking up is incomplete.

4. Informative "display" of a verse in relation to the identified metre, by aligning the verse to the metre using a dynamic programming algorithm to find the best alignment.

5. Supports learning more about a metre, by pointing to other examples of the metre, and audio recordings of the metre being recited in several styles (where available).

6. Quick link to provide feedback (by creating an issue on GitHub), specific to the input verse being processed on the page.

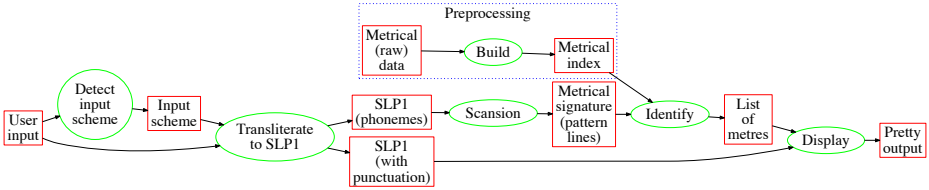

Figure 2

A "data flow diagram" of the system's operation. The rectangles denote different forms taken by the data; the ovals denote code that transforms (or uses, or generates) the data.

2 How it works

This section describes how the system works. At a high level, there are the following steps/components:

1. Metrical data, about many known metres. This has been entered into the system.

2. Building the Index (Pre-processing): from the metrical data, various indices are generated.

3. Detection and Transliteration: The input supplied by the user is examined, the input scheme detected, and transliterated into SLP1.

4. Scansion: The SLP1 text (denoting a set of phonemes) is translated into a metrical signature (a pattern of *laghu*s and *guru*s).

5. Matching: The metrical signature is compared against the index, to identify the metre (or metres).

6. Display: The user's input is displayed to the user, appropriately re-formatted to fit the identified metre(s), and with highlighting of any deviations from the metrical ideal.

These steps are depicted in Figure 2, and described in more detail in the following subsections.

2.1 Metrical data

This is the raw data about all the metres known to the system. They are stored in the JSON format, so that they could be used by other programs too. In what follows, a metrical **pattern** is defined as string over the alphabet $\{\mathsf{L}, \mathsf{G}\}$, i.e., a sequence of symbols each of which is either L (denoting *laghu* or a light syllable) or G (denoting *guru* or a heavy syllable). As described elsewhere (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), there are two main types of metres, *varṇavṛtta* and *mātrāvṛtta* (note that (Murthy 2003) points out that the *Śloka* metre constitutes a third type by itself), with the former having three subtypes:

1. *samavṛtta* metres, in which all four *pāda*s of a verse have the same metrical pattern,
2. *ardhasamavṛtta* metres, in which odd *pāda*s have one pattern and even *pāda*s another (so that the two halves of the verse have the same metrical pattern),
3. *viṣamavṛtta* metres, in which potentially all four *pāda*s have different metrical patterns.

Correspondingly each metre's characteristics are indicated in this system with the minimal amount of data necessary:

1. *samavṛtta* metres are represented by a list of length one (or for convenience, simply a string), containing the pattern of each of their *pāda*s,
2. *ardhasamavṛtta* metres are represented by a list of length two, containing the pattern of the odd *pāda*s followed by the pattern of the even *pāda*s,
3. *viṣamavṛtta* metres are represented by a list of length four, containing the pattern for each of the four *pāa*s.

Additionally, with the pattern, *yati* can be indicated; also spaces can be added, which are ignored. The yati is ignored for identification, but used later for displaying information about the metre. Here are some lines, as examples:

```
{
        # ...
        ['Śālinī', 'GGGG-GLGGLGG'],
        ['Praharṣiṇī', 'GGGLLLLGLGLGG'],
        ['Bhujaṅgaprayātam', 'LGG LGG LGG LGG'],
        # ...
        ['Viyoginī', ['LLGLLGLGLG','LLGGLLGLGLG']],
        # ...
        ['Udgatā', ['LLGLGLLLGL',
                    'LLLLLGLGLG',
                    'GLLLLLLGLLG',
                    'LLGLGLLLGLGLG']],
        # ...
}
```

For *mātrāvṛtta* metres (those based on the number of morae: *mātrā*s), the constraints are more subtle, and as not every syllable's weight is fixed, there are so many patterns that fit each metre that it may not be efficient to generate and store each pattern separately. Instead, the system represents them by using a certain conventional notation, which expands to regular expressions. This notation is inspired by the elegant notation described in another paper (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), and uses a particularly useful description of the Āryā and related metres available in a paper by Ollett Ollett (2012).

```
    # ...
    ["Āryā", ["22 4 22", "4 22 121 22 .", "22 4 22", "4 22 1 22 ."]
       ["Gīti", ["22 4 22", "4 22 121 22 ."]],
       ["Upagīti", ["22 4 22", "4 22 L 22 ."]],
    ["Udgīti", ["22 4 22", "4 22 L 22 .", "22 4 22", "4 22 121 22."
       ["Āryāgīti", [["22 4 22", "4 22 121 22 (4|2L)"]],
    # ...
```

Here, `2` will be interpreted as the regular expression `(G|LL)` and `4` as the regular expression `(GG|LLG|GLL|LLLL|LGL)` – all possible sequences of *laghu*s and *guru*s that are exactly 4 *mātrā*s long. Note that with this notation, the frequently mentioned rule of "any combination of 4 *mātrā*s except `LGL` (*ja-gaṇa*)" is simply denoted as `22`, expanding to the regular expression `(G|LL)(G|LL)` which covers precisely the 4 sequences of *laghu*s and *guru*s of total duration 4, other than `LGL`.

Type of metre	Number
samavṛtta	1242
ardhasamavṛtta	132
viṣamavṛtta	19
mātrāvṛtta	5
Total	1398

Table 1

The number of metres "known" to the current system. Not too much should be read into the raw numbers as a larger number isn't necessarily better; see Section 4.1.3 for why.

The data in the system was started with a hand-curated list of popular metres (Ganesh 2013). It was greatly extended with the contributions of Dhaval Patel, which drew from the *Vṛttaratnākara* and the work of Mishra (A. Mishra 2007). A few metres from these contributions are yet to be incorporated, because of reasons described in section 4.1.3. Overall, as a result of all this, at the moment we have a large number of known metres, shown in Table 1.

2.2 Metrical index

The data described in the previous section is not used directly by the rest of the program. Instead, it is first processed into data structures (which we can consider a sort of "index") that allow for efficient lookup, even when the number of metres is huge. These enable the robustness to errors that is one of the most important features of the system. The indices are called PĀDA1, PĀDA2, PĀDA3, PĀDA4, ARDHA1, ARDHA2, and FULL. Each of these indices consists of an associative array (a Python `dict`) that maps a pattern (a "pattern" is a string over the alphabet {`L`, `G`}) to a list[1] of metres that contain that pattern (at the position indicated by the name of the index), and similarly an array that maps a regular expression to the list of metres that contain it. For instance, `ardha2` maps the second half of each known metre to that metre's name. It is at this point that we also introduce *laghu-*

[1]Why a list? Because different metres can share the same *pāda*, for instance. And there can even be multiple names for the same metre. See Section 4.1.3 later.

ending variants for many metres (see more in 4.1.2). Section 2.5 describes how these indices are used.

Although this index is generated automatically and not written down in code, the following hypothetical code illustrates some sample entries in the `ardha2` index:

```
ardha2_patterns = {
    # ...
    'GGGGGLGGLGGGGGGGLGGLGG': ['Śālinī'],
    # laghu variants for illustration.
    # In reality we don't add for Śālinī…
    'GGGGGLGGLGLGGGGGLGGLGG': ['Śālinī'],
    'GGGGGLGGLGGGGGGGLGGLGL': ['Śālinī'],
    'GGGGGLGGLGLGGGGGLGGLGL': ['Śālinī'],
    # ...
}
ardha2_regexes = {
    # ...
    "22 4 22" + "4 22 L 22 .": ['Āryā', 'Upagīti],
    # ...
}
```

2.3 Transliteration

The first step that happens after users enter their input is automatic transliteration. Detecting the input scheme is based on a few heuristics. Among the input schemes initially supported (Devanāgarī, Kannada, IAST, ITRANS, and Harvard-Kyoto), the detection is done as follows:

- If the input contains any Kannada consonants and vowels, treat it as Kannada.
- If the input contains (m)any Devanāgarī consonants and vowels, treat it as Devanāgarī. Note that this should *not* be applied to other characters from the Devanāgarī Unicode block, such the *daṇḍa* symbol, which are often used with other scripts too, as encouraged in the Unicode standard.
- If the input contains any of the characters ĀĪŪṚṜḶḸṂḤṄÑṬḌŚṢ, treat it as IAST.

- If the input matches the regular expression

  ```
  aa|ii|uu|[RrLl]\^[Ii]|RR[Ii]|LL[Ii]|~N|Ch|~n|N\^|Sh|sh
  ```

  treat it as ITRANS. Here, the `Sh` and `sh` might seem dangerous, but the consonant cluster स्ह is unlikely in Sanskrit.

- Else, treat the input as Harvard-Kyoto.

An option to explicitly indicate the input scheme (bypassing the automatic inference) could be added but has not seemed necessary so far. The input is transliterated into (a subset of) the encoding SLP1 (P. M. Scharf and Hyman 2011), which is used internally, as it has many properties suitable for computer representation of Sanskrit text. While the input is being transliterated according to the detected scheme, known punctuation marks (and line breaks) are retained, while all "unknown" characters that have not been programmed into the transliterator (such as control characters and accent marks in Devanāgarī) are ignored.

The exact details of how the transliteration is done are omitted here, as transliteration may be regarded as a reasonably well-solved problem by now. One point worth mentioning is that there are no strict input conventions. In other work (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), a convention is adopted like:

> If the input text lacks line-end markers, it is assumed to be a single pāda and to belong to the samavṛtta type of metre

Such a scheme may be interesting to explore. For now, as much as possible, the system tries to assume an untrained user and therefore infer all such things, or try all possibilities.

2.4 Scan

The transliteration into SLP1 can be thought of as having generated a set of Sanskrit phonemes (this close relationship between phonemes and the textual representation is the primary strength of the SLP1 encoding). From these phonemes, scansion into a pattern of *laghu*s and *guru*s can proceed directly, without bothering with syllabification (however, syllabification is still done, for the sake of the "alignment" described later in section 2.6). The rule for scansion is mechanical: initial consonants are dropped, and

each vowel is considered as a set along with all the non-vowels that follow it before the next vowel (or end of text) is found. If the vowel is long or if there are multiple consonants (treating *anusvāra* and *visarga* as consonants here, for scansion only) in this set, then we have a *guru*, else we have a *laghu*.

The validity of this method of scansion, with reference to the traditional Sanskrit grammatical and metrical texts, is skipped in this paper, as something similar has been treated elsewhere (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015). However, note that this is the "purist" version of Sanskrit scansion. There is an issue of *śithila-dvitva* or poetic licence, which is treated in more detail in Section 4.3.

2.5 Identification

The core of the tool's robust metre identification is an algorithm for trying many possibilities for identifying the metre of the input text. Identifying the metre given a metrical pattern (the result of scansion) is done in two steps: (1) first the input is broken into several "parts" in various ways, and then (2) each of these parts is matched against the appropriate indices.

2.5.1 Parts

Given the metrical pattern corresponding to the input text, which may be either a full verse, a half-verse, or a single quarter-verse (*pāda*), we try to break it into parts in multiple ways. One way of breaking the input, which should not be ignored, is already given by the user, in the form of line breaks in the input. If there are 4 lines, for example, it is a strong possibility that these are the 4 *pāda*s of the verse. If there are 2 lines, each line may contain two *pāda*s. But what if there are 3 lines, or 5? Another way of breaking the input is by counting syllables. If the number of syllables is a multiple of 4 (say $4n$), it is possible that every n syllables constitute a *pāda* of a *samavṛtta* metre. But what if the number of syllables is not a multiple of 4?

The solution adopted here is to consider all ways of breaking a pattern into k parts even when its length (say l) may not be a multiple of k. Although this would apply to any positive k, we only care about $k = 4$ and $k = 2$, so let's focus on the $k = 4$ case for illustration. In that case, suppose that the length l leaves a remainder r when divided by 4, that is,

$$l \equiv r \pmod 4, \quad 0 \leq r < 4$$

or in other words l can be written as $l = 4n + r$ for some integer n, where $0 \leq r < 4$. Then, as $\lfloor l/4 \rfloor = n$ (here $\lfloor \cdot \rfloor$ denotes the "floor function", or integer division with rounding down), we can consider all the ways of breaking the string of length l into 4 parts of lengths $(n+a, n+b, n+c, n+d)$ where $a + b + c + d = r$ (in words: we consider all ways of distributing the remainder r among the 4 parts). For example, when $r = 2$, we say that a string of length $4n + 2$ can be broken into 4 parts in 10 ways:

$$
\begin{gathered}
(n, n, n, n + 2) \\
(n, n, n + 1, n + 1) \\
(n, n, n + 2, n) \\
(n, n + 1, n, n + 1) \\
(n, n + 1, n + 1, n) \\
(n, n + 2, n, n) \\
(n + 1, n, n, n + 1) \\
(n + 1, n, n + 1, n) \\
(n + 1, n + 1, n, n) \\
(n + 2, n, n, n)
\end{gathered}
$$

Similarly, there are 4 ways when $r = 1$, 20 ways when $r = 3$, and of course there is exactly one way (n, n, n, n) when $r = 0$.

In this way, we can break the given string into 4 parts (in 1, 4, 10, or 20 ways) or into 2 parts (in 1 or 2 ways), *either by lines or by syllables*. For instance, if we are given an input of 5 lines, then there are 4 ways we can break it into 4 parts, by lines. What we do with these parts is explained next.

2.5.2 Lookup/match

Once we have the input broken into the appropriate number of parts (based on whether we're treating it as a full verse, a half verse, or a *pāda*), we look up each part in the appropriate index. For a particular index, to match against patterns is a direct lookup (we do not have to loop through all patterns in the index). To match against regexes, we do indeed loop through all regexes, which are fewer in number compared to the number of patterns. If needed, we can trade-off time and memory here; for instance, we could have indexed a large number of instantiated patterns instead of regexes even for *mātrā*

	treating input as		
kind of index	full verse	half verse	single *pāda*
pāda1	first part of 4	first part of 2	the full input
pāda2	second part of 4	second part of 2	the full input
pāda3	third part of 4	first part of 2	the full input
pāda4	fourth part of 4	second part of 2	the full input
ardha1	first part of 2	the full input	-
ardha2	second part of 2	the full input	-
full	the full input	-	-

Table 2

What to match or look up, depending on how the input is being treated. Everywhere in the table above, phrases like "first part of 4*" mean both by lines and by syllables. For instance, when treating the input as a full verse, the first* $^1/_4$ *part by lines and the first* $^1/_4$ *part by syllables are* both *matched against the* `pāda1` *index.*

metres. Note that in this way, to match an *ardhasamavṛtta* or a *viṣamavṛtta* that has been input perfectly, we search directly for the full pattern (of the entire verse) in the index. We do not have to run a loop for breaking a line into *pāda*s in all possible ways, as in (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015). Details of which indices are looked up are in Table 2.

2.6 Align/Display

The metre identifier, from the previous section, results in a list of metres that are potential matches to the input text. Not all of them may match the input verse perfectly; some may have been detected based on partial matches. Whatever the reason for this imperfect match (an over-eager matching on the part of the metre identifier, or errors in the input text), it would be useful for the user to see how closely their input matches a given metre. And even when the match is perfect, aligning the verse to the metre can help highlight the *pāda* breaks, the location of *yati*, and so on. This is done by the tool, using a simple dynamic-programming algorithm very similar to the standard algorithm for the longest common subsequence problem: in effect, we simply align both the strings (the metrical pattern of

the input verse, and that of the known metre) along their longest common subsequence.

What this means is that given two strings `s` and `t`, we use a dynamic programming algorithm to find the minimal set of "gap" characters to insert in each string, such that the resulting strings match wherever both have a non-gap character (and never have a gap character in both). For example:

```
('abcab', 'bca'),   =>   ('abcab', '-bca-')
('hello', 'hello'),   =>   ('hello', 'hello')
('hello', 'hell'),   =>   ('hello', 'hell-')
('hello', 'ohell'),   =>   ('-hello', 'ohell-')
('abcdabcd', 'abcd'),   =>   ('abcdabcd', 'abcd----')
('abcab', 'acb'),   =>   ('abcab', 'a-c-b')
('abcab', 'acbd'),   =>   ('abcab-', 'a-c-bd')
```

We use this algorithm on the verse pattern and the metre's pattern, to decide how to align them. Then, using this alignment, we display the user's input verse in its display version (transliterated into IAST, and with some recognized punctuation retained). Here, *laghu* and *guru* syllables are styled differently in the web application (styling customizable with CSS). This also highlights each location of *yati* or caesura (if known and stored for the metre), so that the user can see if their verse violates any of the subtler rules, such as words straddling *yati* boundaries.

This algorithm could also be used for *ranking* the results, based on the degree of match between the input and each result (metre identified).

3 Text analysis and results

As part of testing the tool (and as part of pursuing the interest in literature and prosody that led to the tool in the first place), a large number of texts such as from GRETIL[2] were examined. Although primarily designed to help readers, the tool can also be used to analyze a metrical text, to catch errors or generate statistics about the metres used. In the very first version of the tool, the first metre added was *Mandākrāntā*, and the tool was run on a text of the *Meghadūta* from GRETIL, the online corpus of Sanskrit texts. This text was chosen because the *Meghadūta* is well-known to be entirely

[2]Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages: and related Indological materials from Central and Southeast Asia, `http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de`

in the Mandākrāntā metre, so the "gold standard" to use as a reference to compare against was straightforward. Surprisingly, this tool successfully identified 23 errors in the 122 verses![3] These were communicated to the GRETIL maintainer.

Similarly, testing of the tool on other texts highlighted many errors. Errors identified in the GRETIL text of Bhartṛhari's *Śatakatraya* were carefully compared against the critical edition by D. D. Kosambi.[4] In this text, as in Nīlakaṇṭha's *Kali-viḍambana*,[5] in Bhallaṭa's *Bhallaṭa-śataka*,[6], and in almost all cases, the testing highlighted errors in the text, rather than any in the metre recognizer. This constitutes evidence that the recognizer has a high accuracy approaching 100%, though the lack of a reliable (and nontrivial) "gold standard" hinders attaching a numeric value to the accuracy. In the terminology of "precision and recall", the recognizer has a recall of 100% in the examples tested (for example, no verse that is properly in Śārdūla-vikrīḍitam is failed to be recognized as that metre), while the precision was lower and harder to measure because of errors in the input (sufficiently many errors can make the verse partially match a different metre).

After sufficiently fixing the tool and the text so that Meghadūta was recognized as being 100% in the *Mandākrāntā* metre, other texts were examined. These statistics[7] confirmed that, for example, the most common metres in the *Amaruśataka* are *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* (57%), *Hariṇī* (13%) and *Śikhariṇī* (10%), while those in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* are *Śloka*, *Upajāti* and *Rathoddhatā*. And so on. Once errors in the texts are fixed, this sort of analysis can give insights into the way different poets use metre. It can also be used for students to know which are the most common metres to focus on learning, at least for a given corpus. Other sources of online texts, like

[3] See a list of 23 errors and 3 instances of broken sandhi detected in one of the GRETIL texts of the *Meghadūta*, at `https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit/blob/f2ef7364/meghdk_u_errors.txt` (October 2013).

[4] See `https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit/blob/7c42546/texts/gretil_stats/diff-bharst_u.htm-old.patch` for a list of errors found, in diff format, with comments referring to the location of the verse in Kosambi

[5] `https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit/blob/08ccb91/texts/gretil_stats/diff-nkalivpu.htm.patch`

[6] `https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit/blob/67251bc/texts/gretil_stats/diff-bhall_pu.htm.patch`

[7] `http://sanskritmetres.appspot.com/statistics`

TITUS, SARIT[8] or The Sanskrit Library[9] could also be used for testing the system.

4 Interesting issues and computational experience

Some insights and lessons learned as a result of this project are worth highlighting, as are some of the design decisions that were made either intentionally or unconsciously.

4.1 Metrical data

4.1.1 The gaṇa-s

For representing the characteristics of a given metre, a popular scheme used by all Sanskrit authors of works on prosody is the use of the 8 *gaṇ*s. Each possible *laghu-guru* combination of three syllables (*trika*), namely each of the 2^3 possibilities LLL, LLG, LGL, LGG, GLL, GLG, GGL, GGG, is given a distinct name (*na*, *sa*, *ja*, *ya*, *bha*, *ra*, *ta*, *ma* respectively), so that a long pattern of *laghu*s and *guru*s can be concisely stated in groups of three. This is an excellent mnemonic and space-saving device, akin to writing in octal instead of binary. For instance, the binary number 110110010101_2 can be written more concisely as the octal number 6625_8 and the translation between them is immediately apparent (110110010101_2 corresponds to 6625_8 and vice-versa, by simply treating each group of three binary digits (bits) as an octal digit, or conversely expanding each octal digit to a three-bit representation). Similarly, the pattern GGLGGLLGLGLG of *Indravaṃśa* can be more concisely expressed by the description as "*ta ta ja ra*". Moreover, another mnemonic device of unknown origin uses a string "*yamātārājabhānasalagaṃ*" that traverses all the 8 *gaṇa*s (and the names *la* and *ga* used for any "leftover" *laghu*s and *guru*s respectively), assigning them syllable weights (via vowel lengths) such that the three syllables starting at any of the 8 consonants are itself in the *gaṇa* named by that consonant.[10]

Thus we can see that the *gaṇa* names are a useful mnemonic and space-saving device, and yet at the same time, from an information-theoretic point of view, they contain absolutely no information that is not present

[8] http://sarit.indology.info

[9] http://sanskritlibrary.org

[10] In the modern terminology of combinatorics, this is a de Bruijn sequence.

in the expanded string (the pattern of Ls and Gs). Moreover, for a typical reader who is *not* trying to memorize the definitions of metres (either in the GGLGGLLGLGLG form or the "*ta ta ja ra*"' form), the *gaṇa*s add no value and serve only to further mystify and obscure the topic. Moreover, they can be misleading as to the nature of *yati* breaks in the metre, as the metre being described is rarely grouped into threes, except for certain specific metres (popularly used in *stotra*s) such as भुजङ्गप्रयातम्, तोटकम्, and स्रग्विणी. One can as easily (and more enjoyably) learn the pattern of a metre by committing a representative example (a good verse in that metre) to memory, rather than the definition using *gaṇa*s, as the author and others know from personal experience. For these reasons, the *gaṇa* information is de-emphasized in the tool described in this paper.

4.1.2 pādānta-laghu

Sanskrit poetic convention is that the very last syllable in a verse can be *laghu* even if the metre requires it to be *guru*. Consider for instance, the very first verse of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, in the *Mandākrāntā* metre:

> kaścit kāntā-viraha-guruṇā svādhikārāt pramattaḥ
> śāpenāstaṃgamita-mahimā varṣa-bhogyeṇa bhartuḥ
> yakṣaś cakre janaka-tanayā-snāna-puṇyodakeṣu
> snigdhacchāyā-taruṣu vasatiṃ rāmagiryāśrame**ṣu**

Even though the *Mandākrāntā* requires in each *pāda* a final syllable that is *guru*, the final syllable of the verse above is allowed to be *ṣu* which if it occurred in another position (and not followed by a consonant cluster) would be treated as a *laghu* syllable. A similar convention, though not always stated as clearly in texts in prosody, more or less applies at the end of each half (*ardha* or pair of *pāda*s) of the verse (for an example, see the *kāṣṭhād agnir…* verse in *Śālinī* from Section 1.1).

The question of such a *laghu* at the end of *odd pāda*s (*viṣama-pādānta-laghu*) is a thorny one, with no clear answers. Even the word of someone like Kedārabhaṭṭa cannot be taken as final on this matter, as it needs to hold up to actual usage and what is pleasing to the trained ear. Certainly we see such *laghu*s being used liberally in metres like *Śloka*, *Upajāti* and *Vasantatilakā*. At the same time, there are metres like *Śālinī* where this would be unusual. The summary from those well-versed in the metrical

tradition[11] is that such *laghu*s are best avoided (and are therefore unusual, the works of the master poets) in *yati-prabala* metres, those where the *yati* is prominent. This is why, *Śālinī* with 11 syllables to a *pāda* requires a stricter observance of *guru* at the end of odd *pāda*s than a metre like *Vasantatilakā* with 14. As a general rule of thumb, though, such *viṣama-pādānta-laghu*s can be regarded as incorrect in metres longer than *Vasantatilakā*. It is not clear how a computer could automatically make such subjective decisions, so something like the idea (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015) of storing a boolean parameter about which metres allow this option, seems desirable. Still, the question of how that boolean parameter is to be chosen remains open.

4.1.3 Is more data always better?

It seems natural that having data about more metres would lead to better decisions and better results, but in practice, some care is needed. A common problem is that when there are too many metres in our database, the likelihood of false positives increases. To see this more clearly, imagine a hypothetical case in which every possible combination of *laghu* and *guru* syllables was given its own name as a metre: in that case, a verse intended to be in the metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍtam*, say, with even a single error, would perfectly match some other named metre, and we would be misled as to the truth. A specific case where this happens easily is when a user inputs a single *pāda* but the system tries to treats it as a full verse. In this case, the quarters of the input, as they are much shorter, are more likely to match some metre accidentally. The solution of returning multiple results (a *list* of results rather than a single result) alleviates this problem (cf. the idea of *list decoding* from computer science).

A related problem is the over-precise naming of metres. We know that *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā* differ only in the weight of the first syllable, and that the *Upajāti* metre consists of free alternation between them for the four *pāda*s in a verse, as for this particular metre, the weight of the first syllable does not matter too much. However, there exist theorists of prosody who have, to each of the $2^4 = 16$ possibilities (all the ways of combining *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*), given names like *Māyā*, *Premā*, *Mālā*, *Ṛddhiḥ* and so on (A. Mishra 2007). This is not very useful to a reader, as in such cases, the metre in question is, in essence, really more

[11] Śatāvadhānī R. Ganesh, personal communication

common than such precise naming would make it seem. Velankar (Velankar 1949) even considers the name *Upajāti* as arising from the "displeasure" of the "methodically inclined prosodist".

Another issue is that data compiled from multiple works on prosody (or sometimes even from the same source) can have inconsistencies. It can happen that the same metre is given different names in different sources (Velankar 1949, p. 59). This is very common with noun endings that mark gender, such as *-ā* versus *-aṃ*, but we also see cases where completely different names are used. It can also happen that the same name is used for entirely different metres (see also the confusion about *Upajāti* mentioned below in Section 4.4). For these reasons, instead of storing each metre as a (name, pattern) pair as mentioned earlier, or as the (better) (name, pattern, bool) triple (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), it seems best to store a (pattern, bool, name, source for name) tuple. I started naively, thinking the name of metres is objective truth, and as a result of this project I realized that names are assigned with some degree of arbitrariness.

Finally, a couple more points: (1) There exist metres that end with *laghu* syllables, and the code should be capable of handling them. (2) It is better to keep metrical data as data files, rather than code. This was a mistake made in the initial design of the system. Although it did not deter helpful contributors like Dhaval Patel from contributing code-like definitions for each metre, it is still a hindrance that is best avoided. Keeping data in data files is language-agnostic and would allow it to be used by other tools.

Overall, however, despite these issues, on the whole, the situation is not too bad, because it is mostly a small set of metres that is used by most poets. Although the repertoire of Sanskrit metres is vast (Deo 2007), and even the set of *commonly* used metres is larger in Sanskrit than in other languages, nevertheless, as with *rāga*s in music, although names can and have been given to a great many combinations, not every mathematical possibility is an aesthetic possibility.[12]

4.2 Transliteration

It appears that accepting input in various input schemes is one of the features of the tool that users enjoy. Although the differences between various input schemes are mostly superficial and easily learned, it appears that many

[12]This remark comes from Śatāvadhānī Ganesh who has pointed this out multiple times.

people have their preferred scheme that they would like to employ wherever possible. These are fortunately easy for computers to handle.

As pointed out elsewhere in detail (P. M. Scharf and Hyman 2011), the set of graphemes or phonemes one might encounter in putatively Sanskrit input is larger than that supported by common systems of transliteration like Harvard-Kyoto or IAST. Characters like chandrabindu and ळ will occur in the input especially with modern poetry or verse from other languages. The system must be capable of doing something reasonable in such cases.

A perhaps unusual choice is that the system does not currently accept input in SLP1, even though SLP1 is used internally. The simple reason is that no one has asked for it, and it does not seem that many people type in SLP1. SLP1 is a great internal format and can be a good choice for interoperability between separate tools, but it seems that the average user does not prefer typing `kfzRaH` for कृष्णः. Nevertheless, this is a minor point as this input method can easily be added if anyone wants it.

In an earlier paper (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), two of the deficiencies stated about the tool by Mishra (A. Mishra 2007) are that:

1. By supporting only Harvard-Kyoto input, that tool requires special treatment of words with consecutive *a-i* or *a-u* vowels (such as the word "प्रउग"). In this tool, as Devanāgarī input is accepted, such words can be input (besides of course by simply inserting a space).

2. That tool does not support accented input, which (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015) do because they accept input in SLP1. In this tool, accented input is accepted if input as Devanāgarī. However, as neither this tool nor the one by (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015) supports Vedic metre, this point seems moot: Sanskrit poetry in the classical (non-Vedic) metre is not often accompanied by accent markers! In this tool, accent marks in Devanāgarī are accepted but ignored.

4.3 Scansion

As a coding shortcut when the program was first being written, I decided to treat *anusvāra* and *visarga* as consonants too for scansion, instead of especially handling them. To my surprise, I have not had to revise this and eliminate the shortcut, because, in every instance, the result of scansion is the same. I am not aware of any text on prosody treating *anusvāra* and

visarga as consonants, but their identical treatment is valid for Sanskrit prosody. This is a curious insight that the technological constraints (or laziness) have given us!

As mentioned in earlier work (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), in later centuries of the Sanskrit tradition, there evolved an option of considering certain *guru* syllables as *laghu*, as a sort of poetic license, in certain cases. Specifically, certain consonant clusters, especially those containing *r* like *pr* and *hr*, were allowed to be treated as if they were single consonants, at the start of a word. This rule is stated by Kedārabhaṭṭa too and seems to be freely used in the Telugu tradition even today. A further trend is to allow this option everywhere, based on how "effortlessly" or "quickly" certain consonant clusters can be pronounced, compared with others. A nuanced understanding of this matter comes from a practising poet and scholar of Sanskrit literature, Śatāvadhānī R. Ganesh:[13] this practice arose from the influence of Prākṛta and Deśya (regional) languages (for instance, it is well-codified as a rule in Kannada and Telugu, under the name of *Śithila-dvitva*). It was also influenced by music; Ganesh cites the treatise **चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिका**. He concludes that as a conscientious poet, he will follow poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrāharṣa and Viśākhadatta in not using this exception when composing Sanskrit, but using it sparingly when composing in languages like Kannada where prior poets have used it freely.

With this understanding,[14] the question arises whether the system needs to encode this exception, especially for dealing with later or modern poetry. This could be done, but as a result of the system's robustness to errors, in practice, this turns out to be less necessary. Any single verse is unlikely to exploit this poetic license in every single *pāda*, so the occasional usage of this exception does not prevent the metre from being detected. The only caveat is that this already counts as an error, so verses that exploit this exception would have slightly lower robustness to further additional errors.

[13] personal communication, but see also corroboration at `https://groups.google.com/d/msg/bvparishat/ya1cGLuhc14/EkIqH9NbgawJ`

[14] See another summary here: `https://github.com/shreevatsa/sanskrit/issues/1#issuecomment-68502605`

4.4 Identification

It is not enough for a verse to have the correct scansion (the correct pattern of *laghu* and *guru* syllables), for it to be a perfect specimen of a given metre. There are additional constraints, such as *yati*: because a pause is indicated at each *yati-sthāna* (caesura), a word must not cross such a boundary, although separate lexical components of a compound word (*samāsa*) may. Previously (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015), an approach has been suggested of using a text segmentation tool such as the Sanskrit Heritage Reader (Huet 2005; Huet and Goyal 2013) for detecting when such a constraint is violated. This would indeed be ideal, but the tool being described in this paper alleviates the problem by displaying the user's input verse aligned to the metre, with each *yati-sthāna* indicated. Thus, any instance of a word crossing a *yati* boundary will be apparent in the display.

Note that we can provide information on all kinds of *Upajāti*, even if they are not explicitly added to our database, a problem mentioned previously (Melnad, Goyal, and P. M. Scharf 2015). *Upajāti* just means "mixture"; the common *upajāti* of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*, as a metre, has nothing to do with the *upajāti* of *Vaṃśastha* and *Indravaṃśa* (Velankar 1949). In fact, the latter is sometimes known by the more specific name of *Karambajāti*,[15] among other names. Whenever an Upajāti of two different metres is used and input correctly, each of the two metres will be recognized and shown to the user, because different *pāda*s will match different patterns in our index. So without us doing any special work of adding all the kinds of Upajāti to the data, the user can see in any given instance that their verse contains elements of both metres, and in exactly what way. Of course, adding the "mixed" metre explicitly to the data would be more informative to the user, if the mixture is a common one.

4.5 Display

Once a metre is identified, for some users, telling the user the name of the metre may be enough. However, if we envision this tool being used by anyone reading any Sanskrit verse (such as Devadatta from Section 1.3), then for many users, being told the name of the metre (or even the metre's pattern) carries mainly the information that the verse is in *some* metre, but does not substantially improve the reader's enjoyment of the verse. Seeing the verse

[15] Śatāvadhān R. Ganesh, personal communication

aligned to the metre, with line breaks introduced in the appropriate places and *yati* locations highlighted, helps a great amount. What would help the most, however, is a further introduction to the metre, along with familiar examples that happen to be in the same metre, and audio recordings of typical ways of reciting the metre.

The tool does this, for popular metres (see Figure 1), drawing on another resource (Ganesh 2013). In these audio recordings made in 2013, Śatāvadhānī R. Ganesh describes several popular metres, with well-chosen examples (most recited from memory and some composed extempore for the sake of the recordings). Some interesting background such as its usage in the tradition—a brief "biography" of the metre —is also added for some metres. Although they were not created for the sake of this tool, it was the same interest in Sanskrit prosody that led both to the creation of this tool and to my request for these recordings. Showing the user's verse accompanied by examples of recitation of other verses in the same metre helps the user read aloud and savor the verse they input.

Incidentally, an introduction to metres via popular examples and accompanying audio recordings is also the approach taken by the book *Chandovallarī* (S. Mishra 1999). The examples chosen are mostly from the *stotra* literature, which are most likely to be familiar to an Indian audience. In this way, it can complement the recordings mentioned in the previous paragraph, in which the examples were often chosen for their literary quality or illustrative features.

4.6 Getting feedback from users

The main lesson I learned from building this system was the value of making things accessible to as many users as possible, by removing as many barriers as possible. Write systems that are "liberal" in what they accept, but are nevertheless conservative enough to avoid making errors (Postel's law).

There exist users who may not have much computer science or programming knowledge, but are nevertheless scholars who are experts in a specific subject. For example, India's tech penetration is low; even many Sanskrit scholars aren't trained or inclined to enter verse in standard transliteration formats. The very fact that they are visiting your tool and using it means that they constitute a self-selecting sample. It would be a shame not to use their expertise. Their contributions and suggestions can help improve the system. In the case of this tool, the link to GitHub

discussion pages, and making it easy with a quick link to report issues encountered during any particular interaction, have generated a lot of improvements, both in terms of usability and correctness. A minor example of a usability improvement is setting things up so that the text area is automatically focused when a user visits the web page—this is trivial to set up, but not something that had occurred as something desirable to do. In this case, a user asked for it.

Though user feedback guided many design decisions, gathering and acting on more of the user feedback would lead to further improvements.

5 Conclusions and future work

This paper has described a tool for metre recognition that takes various measures to be useful to users as much as possible. In this section, we list the current limitations of the tool and improvements that can be (and are planned to be) made.

In terms of transliteration, though there are many transliteration schemes supported, even the requirement to be in a specific transliteration scheme is too onerous—instead, the tool must let the user type, and in real-time display its understanding of the user's input, while offering convenient input methods (such as a character picker[16]) that do not require prior knowledge of how to produce specific characters. Similarly, on the output side, a user's preferred script for reading Sanskrit (which may not be the same as their input script) should be used and remembered for future sessions, so that for instance a user can completely use the tool and see all Sanskrit text in the Kannada script. There may even exist users who prefer to read everything in SLP1!

Very few *mātrā* metres are currently supported (only members of the *Āryā* family have been added). There are many simple *mātrā* metres used in *stotra*s, such a metre consisting of alternating groups of 3 and 4 *mātrā*s. More examples for each metre, such as from *Chandovallarī* (S. Mishra 1999), would help.

The program is a monolithic application. It should be made more modular and packaged into libraries for distribution so that other software can easily incorporate the same user-friendly features. Similarly, in addition to the human interface, providing an API would make this code usable from

[16]For instance, `https://r12a.github.io/pickers/devanagari`

another website or application. Another limitation is that the program requires a dedicated server to run; if rewritten to run entirely in the browser it could be packaged as a browser extension so that any Sanskrit verse on any web page can be quickly queried about and reformatted in a metrically clear form. The automatic inference of the transliteration scheme and other aspects of the user's intention, though a user-friendly feature, might have errors occasionally, so the program would be improved by allowing them to be indicated manually when desired.

Finally, the most promising avenue for future work is running this tool on large texts rather than for one verse at a time, which can uncover many insights about prosody. For instance, the most common Anuṣṭubh (Śloka) metre, the work-horse of Sanskrit literature and beloved of the epic poets of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, is still difficult to define clearly. The naive definition, that the odd *pāda*s match the regular expression "`....LGG.`" and the even *pādā*s match "`....LGL.`", is found insufficient: there are both more and fewer constraints in practice. It is not the case that all 2^{16} choices for the first four syllables are acceptable, nor is it the case that every acceptable *śloka* satisfies even these constraints. G. S. S. Murthy (Murthy 2003) surveys and summarizes the literature on this metre and concludes with some perceptive remarks:

> It is indeed surprising that anuṣṭup has remained ill-defined for so long. […] If anuṣṭup is being used for thousands of years in saṃskṛt literature without a precise definition having been spelled out till date, it must be simply because the internal rhythm of anuṣṭup becomes ingrained in the mind of a student of saṃskṛt at an early age due to constant and continuous encounter with anuṣṭup and when one wants to compose a verse in anuṣṭup, one is guided by that rhythm intuitively.

It is now almost within reach, by running a tool like this on a large corpus consisting of the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and other large works, to arrive at a descriptive definition of *śloka* based on the verses found in the literature so that we can make explicit the rules that have been implicitly adhered to by the natural poets.

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I am indebted to the poet and scholar Śatāvadhānī R. Ganesh for encouraging my interest in Sanskrit (and other Indian) prosody. It is his intimate love of metres (reminding me of the story of the mathematician Ramanujan for whom every positive integer was a personal friend), that led me to the realization that an understanding of metre greatly enriches the joy of poetry. Dhaval Patel contributed metrical data, and raised points about nuances, from *Vṛttaratnākara* (some still unresolved). Sridatta A pointed out some more. I thank Vishvas Vasuki for being a heavy user and pointing out many bugs and suggestions, and for initiating the sanskrit-programmers mailing list where this project began. Finally, I thank my wife Chitra Muthukrishnan for supporting me during this work, both technically and otherwise, and for reviewing drafts of this article.

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Improving the learnability of classifiers for Sanskrit OCR corrections

Devaraja Adiga, Rohit Saluja, Vaibhav Agrawal, Ganesh Ramakrishnan, Parag Chaudhuri, K. Ramasubramanian *and* Malhar Kulkarni

Abstract: Sanskrit OCR documents have a lot of errors. Correcting those errors using conventional spell-checking approaches breaks down due to the limited vocabulary. This is because of high inflections of Sanskrit, where words are dynamically formed by Sandhi rules, Samāsa rules, Taddhita affixes, etc. Therefore, correcting OCR documents require huge efforts. In this paper, we present different machine learning approaches and various ways to improve features for ameliorating the error corrections in Sanskrit OCR documents. We simulated Subanta Prakaraṇam of VaiyākaraṇaSiddhāntaKaumudī for synthesizing off-the-shelf dictionary. Most of the methods we propose can also work for general Sanskrit word corrections.

1 Introduction

Optical character recognition(OCR) is the process of identifying characters in document images for creating editable electronic texts. SanskritOCR by Indsenz, Google OCR and Tesseract are major OCRs available for Sanskrit. Word level error analysis for 6 books printed at various places of India having different fonts scanned with 300 DPI are listed in Table 1. Correcting the errors manually becomes cumbrous even with the OCR accuracy as high as above 90% unless complemented by a mechanism for correcting the errors. User feedback based OCR correcting mechanisms can improve through correcting a contiguous text having a uniform font. We discuss different approaches for correcting Sanskrit OCR based on available system resources.

Book Name	Publisher Details	Year of Publication	No. of Pages OCRed	WER - Indsenz	WER - Google
Raghuvaṁśam Sanjīvinīsametam	Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Mumbai	1929	200	19%	35%
Nṛsiṃhapūrvottaratāpanīyopaniṣat	Ānandāśrama, Pune	1929	160	34%	41%
Siddhānta Śekhara-1	Calcutta University Press	1932	390	38%*	66%
Gaṇaka-Taraṅgiṇī	Jyotish Prakash Press, Varanasi	1933	150	34%	46%
Siddhānta Śkhara-2	Calcutta University Press	1947	241	55%*	53%
Siddhānta Śiromaṇi	Sampurananda University, Varanasi	1981	596	18%	29%

Table 1
*Word Error Rates for Indsenz's SanskritOCR and Google OCR (*After training 5 pages)*

Conventional approaches for spell checking uses Levenshtein-Damerrau edit distance to a known dictionary and auto-corrects the errors using a language model (Whitelaw et al. 2009). For post-OCR corrections of languages highly rich in inflections, this naive approach results in poor accuracy (Sankaran and Jawahar 2013). It primarily depends upon lookups into a fixed vocabulary. Such vocabulary for Sanskrit is always incomplete because of the complexity arising due to its inflectional nature, tendency to do Sandhi, and highly productive in derivative morphology such as Samāsa, Taddhita, and Kṛdanta.

In recent works, encoder-decoder Recurrent Neural Networks (RNNs) with character-based attention have shown state-of-the-art results in Neural Language Correction (Xie et al. 2016). Saluja et al. (2017a) proposed a logistic regression-based machine learning framework for correcting In-

dic OCRs using dual-engine OCR. For correcting OCRs across four Indic languages (Sanskrit, Hindi, Kannada, and Malayalam) in the single-engine environment, Saluja et al. (2017b) have succeeded in reaching the state of art using a special type of RNNs, called Long Short Term Memory Networks (LSTM).

OCR Word	Corrected Word	Ground Truth
विशीआआआआर्नि	विशीर्णानि	विशीर्णानि
षष्ठे ।पनिषत्ि९	षष्ठोपनिषद्ि	षष्ठोपनिषदि
भर्तुर्मुनिराआस्थ्ूप्तविष्टरः	भर्तुर्मुनिरास्थ्ितविष्टरः	भर्तुर्मुनिरास्थितविष्टरः
मङ्गलस्तनिस्वनाः	मङ्गलतूर्यनिस्वनाः	मङ्गलतूर्यनिस्वनाः
म ातपक्रं	महाचक्रं	महाचक्रं
नौ९वाम्ि०इषच्यते	हौवाभ्ि्षिच्यते	हैवाभिषिच्यते
मूऊउगव्ूान्यु ऋउSCऊ	भगवान्यश्च	भगवान्यश्च

Table 2

Examples of Sanskrit OCR words corrected by our framework. OCRed data of over 5k Sanskrit document images and 12k in different languages were corrected using our framework - OpenOCRCorrect.

The basic dictionary lookup approach requires fewer system resources whereas Neural language correcting models demand higher system specifications. So we propose and evaluate different models for correcting Sanskrit OCR[1], starting from simple dictionary lookup to Neural attention models. For building the vocabulary for Sanskrit, we developed a Subanta-generator. We will be using various other auxiliary sources which we will discuss in the next section. Then in section 4 we discuss the results for various error detecting approaches in detail. Suggestion generation will be explained in the following section. Table 2 shows the OCR errors corrected by our framework and Figure 1 is a screen-shot of our framework. We are using multicolor coding to depict compound words, out-of-vocabulary words, auto-corrected words and correct words.

Our contributions in this paper are i) Suggesting different models for error detection based upon the amount of training data (if the range is 10k and GPU is not available use Plug-in classifier, for a range of 100k with GPU use LSTM and for a range of 1000k with GPU use attention models)

[1]The source code of Sanskrit OCR corrector, OpenOCRCorrect is available at https://goo.gl/WqoVi2

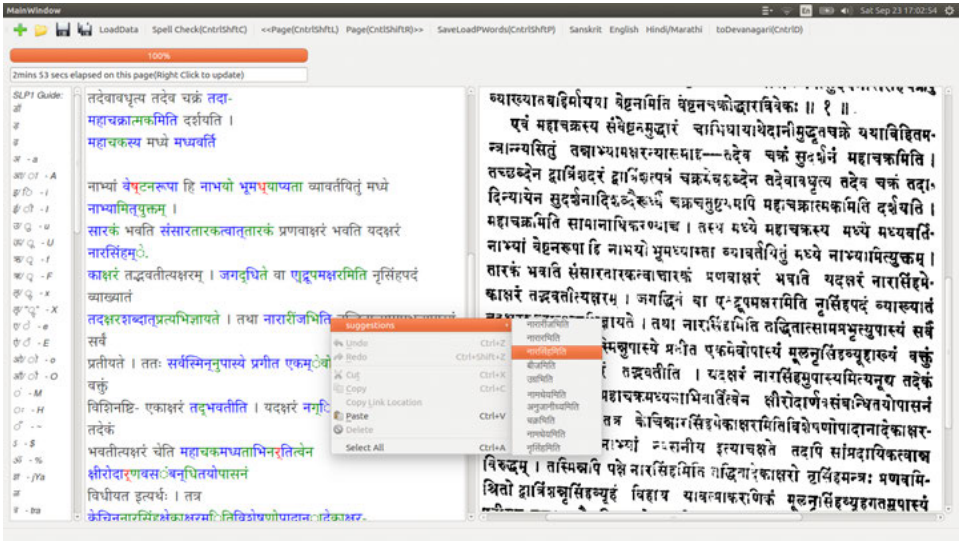

Figure 1
A screen-shot of our framework.

ii) increasing the learnability of ML classifiers by increasing auxiliary sources and iii) Comparing the different ML-based and Deep learning-based methods for the task of Error detection. We have improved the results of plug-in-classifier by introducing more auxiliary sources and synthesized words. Further, we use attention model to compare the results with LSTM based error detection.

2 Auxiliary Sources

Figure 2 depicts the functionality of human-interactive framework for OCR corrections. We will be using various auxiliary sources that are helpful in verifying the correct words and curating the word-level errors. Our system is leveraged by OCR data from different systems, dynamically updated OCR confusions, and domain-specific vocabulary. We are also using a synthesized off-the-shelf dictionary. These features are used for supervised learning by training a plug-in-classifier for achieving a better F-score. Erroneous words are corrected using suggestions through human interaction to keep the confidence level high. Later on, words having similar errors are auto-corrected.

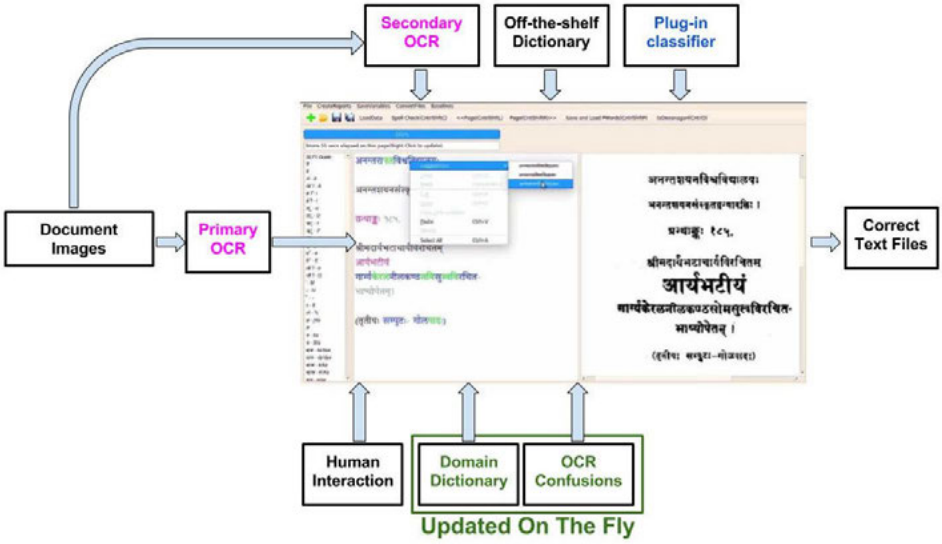

Figure 2
Block diagram of our framework.

In the following sections, we discuss various auxiliary sources used by the framework.

2.1 OCR documents from different systems

Since different OCR systems are using different models they are likely to make different kinds of errors and are likely to be correct on the OCR words that they agree upon. This observation is especially leveraged by the ensemble-based ML approach (Polikar 2006). Therefore OCR documents from different systems can become a powerful auxiliary source.

2.2 Off-the shelf dictionary

Since the vocabulary is incomplete for Sanskrit due to rich inflections, we developed a Subanta generator for synthesizing noun variants. A databank of noun variants is available through Huet (2017) which has around 6.5 lakh unique Subanta words. Among the different declension generators, Patel and

Shivakumari Katuri (2015) is an open-source Subanta generator for Sanskrit. We developed a new Subanta generator for the following reasons

- For ease of integration into the OCR framework
- For overcoming the errors produced by the existing Subanta generator. Examples from Patel and Sivakumari Katuri (2015) -
  - **प्रथमा एकवचनम्** for words ending with **ऋ**.
  - **द्वितीया द्विवचनम्** for many of the Sarvanāmaās
  - Declensions for words ending with **वसु** affix are wrong in case of **भसंज्ञा**.
- To have the provision for future enhancements

Aṣṭādhyāyā rules corresponding to Subanta Prakaraṇam and required Sandhi rules are coded in accordance with the rules explanations as given in (B. Dīkṣita, V. Dīkṣita, and Sarasvatī 2006). For resolving the conflicts we chose the order of applicability of rules as per the Paribhāṣā - **परनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानामुत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः**. Context dependencies of many rules are resolved by collecting the context information. For example, for the rule **एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः** (अ.8-2-37), the roots collected are **गाध्, गुध्, गृध्, दघ्, दध्, दृभ्, द्राघ्, बध्, बीभ्, बुध्**. And also the roots **गाह्, गुह्, गृह्, ग्रह्, ग्लह्, दह्, दिह्, दुह्, दृह्, द्राह्, द्रुह्, बाह्, बृह्** are considered after applying '**दादेर्धातोर्घः**' (अ.8-2-32) or '**हो ढः**' (अ.8-2-31).An example word where this rule is applied - **कामधुक् (प्रातिपदिकम् - कामदुह्)**. For the rules **नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः** (अ.7-1-78), **आच्छीनद्योर्नुम्** (अ.7-1-80) and **शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम्** (अ.7-1-81), we grouped the participles of roots belonging to different conjugations accordingly. Similar way we tried to completely/partially solve the context dependencies of many rules.

We have processed XML file of Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary available in the Cologne Digital Sanskrit Dictionary collections, Institute for Indology and Tamilistics, University of Cologne (`http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/download.html`) and extracted more than 1.8 lakh words with the gender information from the XML file. Vibhakti variants for these words are generated using the Subanta generator and around 3.2million unique words are generated. We also used the verbs which are listed in the **क्रियारूपनिष्पादिका** (Verb-forms-Generator) of ILTP-DC (Indian language technology proliferation and deployment center), which are around 3 lakh unique words. These 3.5 million words are used as an off-the-shelf dictionary for the OCR corrector.

2.3 Domain specific vocabulary

In Sanskrit literature frequency of commonly used words changes from one Śāstra to another. So the domain-specific vocabulary is the most powerful auxiliary resource which will fill the words not found in the off-the-shelf dictionary. Domain-specific vocabulary is created by extracting unique strings from the various books available in Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL 15.11.2001 - 16.02.2018). This auxiliary source is also dynamically updated as the user corrects the document, which helps in correcting the rest of the document.

2.4 Sandhi Rules

Due to Sandhi rules and Samāsa, words can change dynamically in Sanskrit documents. We are using basic Sandhi rules to find the subwords of a compound word and to match with the words from the vocabulary for detecting its correctness. A greedy approach is used for this splitting with a minimum set of words of maximum length and minimum edit distance as the criteria. For example, the OCR word जागरितावस्थायाभेवावस्थात्रयमुक्तं will be split into जागरित, अवस्थायाभ् (this word is matched with अवस्थायाम्), एव, अवस्थात्रयम् and उक्तं. This helps in detecting out-of-vocabulary words and generating suggestions for them.

2.5 Document and OCR specific n-gram confusions

Since different OCR systems use different preprocessing techniques, different classifier models, error confusions for a word varies from one OCR engine to another (Abdulkader and Casey 2009). Thus, the OCR specific confusions can be helpful in deciding whether the part of the erroneous word should be changed or not and also in deciding the tie while changing the part of the erroneous word. For example, while changing the erroneous word निवन्धः, if the dictionary lookup suggests निबन्धः and निरन्धः as nearest possible words, having higher n-gram confusion to व->ब biases the selection towards निबन्धः.

3 Methodologies Followed

3.1 Learning by Optimizing Performance Measures though Plug-in Approach

We rephrase our basic problem of error detection as that of continuously evolving a classifier that labels the OCR of a word as correct or incorrect. The classifier should be trained to optimize a performance measure that is not necessarily the conventional likelihood function or sum of squares error. An example performance measure to be maximized and that is coherent with our needs of maximizing recall (coverage) in detecting erroneous words while also being precise in this detection is the $F-$score, which, unfortunately, does not decompose over the training examples and can be hard to optimize. We adapt a plug-in approach (Narasimhan, Vaish, and Agarwal 2014) to train our binary classifier over such non-decomposable objectives while also being efficient for incremental re-training.

Consider a simple binary classification problem where the task is to assign every data point $\mathbf{x} \in \mathcal{X}$, a binary label $y \in \{-1, +1\}$. Plug-in-classifiers achieve this by first learning to predict *Class Probability Estimate* (CPE) scores. A function $g : \mathcal{X} \to [0, 1]$ is learned such that $g(\mathbf{x}) \approx$ Probability$(y = 1)$. Various tools such as logistic regression may be used to learn this CPE model g. The final classifier is of the form $sign(g(\mathbf{x}) - \eta)$ where η is a threshold that is tuned to maximize the performance measure being considered, e.g. F-measure, G-mean etc.

In Saluja et al. (2017a), various features based on dictionary n-grams and language rules have been used in Sanskrit, Hindi, and Marathi. Our major work in this paper is to improve features for such a classifier and verify their effect in three different domains in Sanskrit. We use train:val:test ratio as 48:12:40 for all our experiments that use plug-in-classifier since we wanted to explore the possibility of using the classifier to correct the last 40% of the book, once initial 60% of the book is corrected.

3.2 LSTM with fixed delay

The basic RNN (Recurrent Neural Network) can be represented by Equations .1 and .2.

$$h_t = g(W_{hh}h_{t-1} + W_{hx}x_t + b_h) \tag{.1}$$

$$y_t = W_{yh} h_t \tag{.2}$$

g can be sigmoid($\sigma(x_i) = \frac{exp(x_i)}{\sum_j [exp(x_j)]}$) or tanh ($tanh(x) = 2\sigma(2x) - 1$) or Rectified Linear Unit (ReLU) ($f(x) = \max(0, x)$) (Talathi and Vartak. 2014). The matrices W_{hx} and W_{yh} connect the input to the hidden layer and hidden layer to output respectively. These matrices are common for instance in the sequence. The matrix W_{hh} is the feedback from past input and is responsible for remembrance and forgetfulness of the past sequence based on context.

Equation .2 at each time t can be unfolded back in time, to time t = 1 for the 1st character of the word sequence, using Equation .1 and the network can be trained using back-propagation through time (BPTT) (Mike and Paliwal. 1997).

Since we have taken care to ensure equal byte length per letter with ASCII transliteration scheme, for the loss function we used negative log-likelihood of Log SoftMax (multi-class) function. The Log SoftMax function is given in .3, where y_{t_i} is the value at i^{th} index of output vector y_t.

$$f(y_{t_i}) = log(\frac{exp(y_{t_i})}{\sum_j [exp(y_{t_j})]}) \tag{.3}$$

The equations are similar for the LSTM with each unit as a memory unit, instead of a neuron. Such memory unit remembers, forgets, and transfers cell state to the output(or next state) based on input history. The cell state at time t is given by equation .4 where the forget gate f_t and the input gate i_t fire according to equations .5 and .6 respectively.

$$c_t = f_t c_{t-1} + i_t g_1(W_{hc} h_{t-1} + W_{xc} x_t + b_c) \tag{.4}$$

$$f_t = g_2(W_{xf} x_t + W_{hf} h_{t-1} + W_{cf} c_{t-1} + b_f) \tag{.5}$$

$$i_t = g_2(W_{xi} x_t + W_{hi} h_{t-1} + W_{ci} c_{t-1} + b_i) \tag{.6}$$

The data is selectively transferred from the cell to hidden state h_t according to equation .7 where the selection is done by the firing of output gate o_t as per equation .8.

$$h_t = o_t g_3(c_t) \tag{.7}$$

g_1 and g_3 are generally tanh and g_2 is generally sigmoid.

$$o_t = g_2(W_{xo}x_t + W_{ho}h_{t-1} + W_{co}c_{t-1} + b_o) \quad (.8)$$

Saluja et al. (2017b) uses 512 X 2 LSTM with the fixed delay (between the input sequence and output sequence) trained and tested on characters from 86k OCR word correction pairs with train:val:test split as 64:16:20. The model, when trained on large data, is able to learn OCR specific error patterns as well as a language model. The model abstains from changing the correct word. Thus, for error detection, the word changed by such a model is marked as incorrect whereas the word unchanged by the model is marked as correct. Such a model over-fits the OCR system and domain. It works well with the dataset range of a hundred thousand OCR word correction pairs.

3.3 Attention Model

Here, we use the model with more number of layers than LSTM based model discussed in the previous section. Attention models are the models with a separate encoder as well as a decoder as compared to LSTM based model wherein the same layers encode as well as decode a sequence. Attention models contain RNN layers as an encoder that can take characters from OCR words, and similar RNN based decoders decode the encoder's output to correct words when trained with a large amount of data. The attention layers, which are applied on encoder's output to help the decoder, learn to give attention to different contexts around the character being corrected based on the input. We train and test such a model with the 86k OCR word correction pairs used in (Saluja et al. 2017b). We use open-source library OpenNMT (`http://opennmt.net/`) for this purpose with the default model that includes 500 X 2 LSTM encoder as well as 500 X 2 LSTM decoder. Such a model is able to learn a dataset of an order of millions of OCR word correction pairs as per our experiences for French and English in ICDAR Post-OCR Competition 2017. Here again, we mark words changed by the model as incorrect for error detection and the words that remained unchanged as correct. As we will see later, even when trained on 86k pairs, such a model is able to perform close to the LSTM based model for the error detection task.

4 Error Detection Methods and Results

4.1 Unsupervised approach

Approach	TP	FP	TN	FN	Prec.	Recall	F-Score
Gen. Dict. Lookup	89.18	40.12	59.87	10.82	29.75	89.18	44.61
Sandhi Rules	54.34	13.23	86.77	45.66	43.89	54.34	48.56
Sec. OCR Lookup	90.68	23.59	76.40	9.31	42.79	90.68	58.14

Table 3

Error Detection Results with unsupervised methods. Using Sandhi rules while dictionary lookup increase true detections(TN) but increase false detections(FN) as well which is balanced by secondary OCR lookup.

We applied various methods for detecting errors in the OCR text. To start with, we used the book named "Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭha III Golapāda(AnantaśayanaSaṃskṛtaGranthāvaliḥ, 1957)" for which we had the OCR text (OCRed from indsenz) and the ground truth data available.

Using unsupervised methods, commonly used dictionary lookup based approach gave poor F-Scores due to a lot of correct words marked as errors, i.e. lower True Negative percentage as shown in Table 3. Marking the words that are formed by applying Sandhi rules on dictionary lexicons as correct increased detection of correct words(True Negatives) but not the detection of errors (True Positives) as compared to the previous approach. For this book, lookup into OCR output of other engine (Google Docs) for the same document images improved the F-Score to a decent value.

4.2 Single Engine Environment

For supervised learning using the plug-in-classifier as explained in section 3.1, we are splitting the data with train:val:test ratio as 48:12:40, we train the plug-in-classifier with various features. We are able to improve the row 1 results in Table 3 by including frequency of n-grams (upto 8) in the general dictionary as features. We also include the binary feature based on lookup in a general dictionary. The results are shown in the first row of Table 4.

Approach	TP	FP	TN	FN	Prec.	Recall	F-Score
Classifier with ngrams frequency + word lookup in General Dict. as features	73.38	22.86	77.13	26.61	38.88	73.38	50.83
Classifier with ngrams frequency + word lookup in Synthesised Dict.(superset of gen. dict.) as features	74.06	21.02	78.98	25.94	41.14	74.06	52.89
Classifier with ngrams frequency + word lookup in Synthesised Dict. as well as Domain Dict. as features	66.37	13.08	86.92	33.63	50.38	66.37	57.28
Classifier with features in row 3 + no. of Sandhi components in OCR word as features	68.50	13.53	86.47	31.50	50.10	68.50	57.87

Table 4

ML Classifier's Error Detection Results in Single Engine Environment. Here we achieved the F-score close to that of Secondary OCR lookup using Unsupervised approach

We further include more words in the dictionary by synthesizing nouns

and collecting the verbs as explained in 2.2. This helps us to achieve the results shown in row 2 of Table 4.

Adding frequencies of n-grams from OCR word as features from domain dictionary generated as explained in 2.3 along with synthesized dictionary improved the results as shown in row 3 of Table 4.

For improving the results further as shown in row 3 of Table 4, we used three splitting based features. i) Split the OCR words using commonly used Sandhi rules and used the no. of lexicon components obtained from the general dictionary as features. ii) We also used no. of lexicon components obtained by splitting the OCR word as lexicons of domain dictionary (for Jyotiṣa) as a feature. Herein, the no. of characters from unknown substrings in the OCR word are added to the feature. iii) The product of features obtained in (i) and (ii) is also used as the feature. We normalized all these features about the mean and standard deviation of training data.

The results are shown in row 4 of Table 4. It is important to note that here in single-engine environment we are able to reach closer to the dual engine environment based Secondary OCR Lookup approach given in row 3 of Table 3.

4.3 Multi Engine Environment

We further include the dual engine OCR agreement as a feature in addition to the features used in previous sections and achieve the results obtained in Table 5. Here we have used Indsenz as primary OCR engine and Google docs as secondary OCR engine.

We improve the results further by using the feature of dual OCR agreement between Indsenz and Tesseract in addition to previous features to obtain the results shown in row 4 of Table 5.

We present the results of Plug-in Classifier trained and tested on the dataset of books with different domains in Table 6 for proving its consistency over various domains. Row 1 in this table shows the baseline for the book 'Nṛsiṃhapūrvottaratāpanīyopaniṣat' (ĀnandāśramaSaṃskṛtaGranthāvaliḥ, 1929) and row 2 shows the results achieved using all the features (obtained using triple engine environment, off-the-shelf dictionary, domain vocabulary and n-gram frequency from general, synthesized and domain vocabularies). It is important to note that the TP (Errors detected as errors) is high for the baseline in this case as compared to TP for baseline in other domains. However, TN (Correct words detected as correct) for the dictionary lookup

Approach	TP	FP	TN	FN	Prec.	Recall	F-Score
Classifier with features in table 4 row 2 along with dual engine agreement*	85.13	17.84	82.16	14.87	48.62	85.13	61.89
Classifier with features in table 4 row 3 along with dual engine agreement	78.04	13.67	86.33	21.96	53.11	78.04	63.20
Classifier with features in table 4 row 4 along with dual engine agreement	83.49	15.26	84.74	16.51	52.25	83.49	64.28
Classifier with features in table 4 row 4 along with triple engine agreements	83.43	14.95	85.04	16.56	52.74	83.43	64.63

Table 5

*ML Classifier's Error Detection Results in Multi Engine Environments. (*state of the art (Saluja et al. 2017a)). Here TP is significantly increased when compared to single engine environment.*

baselines are however close to each other for all domains as shown in row 1 of Table 3 and row 1 and row 3 of Table 6. The reason for high TN could be less ambiguity (as compared to other domains) in incorrect words since TP (unlike TN) does not depend on the presence of correct OCR words in a dictionary. Hence we are getting F-score as high as 62.87 for the baseline in this case. We also evaluated the system for Sāhitya domain. For this

Approach	TP	FP	TN	FN	Prec.	Recall	F-Score
Vedānta gen. dict. lookup baseline	85.52	34.35	65.65	14.48	49.71	85.52	62.87
Vedānta Plug-in Classifier	79.95	9.80	90.20	20.05	77.95	79.95	78.94
Sāhitya gen. dict. lookup baseline	64.24	35.36	64.64	35.76	32.86	64.24	43.49
Sāhitya Plug-in Classifier	87.88	13.37	86.62	12.12	66.52	87.88	75.72

Table 6

ML Classifier's Error Detection Results for other domains. Above results shows the generality of the model for different domains of Sanskrit literature.

we have used the book 'Raghuvaṃśam Sanjīvinīsametam' (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1929, 1-9 Sarga) and row 3 in table 6 shows the baseline, whereas row 4 shows the results obtained using our framework.

4.4 Deep Neural Network-based approaches

Approach	TP	FP	TN	FN	Prec.	Recall	F-Score
LSTM with fixed delay*	92.64	5.45	94.54	7.36	94.84	92.64	93.72
Char. level Attention model	81.53	7.74	92.26	18.47	91.92	81.53	86.41

Table 7

*Neural Network's Error Detection Results. (*state of the art (Saluja et al. 2017b))*

Here, in Table 7, we present the results for the approaches described in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 for 86k pairs used in (Saluja et al. 2017b) with 64:16:20 as train:val:test split. The first row shows the Sanskrit results from (Saluja et al. 2017b). The second row presents the results for the character level attention model. For the attention model, we use characters from OCR word

and its preceding OCR word (as context) at input and characters from the correct word at the output. We tried other contexts at the input as well. Using the context of characters from one word gave optimized F-Score.

F-scores show that using these approaches we can outperform all other ML techniques, but requires a large amount of training data for generic adaptations. Since these models learn error patterns and language based on the dataset, if the test data differs (in terms of OCR confusions/system and/or domain from training data), we can make use of approaches mentioned in the previous sections. Since plug-in-classifier uses general auxiliary sources, we recommend to use it for practical purposes.

5 Suggestion Generation

The results for various ways of exploiting auxiliary sources, to generate appropriate suggestions, are given in (Saluja et al. 2017a) for "Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭha III Golapāda(1957)".

Here, in Table 8, we show the improvement in results due to adaptations of domain dictionary and OCR Confusions on-the-fly for "Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭha III Kālakriyāpāda(AnantaśayanaSaṃskṛtaGranthāvaliḥ, 1931)".

We synthetically generated word images for the words in Sanskrit dictionaries, and OCR-ed them using ind.senz (ind.senz 2014) and extracted around 0.5 million erroneous-correct word pairs. We used the longest common subsequence algorithm (Hirschberg 1977) for generating around 0.78 million OCR character confusions. The row 1 of Table 8 shows the total percentage of correct suggestions obtained using various auxiliary sources with i) words common to dual OCR systems as Domain Vocabulary throughout the document and ii) obtained synthesized confusions. As shown in row 2, we further improved the quality of suggestions by uploading the corrected domain words on-the-fly after the user corrects the page. Adapting the confusions on-the-fly page by page further improved results as shown in row 3. Using real confusions from the primary OCR text and ground truth from other books further helped in improving results as shown in row 4 of Table 8.

Sources Included	Percentage of Correct Suggestions
Domain words with dual OCR agreement + Synthesized Confusions	36.26
Prev. + adapting Domain Words/Page	36.38
Prev. + adapting Confusions/Page	37.14
Prev. - Synthesized + Real Confusions	39.40

Table 8

Improvement in Suggestions with Adaptive sources for "Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya of Nīlakaṇṭha III Kālakriyāpāda(AnantaśayanaSaṃskṛtaGranthāvaliḥ, 1931)".

6 Conclusions

In this paper, we demonstrate different ML approaches for Sanskrit OCR corrections. Our framework leverages synthesized dictionary, n-gram error confusions and domain vocabularies. Error confusions and domain-specific vocabularies grow on-the-fly with user corrections. We have presented a multi-engine environment which is useful in detecting potential errors. Using various auxiliary sources along with plug-in-classifier we succeed in achieving F-Scores better than (Saluja et al. 2017a). LSTM with fixed delay is outperforming other approaches. Deep neural network-based approaches, however, require higher-level resources like GPU and a large amount of training data. Our system is able to generate correct suggestions for the errors having edit distance as high as 15. As shown in (Saluja et al. 2017a), our GUI is able to reduce the overall cognitive load of the user by providing adequate color coding, generating suggestions, and auto-correcting similar erroneous words. As a future enhancement to the framework, Sandhi splitting using a greedy approach can be improved with better algorithms.

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A Tool for Transliteration of Bilingual Texts Involving Sanskrit

Nikhil Chaturvedi *and* Rahul Garg

Abstract: Sanskrit texts are increasingly being written in bilingual and trilingual formats, with Sanskrit paragraphs or shlokas followed by their corresponding English commentary. Sanskrit can also be written in many ways, including multiple ramanized encodings such as SLP-1, Velthuis etc. The need to handle code-switching in such texts is exacerbated due to the requirement of rendering web pages with multilingual Sanskrit content. These need to automatically detect whether a given text fragment is in Sanskrit, followed by the identification of the form/encoding, further selectively performing transliteration to a user specified script. The Brahmi-derived writing systems of Indian languages are mostly rather similar in structure, but have different letter shapes. These scripts are based on similar phonetic values which allows for easy transliteration. This correspondence forms the basis of the motivation behind deriving a uniform encoding schema that is based on the underlying phonetic value rather than the symbolic representation. The open-source tool developed by us performs this end-to-end detection and transliteration, and achieves an accuracy of 99.1% between SLP-1 and English on a Wikipedia corpus using simple machine learning techniques.

1 Introduction

Sanskrit is one of the most ancient languages in India and forms the basis of numerous Indian languages. It is the only known language which has a built-in scheme for pronunciation, word formation and grammar (Maheshwari 2011). It is one of the most used languages of it's time and hence encompasses a rich tradition of poetry and drama as well as scientific, technical, philosophical and religious texts. Unfortunately, Sanskrit is now spoken by only a small number of people. The aforementioned literature, though available, remains inaccessible to most of the world. However, in recent years, Sanskrit has shown a resurgence

through various media, with people reviving the language over the internet (Nair and Devi 2011) and through bilingual and trilingual texts.

There exist numerous web-based application tools that provide age-old Sanskrit content to users and assist them with getting an insight into the language. Cologne Sanskrit Dictionary Project (Kapp and Malten 1997) aims to digitize the major bilingual Sanskrit dictionaries. Sanskrit Reader Companion (Goyal and Huet 2013) by INRIA has tools for declension, conjugation, Sandhi splitting and merging along with word stemming. Samsadhani (A. Kulkarni 2017) by University of Hyderabad supports transliteration, morphological analysis and Sandhi. Sanskrit language processing tools developed at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (Jha 2017) provide a number of tools with the final aim of constructing a Sanskrit-Hindi translator. In this paper, we attempt to construct a transliteration tool to render the web pages of the above tools in multiple scripts and encodings at the backend. Through this, we aim to expand the reach of Sanskrit to a wider community, along with the standardization of an open-source tool for transliteration.

The number of bilingual and trilingual content involving Sanskrit has been on a steady rise. For example, the Gita Supersite (Prabhakar 2005) maintained by IIT Kanpur serves as a huge bilingual database of the Bhagvad Gita, the Ramacharitmanas and Upanishads. Traditional texts such as Srisa Chandra Vasu's translation of the Ashtadhyayi in English (Vasu 1897) exist in a similar format. These works broadly follow a commentary structure with Sanskrit hyms, verses and words followed by their translation in popular modern day languages like English or Hindi. Code-switching (Auer 2013) is the practice of moving back and forth between two languages, or between two dialects/registers of the same language. Due to their commentarial nature, multilingual Sanskrit works constitute massive amounts of code-switching. For example, an excerpt of the Valmiki Ramayana from Gita Supersite: "तपस्वी ascetic, वाल्मीकिः Valmiki, तपः स्वाध्यायनिरतम् highly delighted in the practice of religious austerities and study of vedas, वाग्विदां वरम् eloquent among the knowledgeable, मुनिपुङ्गवम् preeminent among sages, नारदम् Narada, परिपप्रच्छ enquired." This motivates the need for a word-level transliteration tool that tackles areas of code-switching and performs transliteration through an automatic detection of the relevant sections.

Romanisation is another phenomenon that has led to the resurgence of Sanskrit on the Internet. In linguistics, romanisation is the conversion of writing from a different writing system to the Roman (Latin) script. Multiple methods of this transliteration have emerged, although none has emerged as the clear standard. These methods include SLP1, Velthuis, Harvard-Kyoto, ISO15919, WX, IAST and National Library at Kolkata romanisation. Such romanisation makes it easy for

large parts of the world population to pronounce and appreciate Sanskrit verses. Therefore, any standardized transliteration tool for Sanskrit needs to support all the above romanisation encodings

A property of the Sanskrit language and other major Indian languages like Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati etc. that forms the basis of our transliteration, is that these languages are written using different letter shapes (scripts) but are rather similar structurally. The same sounds are duplicated across these languages, allowing for easy transliteration. The phonetic sound [ki] (IPA) will be rendered as कि in Devanagari, as ਕਿ in Gurmukhi, and as கி in Tamil. Each having different code- points in Unicode and ISCII[1]. This enabled us to formulate a mediating encoding schema that encodes the sound of a syllable rather than any syntactical aspect, thus allowing seamless transliteration between any 2 given scripts.

Romanised Sanskrit however exacerbates the problem of code-switching. The requirement for a general-purpose transliteration tool is now to differentiate between two words of the same script, which turns out to be a non-trivial problem. We again use the intuition of phonetics to overcome this problem. Certain sounds (or sequence of sounds) occur more frequently in some languages than in others. This allows us to formulate the classifier using a simple Naive Bayes model that functions on all possible substrings of a given word. We manage to achieve a classification accuracy of 99.1% between English and Sanskrit written using SLP1.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we briefly describe presently used encoding and romanisation schemes for writing Sanskrit texts. Section 3 describes the prevalent transliteration tools available. Sections 4 and 5 respectively describe our transliterator and script detector. In section 6, we present our results and discuss possible future work.

2 Sanskrit Alphabet and Encodings

The Sanskrit alphabet comprises 5 short (ह्रस्व)[2] vowels, 8 long (दीर्घ) vowels and 9 prolated (प्लुत) vowels. Each of these vowels can be pronounced in three different

[1]Indian Script Code for Information Interchange (ISCII) is an 8-bit coding scheme for representing the main Indic scripts. Unicode is based on ISCII, and with Unicode being the standard now, ISCII has taken a back seat.

[2]In this paper, we use Unicode Devanagari enclosed within round brackets for better understanding through popular Sanskrit terms.

ways: acute accent (उदात्त), grave accent (अनुदात्त) and circumflex (स्वरित). Vowels in acute accent are written as before (अ), in grave accent, a horizontal line is drawn under them (अ̱) and circumflex vowels are written with a vertical line drawn above them (अ̍). There are 33 consonants including 4 semi-vowels, 3 sibilants and 1 aspirate (ह).

There are several methods of transliteration from Devanagari to the Roman script (a process known as romanization) which share similarities, although no single system of transliteration has emerged as the standard. SLP1 (P. Scharf 2011) and WX (Bharati et al. 1995) map each Devanagari letter to exactly one ASCII symbol. Velthuis (Velthuis 1981) is based on using the ISO 646 repertoire to represent mnemonically the accents used in standard scholarly transliteration. IAST (Trevelyan, Jones, and Williams 1894) incorporates diacritics to represent letters. Harvard-Kyoto (Nakatani 1996) largely resembles SLP1 in terms of using capital letters in its mapping. ITRANS (Chopde 1991) exists as a pre-processing package and hence is widely used for electronic documents. ISO15919 (ISO/TC-46 2001) like IAST uses diacritics. A comparison of some of the above schemes was first presented in (Huet 2009). A more detailed comparison is also given under Appendix A of this paper. Reader may refer to (P. M. Scharf and Hyman 2012) for a thorough analysis and discussion.

Unicode has designated code blocks for almost all major Indian scripts. The supported scripts are: Assamese, Bengali (Bangla), Devanagari, Gujarati, Gurmukhi, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Tamil, and Telugu among others. Across scripts, Unicode respects alphabet correspondence and letters with similar phonetic values are assigned the same code-points. As a result, transliteration can be done easily with a mere offsetting. In Unicode, the Devanagari symbol (अ) is coded as U+0905, whereas its representation in Gurmukhi script is (ਅ) which is coded as U+0A05. In comparison, the symbol (क) in Unicode Devanagari has its code as U+0915 while in Gurmukhi is (ਕ) with the code as U+0A15. Therefore, transliteration of Sanskrit texts written using Unicode in Indian scripts can be easily done by simply changing the offset value.

However, the Unicode encoding doesn't represent the language in its true essence. Hindi, Sanskrit and most other Indian languages are centred around phonetic values. Hence the encoded token should ideally represent the entire sound rather than it being split into different symbols for consonants and vowels. Since Unicode is based on the display of fonts and not the underlying phonetic structure, it requires significant parsing to figure out anything about the letter from its corresponding encoding, which section of consonants it belongs to, whether it is voiced or unvoiced etc. For example, the symbol (स्त्री) stands for the consonants

(स) and (र्) followed by the vowel (ई). Its Unicode representation will consist of (स + ◌् + र + ◌् + ई). Phonetically 3 units (स and र् and ई), but represented in Unicode through 5 Unicode characters. Our tool fixes this issue by creating a new representation that encapsulates the consonants and the vowels (or lack of it) in a single encoding.

A comprehensive phonetic encoding (PE) based on the Ashtadhyayi rules for computational processing of Sanskrit language has been described in (Sohoni and M. Kulkarni 2015). In order to implement this encoding in a general purpose programming language, a 20-bit encoding scheme was proposed. Although this encoding is phonetically rich, it is possible to compact it into fewer bits without compromising on the essential phonetic information present in the language. Our proposed internal encoding described in the following sections aims to achieve this goal.

Table 1
Comparison of existing Transliteration Tools

Tool	Support for Encodings									Bi-lingual Support	Open Source
	Uni Dev	SLP1	ITR	Vel.	ISO	IAST	Harv. Kyoto	WX	Sohoni PE		
ITRANS	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Sanscript	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Akshara-mukha	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Samsaa-dhanii	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Google Input	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Proposed Tool	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

3 Existing Transliteration Tools

A number of tools exist as of today for Sanskrit transliteration to other scripts and encodings. We present a brief survey of the same. Aksharamukha (Rajan 2001), Sanscript (Prasad 2015) and ITRANS (Chopde 1991) are some of the tools currently used for transliteration in Sanskrit. Google Input is another tool that is used to transliterating Devanagari to English. Though Aksharamukha and ITRANS support the romanised forms of Sanskrit, none of the aforementioned tools manage to handle bilingual scenarios. Most of these (except Sanscript) are also not open source and hence cannot be utilized by Sanskrit Developers. These tools have been summarised in Table 1.

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is an internationally accepted scheme for encoding phonetic sounds. However, it has a number of representational and backward transliteration issues because of being completely sound based. The imported sounds (नुक्ता) don't share any correspondence to their roots. The sounds of (ऋ) and (रि) have the same representation in IPA, making it impossible to differentiate them while translating back. Anuswar (अनुस्वार) has multiple representations based on context, but none is unique to it (m, n, chandra). Visarga (विसर्ग) has the same representation as (ह).

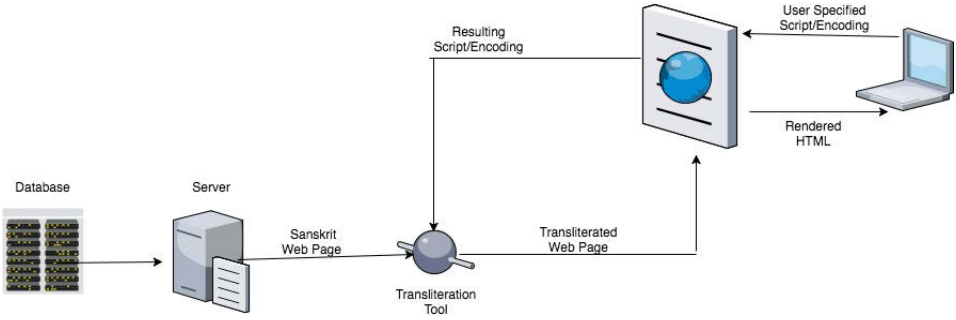

Figure 1
Model for Web-Based Applications

WX and SLP encoding schemes are also phonetic in nature. However, the Sanksrit language alphabet system has a rich structure that categorizes the phonemes according to the place of pronounciation (Gutturals, Palatals, Retroflex, Dentals, Labials), the amount of air exhaled (aspirated or unaspirated) and whether the consonents are voiced and unvoiced. These attritutes of the phonemes are very useful while carrying out phonologial or morphological processing in the language. It is desirable to have an encoding that represents these attributes of the language in a natural manner.

Due to these inefficacies of existing tools and phonetic schemes, we created our own unified encoding schema which naturally encodes the sounds in the Sanskrit Varnamala (as described in the next section).

4 Design of the Transliterator

4.1 Internal Representation

We created an internal encoding that represents simple syllables (single consonant followed by single vowel) using 16-bits. Initial 5 bits in this encoding represent the script (hence can support 32 scripts). Next 6 bits represent the consonants (व्यंजन) while the last 5 bits represent the vowel (स्वर/मात्रा). Each 16-bit code represents a specific simple syllable sound, which can further be reverse mapped to a specified destination script. In contrast, the Unicode representation for a simple Sanskrit syllable would require 32-bits under the UTF-16 encoding, and 48-bits under the UTF-8 encoding.

With 33 consonants and 14 vowels, we can encode their permutations using just 9-bits versus the 11-bits that we currently are using. But, we preferred to use some extra bits so as to keep our representation clean and allow for the bits within themselves to represent certain nuances of the Sanskrit language. Our encoding respects the phonetic structure of the language as described by Panini in a manner very similar to the phonetic encoding (PE) of (Sohoni and M. Kulkarni 2015). Just by using the bit patterns of this encoding, it is possible to figure out important phonetic characteristics of the letters.

For the 5 bits of the vowels, the second-last bit represents whether the vowel is a simple vowel (अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ) or a dipthong/compound vowel (ए, ऐ, ओ, औ). The last bit of the vowels represent the length of the vowel. Long (दीर्घ) vowels (आ, ई, ऊ, ॠ, ॡ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ) will have their last bit as 1, while short (ह्रस्व) vowels (अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ) will have their last bit as 0.

In the case of consonants, the first 3 bits represent the place of pronunciation of the letter. Thus, the sequence 000 refers to the throat as the source and the letters are called Gutturals (क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, ह), 001 refers to the palate and letters are called Palatals (च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, य, श). 010 refers to the murdha and are called Retroflex letters (ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष), 011 contains letters with source of origin as the teeth and are called Dentals (त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स). Lastly, 100 refers to the lips and the letters are called Labials (प, फ, ब, भ, म, व), while 101, 110 and 111 are reserved for special symbols and accents.

As for the last 3 bits of consonants, the first of these is 0 for stop-consonants (स्पर्श) which means non-nasal, non-semivowel and non-sibilant consonants. The second of these bits represents voicing (whether or not the vocal chords vibrate in pronunciation). It is 1 for voiced (घोष) consonants like (ग, घ) while 0 for unvoiced

(अघोष) consonants like (क, ख). The last of these bits represents aspiration (a puff of air at the end of the pronunciation). It is 1 for aspirated (महाप्राण) consonants (ख, घ) while 0 for unaspirated (अल्पप्राण) consonants (क, ग). A table describing the proposed encoding is given in Appendix B.

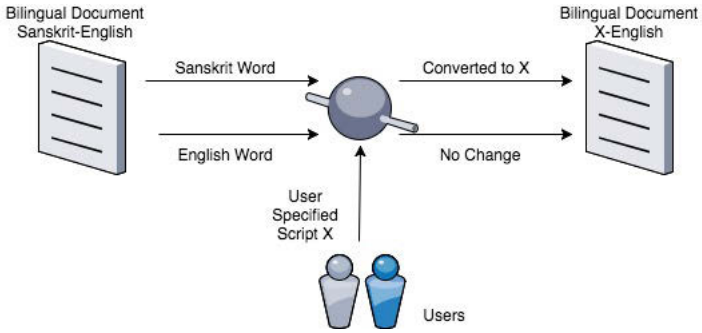

Figure 2
Model for Bilingual Texts

4.2 Transliterator Pipeline

The transliterator takes a bilingual (or trilingual) document as its input and produces an output document in the same format where the Sanskrit text is transcribed into the specified script. It consists of 5 stages, namely fragmentation, script detection, tokenisation, universalisation and specification, explained below.

Fragmentation refers to splitting the given text into smaller fragments (words, sentences, paragraphs etc). The assumption shall be that the script and encoding remain same through these fragments if not through the entire text. In order to make it most general, currently fragmentation is done at the word level.

Script Detection refers to identification of the language, scripts and encodings for the various fragments through a Naive Bayes model described in section 5.

Tokenisation refers to splitting the fragment further into tokens, each of which represent a single sound. It is similar to the concept of English syllables. So the sound [ki] will be seen as one single token under this model.

Universalisation refers to the conversion of the token to the universal 16-bit encoding designed by us. This is done through pre-populated hash maps for different script tokens.

Specification refers to the conversion of the universal encoding to the specified script using pre-populated hash maps.

4.3 Use Cases

	Pred English	Pred SLP-1	Recall
Actual English	72294	1605	97.8%
Actual SLP-1	213	25004	99.2%
Precision	99.7%	93.9%	98.2%

Table 2
Confusion matrix of English vs Sanskrit-SLP-1 without proper noun correction

4.3.1 Web-based Applications

One of the foremost uses of our transliteration tool is it's utility for web-based applications. A number of websites nowadays serve the historical epics like the Gita and the Ramayana that were originally written in Sanskrit. Along with this, many websites also provide an avenue for people to learn Sanskrit grammar, understand conjugation and splitting of words, along with explaining the various forms of Sanskrit verb roots. Such websites are as of now available only in the Devanagari script. Our tool can be used to transliterate these pages to a user defined script/encoding at the backend. The model for this use case has been depicted in Figure 1. We insert our tool as a middle-ware between the backend and the frontend. The user specifies his required script/encoding on the frontend and all outgoing pages from the server pass through our tool while getting converted to that required script. The frontend then renders the converted HTML to the user for a seamless experience.

4.3.2 Bilingual Texts

Numerous Sanskrit texts have been modified to bilingual and trilingual texts through their translation to popular modern languages like English and Hindi.

These works exist in a commentary form and incorporate massive amounts of code-switching. To represent any such text in a script different to that of its origin turns out to be an ordeal because the tool needs to conditionally perform the transliteration at a micro-level. This problem gets exacerbated when the Sanskrit verses are written using their Romanised form while the translation language is English. Figure 2 depicts the model for this use case.

4.3.3 User Driven

The third use for our tool is on the lines of Google input tools. Our tool can allow a user to enter a line of Sanskrit (in any script) intertwined with English and will output the resulting sentence to the user after transliteration. This not only provides an unmatched amount of flexibility to the user, but also has abundant relevance in the growing age of multi-lingual social media.

Basline 67.2%	Pred English	Pred SLP-1	Recall
Actual English	73178	721	99.0%
Actual SLP-1	205	25012	99.2%
Precision	99.7%	97.2%	99.1%

(a) *English vs SLP-1*

Basline 58.6%	Pred English	Pred Velthuis	Recall
Actual English	72649	1250	98.3%
Actual Velthuis	860	24357	96.6%
Precision	98.8%	95.1%	97.9%

(b) *English vs Velthuis*

Table 3

Confusion matrix of English vs Sanskrit using different Romanisation schemata Part-1

Basline 51.1%	Pred English	Pred ITRANS	Recall
Actual English	72778	1121	98.5%
Actual ITRANS	645	24572	97.4%
Precision	99.1%	95.6%	98.2%

(a) *English vs ITRANS*

Basline 68.5%	Pred English	Pred HK	Recall
Actual English	73269	630	99.1%
Actual HK	199	25018	99.2%
Precision	99.7%	97.5%	99.2%

(b) *English vs Harvard-Kyoto*

Basline 73.4%	Pred English	Pred ISO	Recall
Actual English	73576	323	99.6%
Actual ISO	94	25123	99.6%
Precision	99.9%	98.7%	99.6%

(c) *English vs ISO15919*

Basline 71.5%	Pred English	Pred IAST	Recall
Actual English	73368	531	99.3%
Actual IAST	111	25106	99.6%
Precision	99.8%	97.9%	99.4%

(d) *English vs IAST*

Table 4

Confusion matrix of English vs Sanskrit using different Romanisation schemata Part-2

5 Design of the Script Detector

Differentiating English from Indian scripts, or differentiating different Indian scripts is easy as each uses a different alphabet with a different Unicode range. Hence, one can easily achieve a Word-level classifier with 100% accuracy. However, differentiating English text from Romanized Sanskrit/Hindi texts requires learning, specially to be able to do such classification at word-level. For this we designed a modified Naive Bayes classifier described next.

5.1 Modified Naive-Bayes Classifier

While learning, two dictionaries are maintained. The first dictionary compiles all seen complete words, while the other forms an occurrence database of all possible substrings of length <= 10. The intuition is that certain sounds (or sequence of sounds) occur more frequently in some languages then the others.

For a word, define the absolute frequency of a word as the actual number of occurrences for that word for a given language in the training dataset. On the other hand, the relative frequency of a given word is defined as its fraction of occurrences in the given language versus all other languages under consideration. While classifying, if the word is seen and the absolute as well as relative frequency is above a pre-set threshold for a particular language in training data, we classify it as that language. We use the relative frequency metric to account for mixed language nature of Wikipedia pages used as our dataset.

If the classifier encounters an unseen word, it is broken into all possible substrings of length >= 2 and length <= 10. Subsequently, the probability of seeing a substring given a language, p(substr | lang), over all substrings of word using the trained substring dictionary is computed. This is a simplified version of the Naive Bayes model for the problem at hand. The word is classified to the language for which this metric turns out to be the maximum.

5.2 Training and Test Data

Training Data: One thousand random Wikipedia pages for both English and Sanskrit were used as the training data. The Sanskrit pages were converted to different Romanised Sanskrit encodings (such as SLP-1) using our universal encoder. We then parse out the irrelevant HTML meta-data and tags, stripping it down to just plain text content.

Test Data: One hundred more such random pages for both languages were used as the test data.

6 Results and Future Work

We tested our word-level language detection model on 100 random Sanskrit Wikipedia pages (after converting them to the 6 most popular romanisation schemes of SLP1, Velthuis, ITRANS, Harvard-Kyoto, ISO15919 and IAST). During our testing, we discovered that multiple English proper nouns like 'Bopanna' or 'Kannada' were getting classified as SLP-1 leading to a lower recall for English. In our opinion, such a misclassification aligns with the intention of the tool as it classifies the origin based on the prevalent sounds in the word. For Indian proper nouns appropriated to English these sounds still remain similar to those of their Sanskrit roots, and hence rather should be classified as that. These earlier results are presented in Table 2.

The final confusion matrices, obtained after manually removing proper nouns from the training and test dataset, are shown in Table 4. Each scheme shown has a corresponding baseline to compare our results with, shown in the top left cell. For SLP1, this baseline was the existence of a capital letter in the middle of a word. For Velthuis, it was the existence of a full stop in the middle of a word or the existence of doubly repeated vowels. For ITRANS, the baseline was similar to Velthuis, with repeated 'L' and 'R' instead of full stop. For Harvard-Kyoto, we selected the baseline as capital in the middle of the word alongside repeated 'L' and 'R'. Lastly, for ISO15919 and IAST, it was kept as the existence of a letter beyond the simple English letters and punctuation within a word.

As one can notice in Table 4, we in general attain a high precision for English and a high recall for the romanised words. A large number of misclassified words in both the English and SLP1 cases are 2-3 letter words. 'ati', 'ca' etc. are examples of SLP1 words misclassified as English, while 'Raj', 'Jan', 'are' etc. are examples of English words misclassified as SLP1. For these words, the modified Naive-Bayes model does not end up having enough information for correct classification.

We also tested our tool on a bilingual text test case by converting a extract from an English commentary on Ramayana from Gita-supersite (Prabhakar 2005) to an mixture of SLP-1 and English. Subsequently, we converted the previous result back to Unicode Devanagari and English to see its differences with the original text. As can be seen in Figure 3, the transliteration from Devanagari-English to SLP1-English has a 100% accuracy due to our tool exploiting the difference in Unicode for the two scripts.

Our tool is available at
`https://github.com/709nikhil/sanskrit-transliteration`. This tool can be further improved in several ways. The primary one being heuristically

तपस्वी ascetic, वाल्मीकिः Valmiki, तपः स्वाध्यायनिरतम् highly delighted in the practice of religious austerities and study of vedas, वाग्विदां वरम् eloquent among the knowledgeable, मुनिपुङ्गवम् preeminent among sages, नारदम् Narada, परिपप्रच्छ enquired.

(a) *Original Bilingual Paragraph*

tapasvI ascetic, vAlmIkiH Valmiki, tapaH svADyAyaniratam highly delighted in the practice of religious austerities and study of vedas, vAgvidAM varam eloquent among the knowledgeable, munipuNgavam preeminent among sages, nAradam Narada, paripapracCa enquired.

(b) *Devanagari selectively transcribed to SLP1*

तपस्वी ascetic, वाल्मीकिः Valmiki, तपः स्वाध्यायनिरतम् highly delighted in the practice of religious austerities and study of वेदस्, वाग्विदां वरम् eloquent among the knowledgeable, मुनिपुङ्गवम् preeminent among sages, नारदम् ङरद, परिपप्रच्छ enquired.

(c) *SLP1-English transcribed back to Devanagari-English*

Figure 3
Transliteration of Bilingual Texts

breaking down word into syllables rather than substrings, to provide a stronger basis for the phoneme intuition. One could also use machine learning approaches other than Naive Bayes, such as deep learning methods or conditional random fields (CRFs) (Lafferty, McCallum, and Pereira 2001). One could also incorporate contextual history into the transliteration to deal with the problem of incorrect classification of proper nouns, thereby aiming at a near perfect accuracy.

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Appendix A: Comparison of various Devanagari Romanisations

Devanagari	Unicode	Velthius	SLP-1	WX	ITRANS	Harvard-Kyoto	IAST	ISO-15919
अ	U+0905	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
आ	U+0906	aa	A	A	A/aa	A	ā	ā
इ	U+0907	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
ई	U+0908	ii	I	I	I/ii	I	ī	ī
उ	U+0909	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
ऊ	U+090A	uu	U	U	U/uu	U	ū	ū
ए	U+090F	e	e	e	e	e	e	ē
ऐ	U+0910	ai	E	E	ai	ai	ai	ai
ओ	U+0913	o	o	o	o	o	o	ō
औ	U+0914	au	O	O	au	au	au	au
ऋ	U+090B	.r	f	q	RRi/Ri	R	ṛ	r
ॠ	U+0960	.rr	F	Q	RRI/RĪ	RR	ṝ	r
ऌ	U+090C	.l	x	L	LLi/Lī	lR	ḷ	l
ॡ	U+0961	.ll	X		LLI/LĪ	lRR	ḹ	l
अं	U+0902	.m	M	M	M/.n/.m	M	ṃ	ṁ
अः	U+0903	.h	H	H	H	H	ḥ	ḥ
अँ	U+0904		~	z	.N			m
ऽ	U+093D	.a	’	’	.a	’	’	’
क	U+0915	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
ख	U+0916	kha	Ka	Ka	kha	kha	kha	kha
ग	U+0917	ga	ga	ga	ga	ga	ga	ga
घ	U+0918	gha	Ga	Ga	gha	gha	gha	gha
ङ	U+0919	”na	Na	fa	Na	Ga	ṅa	ṅa
च	U+091A	ca	ca	ca	cha	ca	ca	ca
छ	U+091B	cha	Ca	Ca	Cha	cha	cha	cha
ज	U+091C	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja
झ	U+091D	jha	Ja	Ja	jha	jha	jha	jha
ञ	U+091E	na	Ya	Fa	na	Ja	ña	ña
ट	U+091F	.ta	wa	ta	Ta	Ta	ṭa	ṭa
ठ	U+0920	.tha	Wa	Ta	Tha	Tha	ṭha	ṭha
ड	U+0921	.da	qa	da	Da	Da	ḍa	ḍa
ढ	U+0922	.dha	Qa	Da	Dha	Dha	ḍha	ḍha
ण	U+0923	.na	Ra	Na	Na	Na	ṇa	ṇa
त	U+0924	ta	ta	wa	ta	ta	ta	Ta
थ	U+0925	tha	Ta	Wa	tha	tha	tha	Tha
द	U+0926	da	da	xa	da	da	da	Da
ध	U+0927	dha	Da	Xa	dha	dha	dha	Dha
न	U+0928	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
प	U+092A	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa
फ	U+092B	pha	Pa	Pa	pha	pha	pha	pha
ब	U+092C	ba	ba	ba	ba	ba	ba	ba
भ	U+092D	bha	Ba	Ba	bha	bha	bha	bha
म	U+092E	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma
य	U+092F	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya
र	U+0930	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra
ल	U+0932	la	la	la	la	la	la	la
व	U+0935	va	va	va	va/wa	va	va	va
श	U+0936	”sa	Sa	Sa	sha	za	śa	śa
ष	U+0937	.sa	za	Ra	Sha	Sa	ṣa	ṣa
स	U+0938	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
ह	U+0939	ha	ha	ha	ha	ha	ha	Ha

Appendix B: Proposed Encoding Schema

The characters in our encoding schema are represented in 16 bits as follows: $b_{15}...b_{11}$-$b_{10}b_9b_8$-$b_7b_6b_5$-$b_4b_3b_2$-b_1b_0. The bits $b_{15} - b_{11}$ are used to represent the script. The remainder bits are represented as given in the tables 5 and 6 below. Null for the consonant part represents a pure vowel, whereas null for the vowel part represents consonants without a vowel sound. For example, अ is represented as 00000-111-111-000-00. The symbol क्ष which is broken up as (क् + ष = क् + ष् + अ) will be represented as two 16-bit units, 00000-000-000-111-11 representing (क्) and 00000-010-101-000-00 representing (ष).

$b_{10}b_9b_8$ \ $b_7b_6b_5$	000	001	010	011	100	101	110	111
000	क्	ख्	ग्	घ्		ह्र	ङ्	
001	च्	छ्	ज्	झ्		श्	ञ्	य्
010	ट्	ठ्	ड्	ढ्		ष्	ण्	र्
011	त्	थ्	द्	ध्		स्	न्	ल्
100	प्	फ्	ब्	भ्			म्	व्
101	क़्	ख़्	ग़्	ज़्	ड़्	ढ़्	फ़्	
110	Udatta	Anudatta	ः	ं	ँ	ऽ		
111	Latin	Punc.	Num.	Vaid.				Null

Table 5
Mapping for 6 consonant bits

$b_4b_3b_2$ \ b_1b_0	00	01	10	11
000	अ	आ		
001	इ	ई		ए
010	ऋ	ॠ		ऐ
011	ऌ	ॡ		ओ
100	उ	ऊ		औ
101				
110				
111				

Table 6
Mapping for 5 vowel bits

Modeling the Phonology of Consonant Duplication and Allied Changes in the Recitation of Tamil *T*aittirīyaka-s

Balasubramanian Ramakrishnan

Abstract: The phonetics of the Vedas are described by the prātiśākhya and śikṣā texts. Each Veda has its own prātiśākhya as well as specific śikṣā texts. There is also a Pāṇinīya śikṣā, which talks about general rules applicable to all Veda-s. While there are similarities between the various prātiśākhya and śiksā texts, there also tend to be important differences, leading to differences in the modes of chanting the Veda-s. Some differences are obvious, but a significant percentage of the differences can be detected only by the trained ear, consonant duplication being in the latter category. While consonant duplication is not always faithfully followed by reciters of classical Sanskrit verses, by even trained paṇḍita-s, duplication is faithfully preserved, largely adhering to the Taittirīya-Yajuḥ Prātiśākhyam (TYP) rules, especially by the Tamil Taittirīyaka-s (TT). Additional rules are to be found in various śikṣā texts and some rules are known only from traditional practice. It is important to study the printed texts of the TTs which use the Grantha script since they offer a very concise representation of some unique duplication rules. Finally, analysis of actual recitation by experts, or field-study, is also required to completely understand the phonetic rules.

The aim of this paper can be summarized as:

1. describe duplication rules among TTs, point out where they deviate from the TYP, compare and contrast with other prātiśākhya-s and Pāṇini,
2. develop an algebraic formulation of TT duplication rules,
3. develop a Non-Deterministic Finite State Transducer (ND-FST) model from the algebraic formulation, and finally
4. a Perl implementation of the model as a tool to study TT duplication rules.

1 Introduction

Consonant duplication is one of the truly arcane topics in Sanskrit. This paper is about consonant duplication among TTs, a phonological process, when conjunct consonants (saṃyutākṣara) occur. While it should be clear, it is worth mentioning that this is different from the duplication of syllables in a verbal root form, e.g., the third class of verbs reduplicated aorist, etc., which are morphological processes. Consonant duplication occurs when specific groupings of vowels and consonants (to be specified later) occur. The duplicated syllable is always a full consonant and never a vowel and this is made explicit by using the phrase "consonant duplication". A vowel can be duplicated in the long (dīrgha) svarita accent, but the topic of this paper is not accentuation in the Veda. The list of vowels and consonants are mostly the same in classical and Vedic Sanskrit. However, there are a few differences between the different lists, even between the prātiśākhya-s of different Veda-s. This paper will not discuss these differences in detail and a good resource for this is Whitney (1871). This paper will also not examine the phonetics of the standard Sanskrit vowels and consonants, which is a well-researched topic. A good source for phonetic analysis, including many Vedic forms, is Allen (1953), and many more references can be found in Scharfe (1973). However, we will discuss phonetics of a few specific vowels and consonant forms which are important in and peculiar to TT recitation, especially during duplication, and which are different from the classical Sanskrit, in the relevant sections.

One of the first people to study duplication was Whitney, in his path-breaking studies of the prātiśākhya-s of the Atharva and the Taittirīya veda-s (Whitney 1863, 1871). Whitney had specific reservations about the value of the detailed discussions on duplication in the prātiśākhya-s, which he expressed rather forcefully, first in his translation of the Atharva prātiśākhya[1] (Whitney 1863)

> "The subject of the duplicated pronunciation of consonants, or of the varṇakrama, as it is sometimes called, is one of the most peculiar in the whole phonetical science of the Hindus. It is also the one, to my apprehension, which exhibits most strikingly their characteristic tendency to arbitrary and artificial theorizing; I have not succeeded in discovering the foundation of fact

[1] This can be found under his explanation to 3.28, page 470 (Whitney 1863)

> upon which their superstructure of rules is based, or explaining to myself what actual phonetic phenomena, liable to occur in a natural, or even a strained, mode of utterance, they supposed themselves to have noted, and endeavored thus to reduce to systematic form. The varṇakrama, however, forms a not inconspicuous part of the phonetic system of all the Prātiśākhyas, and is even presented by Pāṇini (viii. 4. 46-52), although the latter mercifully allows us our option as to whether we will or will not observe its rules.".[2]

There are two questions which Whitney rightly raises: 1) what the phonetic basis of duplication is and 2) whether it really makes a difference in Vedic chanting. In this paper, I'll concentrate mostly on the latter question. The concise answer is that duplication does matter quite a bit and is reflected in the recitation of paṇḍita-s trained in the orthodox manner. The first question is not the focus of this paper. However, in a few places, I will point out some of the possible phonetic reasons for duplication.

Opinion of the later śikṣā-s

First, we can look at texts which were written after the TYP, i.e., the śikṣā texts, and see that it is an important topic in these texts as well. The sarvasammata śikṣā (Finke 1886) actually begins with the invocatory verse

> kṛpāluṃ varadaṃ devaṃ praṇipatya gajānanam |
> dvitvādīnāṃ pravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇaṃ sarvasammatam ||
> Having prostrated to the compassionate and wish-granting elephant-faced God,
> I will expound the phonetics of duplication, etc., (which are) agreeable to all.

Since the sarvasammata śikṣā singles out duplication and is actually largely about this topic, it can be seen that the later textual tradition also held that consonant duplication was an important topic for reciters of the Veda.

[2]He also states in page 313 of his translation of the TYP (Whitney 1871), "Thus is brought to an end the tedious subject of duplication, the physical foundation of which is of the obscurest, although the pains with which the Hindu śākhinaḥ have elaborated it, and the earnestness with which they assert their discordant views respecting it, prove that it had for them a real, or what seemed like a real, value.", clearly expressing his reservations once again on the practical utility of the discussions on duplication.

Furthermore, the śikṣā is somewhat ambitiously titled sarvasammata, i.e., agreeable to all, which implies that a variety of opinions, especially on duplication, existed at the same point in time. This is very clear from the TYP itself, where several contradictory opinions are stated and sometimes with attribution to a specific authority. Whitney had also pointed out very early on that while duplication was a topic treated by all prātiśākhya-s, the TYP is unique in that it presents the contradictory opinion of many different authorities (Whitney 1871). The Vyāsa (Ācārya Śrīpaṭṭābhirāmaśāstri 1976) and especially the sarvasammata śikṣā clearly try to present a unified theory of duplication by leaving out contradictory opinions and sometimes adding rules not found in the TYP. The sarvasammata śikṣā finishes with the cautionary verse[3]

> śīkṣā ca prātiśākhyaṃ ca virudhyete parasparam |
> śīkṣaiva durbaletyāhuḥ siṃhasyaiva mṛgī yathā ||
> (If there is any) mutual contradiction between the śikṣā and prātiśākhyam,
> They declare that the śikṣā is indeed the weaker, like the deer (in the presence) of a lion.

Clearly the sarvasammata śikṣā's author was aware that at least some of the śikṣā-s have opinions contradictory to the TYP. However, it should be noted that the same text adds some rules not found in the TYP, and also extends the scope of some rules found in the TYP. Again it was noted by Whitney in his treatment of the svarabhakti in the TYP, where he remarks that the commentator seemed to rely more on his śikṣā text than the TYP itself (Whitney 1871). In this regard, the comment of Scharfe regarding the attitude of Pāṇinīya-s is very perceptive, is applicable in this case as well, and deserves to be quoted in full (Scharfe 1973)

> "The aṣṭādhyāyī can be compared to a code of law which is subject to legal interpretation when cases that were not or could not be foreseen by the lawmaker. The courts need a consistent and workable application even to such cases. Lawyers are used to obtaining this application by extrapolating principles embodied in the code which is presumed to be comprehensive and consistent to the minute technical details; seemingly redundant features

[3]It is interesting that the text uses the word śīkṣā instead of śikṣā , similar to the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, thus placing the author squarely within the Kṛṣṇa-yajur-veda tradition.

> must have their significance. If these extrapolations lead to opposing conclusions this contradiction must be resolved. As a last recourse, the law may be amended, The Pāṇinīya-s are like such lawyers and we miss the point when we castigate them for reading later theories into the original texts."

Methodology of the Orthodox Practitioners

The methodology so aptly described by Scharfe can be described in general by following a list of Boolean logic rules as given below, and is also applicable to the phonology of duplication:

- If condition A_1, then execute Rule 1.
- If conditions A_1 AND A_2, then execute Rule 2.
- $\cdots$
- If conditions A_1 AND A_2 AND $\cdots$ AND A_k, then execute Rule k.

A series of rules like the above can be used to give the general and fundamental rule (vidhi) (denoted by Rule 1) and modifying the rule by an exception, followed by an exception to the exception and so on. Note that the TYP itself follows such a formulation by first giving a general rule and adding elements to the list to either discard Rule 1 or modify its performance in certain cases. For example, Rule 2 could be "discard the implementation of Rule 1", if conditions A_1 and A_2 occur together, thus providing an exception. The śikṣā-s follow the lead of the TYP and add lawyerly emendations to either modify or discard the rules within in TYP. In this manner, they can claim to be completely consistent with the TYP and yet offer modifications/emendations. Note that the question of why the TYP does not list *all* the rules followed by the orthodox tradition, or whether some of them were later innovations, does not make sense within this formulation of the orthodox tradition. This is a sensible procedure for interpreting the TYP and śikṣā texts as a unified whole. It is also important for the orthodox tradition to interpret these texts as a unified whole because while in some cases it is clear what the TYP considers as an accepted doctrine, in several other cases what the TYP considers to be an accepted doctrine is known

only from the commentary, as noted by Whitney (Whitney 1871).[4] Thus if the orthodox tradition accepts the TYP as well as the śikṣā texts, to begin with, then the only logical route is the lawyerly one.

Regarding the orthodox method of learning the Vedic recitation, it was pointed out in a recent study of the Vedic tradition in Maharashtra by Larios (Larios 2017) that the "vedamūrti-s" or the orthodox Vedic chanters rarely have even seen a śiksā text[5] and it has been observed by me in Tamil tradition as well.[6] However the phonological peculiarities of the TTs are very efficiently encoded in their texts published in the Grantha script (Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī 1930, 1931, 1935, Undated[a],[b]; Vaidyanāthasāstri 1905). This should not be confused with an efficient and one-to-one mapping of the actual syllables chanted, e.g., in a manner as described in Scharf and Hyman (2009) from the point of view of computer-based processing or representa-

[4]It can of course be hypothesized that the TYP represents the "original" rules and the modifications and additions found in the śikṣā -s are later accretions. But this is not correct because the TYP does record a multitude of opinions, especially about duplication, and clearly, the TYP is only one strand among the different schools of thought. It is clear that there were multiple schools of thought regarding certain phonetic and phonological processes, and that the TYP is the first attempt to unify the different strands. It also seems unlikely that there was a single original way of recitation, unless it is assumed that the Taittirīya school was limited originally to a very small geographical area, which is not likely. It's also unlikely that a historical dating of different doctrines can be obtained by mere textual analysis.

[5]In page 5 (Larios 2017), "Notably, none of the brāhmaṇas I came in contact with had memorized a śikṣā or prātiśākhya text at the time of our meeting. Many of those I interviewed during my fieldwork did not possess a copy of such a text, and many others had never seen a śikṣā or prātiśākhya text in their lives. Yet, as will be shown below, the rules concerning the Vedic recitation are mainly learned through the system of oral transmission, and this includes the pronunciation rules stipulated in the śikṣā or prātiśākhya texts of each Vedic branch."

[6]In Staal (1961) TT recitation is referred to as Tamil Iyer recitation. I prefer the reference as TTs since Iyer, Iyeṅkars and Mādhvas settled in Tamil Nadu all follow the same schools and the phonetics/phonology is the same between these different subsects. The Iyeṅgars usually, but not always, learn the Drāviḍa pāṭha. But this affects only the text of a few praśna-s of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and not the phonetics/phonology. I have observed that the paṇḍita-s from the Vedic school conducted by one of the four Advaita āmnāya maṭha-s, Dakṣiṇāmnāya Śringeri Śāradā Pīṭham, are very similar to TTs in their recitations, but I do not know if it's the same case with all reciters from the Karnataka region. I also haven't had the opportunity of interacting with paṇḍita-s from the Andhra region, but the few recordings I have heard show at least some differences from the TTs. The Nambudiri recitation is of course quite different from the TTs. Comparing the duplication among the different Southern schools, including the Nambudiris, would be an interesting field study.

tion of general Sanskrit texts, but rather a concise encoding of only the most important śikṣā rules, which will make complete sense only to people trained within the oral tradition. It should be noted that if the texts were printed exactly as recited, with all duplicated consonants explicitly specified, there would be a prolixity of consonants. This would have had a manifold effect: it would have significantly complicated the task of the scribe, increase the probability of error propagation, as well as hinder text comprehension. The printed texts serve a dual purpose, aid recitation, and comprehension, and this fact was likely not lost to the TTs who started the practice of using the Grantha script. On the other hand, unless some of the more obscure rules are actually represented in the printed text, it might result in the wrong recitation. The Grantha texts offer an admirable combination of precisely encoding arcane duplication rules, yet avoiding prolixity in printing out consonants for people trained within the tradition. The Grantha texts thus make the TYP and śikṣā texts largely unnecessary for an orthodox reciter. An ability to read Grantha is thus a sine-qua-non for understanding consonant duplication among TTs.

The method by which the Grantha texts achieve this is by writing any conjunct consonant from top to bottom, even if they consist of more than two consonants, or inventing new characters for frequently used complex conjunct consonants. Standalone consonants mean something special, but the meaning is context-dependent and thus the encoding is not one-to-one. For example, a standalone 'n' phoneme within a sentence can stand for different ways of pronouncing it, depending on the vowel-consonant cluster surrounding it (as will be seen in a subsequent section). Note again that some of these rules and exceptions can be found neither in the TYP nor in the śikṣā texts, and are known only from the orthodox tradition. However, these are faithfully reflected in the Grantha texts. In contrast, Devanāgarī typesets typically do not have such complicated conjunct consonants, and the complex phonological rules are largely ignored and not encoded. Another issue is that some conjunct consonants which occur in the TT recitation due to phonological changes, e.g., śna which is transformed into śña except in the Kāṭhaka borrowings, do not occur at all in classical Sanskrit and are thus not available in Devanāgarī typesets as a standalone conjunct consonant.[7] An important effort to rectify these defects, and reflect TYP

[7]The Vaidikavardhini press in Kumbhakonam published these Grantha texts and many excellent prayoga texts but unfortunately went out of business many decades ago. These books are hard to obtain, but facsimile copies of their Taittirīya corpus are available

rules in the Devanāgarī script has been made, but still has some shortfalls compared to the original Grantha texts (Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ 2003a,b). However, this series has a very learned introduction regarding some of the key, though not all, phonological aspects of TT recitation. Furthermore, this series has very few printing errors, uses a very pleasing font, and is thus well worth using as a reference text.

Just an ability to read the Grantha texts is not enough and actually would hinder the proper evaluation of duplication among TTs. I have personally interacted with a number of kramānta-svādhyāyinaḥ and have also learned to recite a good portion of the Taittirīya śākhā, which has been an invaluable help in understanding duplication rules. Field study would also clear any questions about whether duplication makes a difference in Vedic recitation. In my experience with laypeople and experts, I have seen that most (but not all) laypeople who learn to recite the Vedas, especially as adults and using texts printed in the Devanagari script, confuse textual familiarity and chanting with seeming fluency with correct Vedic recitation. Relying on texts and not listening keenly to expert recitation makes laypeople, even those who listen to or practice Vedic chanting regularly, unaware of the phonological sophistication of Vedic chanting, which cannot be completely captured in textual form. When the correct syllables are not duplicated or wrongly duplicated, the expert recognizes this very quickly, which answers Whitney's question on whether duplication makes a difference in Vedic recitation. The answer is that it does to the expert, but laypeople may not understand the subtleties. Finally, while actual field study is important and irreplaceable, a good source for authentic TT recitation is the audio recordings released by an organization called Vediclinks (Sarma et al.

among the paṇḍita circles in Chennai. One of my teachers Śrī Śrīkaṇṭha Ācāryāḥ showed me his Kannada text and it seemed to follow the same principle as the Grantha texts with regard to conjunct consonants and standalone consonants. However, I am not familiar with the Kannada script and did not perform a careful analysis. A reviewer also pointed out that the Telugu and Kannada texts follow the same principle as the Grantha texts. It would be interesting to compare texts in Kannada and Telugu scripts with the Grantha texts popular in Tamil Nadu. It is also not implied that Devanāgarī typesets do not have sophisticated conjunct consonant representations, but they are not as clear as the Grantha scripts which follow a binary rule of conjunct consonants always being represented as a single top-to-bottom cluster and standalone consonants representing exceptions to the duplication rules. This can certainly be corrected by introducing new conjunct consonants in existing Devanāgarī fonts.

2004), which unfortunately seems to be defunct now.[8]

Fundamental Rule and Notation

Consonant duplication is specified in fundamentally the same way in different texts, and the basic rule (Condition A_1 in previous section) is common across all prātiśākhya-s as well as Pāṇini.:

- Taittirīya Prātiśākhyam 14.1 (Whitney 1871) - svarapūrvaṃ vyañjanaṃ dvivarṇaṃ vyañjanaparam.
- Śukla-yajuḥ Prātiśākhyam 4.99 (Rastogi 1967) - svarāt saṃyogādirdvirucyate sarvatra.
- Ṛk Prātiśākhyam 6.1 (Sastri 1931) - svarānusvāropahito dvirucyate saṃyogādiḥ sa krame′vikrame san.
- Atharva Prātiśākhyam 3.28 (Whitney 1863) - saṃyogādi svarāt.
- Pāṇini 8.4.47 (Vasu 1898) - anaci ca.

In this paper we will use the terminology from the TYP to refer to vowels, consonants, or groups of consonants. The following abbreviations will be used for a concise description of the rules:

1. V - all the consonants (vyañjana-s).
2. $C^{i,j}$ - the mutes (sparśaḥ), the indices i and j stand for the row and column in 5×5 matrix with the ka, ca, ṭa, ta and pa series (varga) as the rows. As examples, $C^{1,4}$ would be gha and $C^{5,5}$ would be ma.
3. A - the semivowels (antasthaḥ) ya, ra, la, and va.
4. U - the sibilants (ūṣman) śa, ṣa, sa, ha, jihvāmūlīya, and upadhmānīya.
5. U_a - the four sibilants, śa, ṣa, sa, and ha.
6. S - vowels and the svarabhakti-s (svara).[9]

[8] This is available at `https://archive.org/details/VedicLinks-SriKrishnaYajurVedam-TaitiriyaSamhita` and I would like to thank Mr. N. E. Venkateswaran for bringing this to my attention.

[9] The svarabhakti is the sound the phonemes 'r' and 'l' attain in certain situations and will be explained in detail later.

7. S_d and S_h stand for long (dīrgha) and short (hrasva) vowels respectively.

Specific consonants or vowels will also be used if the rules require specificity.

The basic duplication rule from the TYP 14.1, svara-pūrvaṃ vyañjanaṃ dvi-varṇaṃ vyañjana-param, actually requires a sequence of consonants after a vowel, where the sequence length is greater than one. Since two or more consonants cannot occur after a vowel without a following vowel, except at the end of a sentence, which is exempted from duplication by TYP 14.15, the rule can be concisely expressed by the algebraic expression $S_1V_1 \cdots V_kS_2$ where $k \geq 2$. The subscripts stand for the numbering of the vowels and consonants in the required sequence. The basic transformational rule is thus explained by the following equation

$$S_1V_1 \cdots V_kS_2 \mapsto S_1V_1V_1 \cdots V_kS_2 \tag{.1}$$

The rule is applicable whether the cluster occurs within a word or across two words within a sentence, i.e., vākya. In printed texts, there is white space between two words, when they do not coalesce due to sandhi. However, the spacing in printed texts is merely for the convenience of comprehension and does not affect pronunciation. However, there are specific rules for certain exceptions to duplication, when certain consonants occur at the end of a word (pada). These word-end rules are to be found in the śikṣā texts and in the orthodox tradition and are not specified by the TYP. It is convenient to treat the word-end exceptions separately. Unless specified, the presence of white space in the text is ignored in all these rules.

The next section will give a detailed description of all the duplication rules and exceptions in various situations. Appropriate examples will be given to illustrate the rules. I use the abbreviations TS, TB, and TA for the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka respectively. It should be noted that in some examples, there may be multiple duplicated consonants and only the consonant which illustrates that particular rule will be shown explicitly. Another important fact is that the duplication rules are largely independent of the stress accents udātta, anudātta and svarita, except in one case. So the stress markings are not given in the illustrative examples unless the duplication rule demands it. The rules are very dependent on V_1, and the duplication rules are enumerated by the class to which V_1 belongs.

2 Duplication Rules

V_1 is a mute

This is the bulk of duplications, since there are 25 mutes, which forms the majority of all consonants.

- V_2 is a mute: The mute is duplicated, and if the mute is aspirated, then the corresponding unaspirated mute is used instead as per the rule

  > dvitīya-caturthayostu vyañjana-uttarayoḥ pūrvaḥ |
  > Of the 2nd and 4th after which a consonant (occurs), the previous (consonant in the series, i.e., the 1st or 3rd is duplicated).

  There are important exceptions. If V_1 and V_2 belong to the same series, then there is no duplication, except if the conditions that V_2 is the fifth consonant in the series and V_1 is not, are met simultaneously. For example, if V_1 and V_2 are the phonemes 't' and 'th' respectively, then there is no duplication. However if V_1 and V_2 are 'dh' and 'n', then there is duplication. This is stated by the TYP 14.13 which is an exception to the general rule and 14.14 which is an exception to 14.13 as[10]

  > savarṇa-savargīya-paraḥ |
  > The (consonant which is) of the same quality and series (as the) later (consonant is not duplicated).
  > nānuttama uttamaparaḥ |
  > (But) not in the case of a consonant (which is) not the last (in the series which has) the last (in the series following it).

  Some examples of duplication in this case are

[10] The Vyāsa śiksā 363 also gives the two rules concisely as vargīyānanuttarordhve hal savarṇottara eva ca. The same two rules are stated in the Śukla-yajuḥ Prātiśākhyam (SYP) 4.115 as well, by the exception sva-vargīye cānuttame

jyok ca ↦ jyokkca (TS 1.8.5.3)
ahiṃ budhniyam ↦ ahiṃ buddhniyam (TS 1.8.14.2)
jagdhvā ↦ jaggdhvā (TS 2.2.6.2)
pāpmānam ↦ pāppmānam (TS 2.1.10.3)

- V_2 is a semivowel: The fundamental rule applies, i.e., V_1 is duplicated.

  āpyāyamānam ↦ āppyāyamānam (TS 2.3.5.3)
  apākrāmat ↦ apākkrāmat (TS 2.3.7.1)
  śukle ↦ śukkle (TS 5.3.1.4)
  āgnīdhram ↦ āgnīddhram (TS 4.7.8.1)

- V_2 is a sibilant: It should be noted that only the first mute in each series occurs before a sibilant. As per TYP 1.12,

  prathama ūṣmaparo dvitīyam |
  (The) first (in the series which has a) sibilant after it (becomes) the second in the series.

  After this, the normal duplication rule applies. Some examples will clarify this situation:

  ṛksāme ↦ ṛkhsāme ↦ ṛkkhsāme (TS 6.1.3.1)
  hṛtsu ↦ hṛthsu ↦ hṛtthsu (TS 1.2.8.1)
  dipsanta ↦ diphsanta ↦ dipphsanta (TS 1.2.14.5)
  tat ṣoḍaśī ↦ tathṣoḍaśī ↦ tatthṣoḍaśī (TS 6.6.11.1)

We now briefly examine the phonetic basis of duplication about which (Whitney 1871) raised questions, which was quoted in the previous section. TYP 2.32 and 2.33 are key sūtra-s in this analysis:

yadupasaṃharati tatkāraṇam | 2.32
anyeṣāṃ tu yatra sparśanaṃ tatsthānam | 2.33
What comes close (the tip of the tongue), that (is the) cause (of the vowels).[11]
The place of the production of others is where contact (with the tongue occurs).

[11]The fact that the vowels are referred to in this sūtra, is inferred from the previous sūtra-s.

The key issue is clear articulation and even flow, especially in Vedic recitation. Take the simple case of a word like rudra contrasted with the allied verb roditi. The former has a conjunct consonant, while the latter does not. When a consonant is followed by a vowel, the tongue is first "close" to the organ of production, and when the vowel sound is generated, it is not in contact. The movement of tongue will both be fluid and the sounds can be articulated clearly and with an even flow, as long as only consonant-vowel phoneme pairs are repeated, e.g., the word roditi, which has 3 syllables ro, di and ti. Now take the word rudra consisting of two syllables, ru and dra. The first consonant-vowel phoneme pair is ru, which lends to clear articulation and even flow. The conjunct consonant 'dra' requires the tip of the tongue to be first placed at the back of the teeth, and the second phoneme 'r' requires the tongue to be moved a little back towards the throat and the 'a' phoneme requires no contact. This can happen without a pause and in a fluid manner easily if the phoneme 'd' is duplicated, i.e., when the tongue makes contact with the back of the teeth.

It should be noted here that there is a strand of thought that when V_1 and V_2 are both mutes there should be no duplication. This is recorded in the TYP 14.27 sparśa-sparśa-paraḥ, which is one of the exceptions to duplication. According to the commentary, this doctrine is not approved by the TYP (Whitney 1871). It is also clear from the commentary[12] on the Vyāsa śikṣā, and looking at the examples of duplication cited in the commentary, that this is not an approved rule by this text (Ācārya Śrīpaṭṭābhirāmaśāstri 1976) as well. However, this is indeed a sound doctrine, except in the case when V_2 is the fifth mute in a series. Listening to actual recitations, the duplication of d in rudra is extremely clear, whereas the duplication of the mute g in vāgdevī, supposed to be vāggdevī, is not as clear. We may even say that some duplicated syllables are more duplicated than others! The phonetic basis of duplication certainly deserves a full treatment by itself.

V_1 is the phoneme 'y'

V_1 being 'y' phoneme occurs usually only in a conjunct consonant with itself, e.g., rayyai in the TS. In the TB, there is a single occurrence tāñchaṃyvanta (TB 1.5.9.3). Since this is after an anusvāra, it does not undergo duplication. In the TA, there are two instances of the word vāyvaśvā (TA 1.1.2 and TA 1.21.1), which will undergo duplication as per the fundamental rule

[12]The Vyāsa śikṣā itself omits this doctrine.

vāyvaśvā ↦ vāyyvaśvā

V_1 is the phoneme 'l'

lavakārapūrvasparśaśca pauṣkarasādeḥ 14.2
sparśa evaikeṣāmācāryāṇām 14.3
(That) the mute preceded by the 'l' or 'v' phonemes (is duplicated is the opinion) of Pauṣkarasādi 14.2
(That) the mute alone (is duplicated is the opinion) of some teachers 14.3

The possibilities for V_2 when $V_1 = l$ are as follows:

- V_2 is a mute: Only the mute is duplicated, and if the mute is aspirated, then the corresponding unaspirated mute is duplicated.

  yajñena kalpatām ↦ yajñena kalppatām (TS 4.5.7.2)
  cāpagalbhāya ca ↦ cāpagalbbhāya ca (TS 4.5.6.1)

  This should be contrasted with the situation in the recitation by the Nambudiris. It was first pointed out by Kunhan Raja that the phoneme 't' is pronounced as the phoneme 'l' in certain situations, both in Vedic as well as regular Sanskrit by the Nambudiris (Raja 1937). In the case of vedic recitation, the Nambudiris duplicate the 'l' phoneme when it has been substituted for a 't' phoneme, but follow the TYP rules otherwise. For example, vatsa which is pronounced valsa would actually be said vallsa in the case of vedic recitation, while kalpayati would be pronounced as kalppayati.

- V_2 is the phoneme 'y': The fundamental rule applies, i.e., the phoneme 'l' is duplicated, e.g.,

  yā kalyāṇī bahurūpā ↦ yā kallyāṇī bahurūpā (TS 7.1.5.7)

- V_2 is the phoneme 'v': In sarvasammata śikṣā-44

  lakāraśca vakāraśca saṃyoge svarito yadi |
  saṃyuktau tu tadā jñeyāvasaṃyuktau tadanyathā ||
  Where (there is) a svarita in the combination (of the) 'l' and 'v' phonemes,
  There (is) a combination (of the two), in other cases it is known to be separate.

A non-conjunct 'l' phoneme is reflected in only four instances of this combination, all with the word bailvaḥ or bilvaḥ, and not elsewhere where this combination occurs, by the TTs. However this distinction is not specified by the sarvasammata śikṣā:

baḭlvo yūpó ↦ baḭl÷vo yūpó (TS 2.1.8.1)
biḭlvá udátiṣṭhat ↦ biḭllvá udátiṣṭhat (TS 2.1.8.2)
baḭlvo vā́ ↦ baḭl÷vo vā́ (TB 3.8.19.1)
ṣaḍbaḭlvā ↦ ṣaḍbaḭl÷vā (TB 3.8.20.1)
khalvā́huḥ ↦ khallvā́huḥ (TS 2.5.1.6)
khalvaḭndramityeḭva ↦ khallvaḭndramityeḭva (TS 2.5.3.7)

Note that in the last example (TS 2.5.3.7), the non-occurrence of a svarita does not matter and the 'l' phoneme does not stand separately. This is correctly reflected in the printed Grantha texts. It is not clear if the author of the savrvasammata śikṣā was from a tradition where in the example TS 2.5.3.7 above, the 'l' phoneme would be non-conjunct. In practice, there is also a very slight pause after the non-conjunct 'l' phoneme, which is pronounced as the phoneme 'l' followed by approximately the last quarter of the ṛ phoneme.[13] In Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ (2003a), the authors have introduced a notation to make the non-conjunct nature clear to readers. They print a ÷ sign after the phoneme 'l' to clarify that it is not just the usual phoneme 'l'. In their previous book (Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ 2003b), they followed the principle of the Grantha texts by printing a free standing consonant, in this case an 'l' phoneme, which they note was confusing to people used to Devanāgarī typesetting. Note again that a free standing consonant in the Grantha typeset texts have a context based meaning, and the fact that the phoneme 'l' in this case is non-conjunct is clear to the practitioners. I have adopted the clarifying notation introduced in Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ (2003a) in this paper.

- V_2 is a sibilant: The Vyāsa śikṣā 381 says:

svarordhvoṣmaṇi rephasya lasyāpi svarabhaktitā

[13]It should be note that the TTs pronounce all non-conjunct or final consonants, except the phoneme 'm' in this manner in their chantings, be it Vedic or otherwise, unlike native Hindi speakers.

> The ‘r’ phoneme or ‘l’ phoneme attain svarabhakti when (occurring) after a sibilant before which a vowel is present

The ‘l’ phoneme before a ‘h’ phoneme is called karviṇī, and before the ‘ś’, ‘ṣ’ or ‘s’ phonemes is called the hāritā, as per the Vyāsa śikṣā 385-386. However, in practical chanting the two svarabhakti-s are pronounced in a similar fashion. It may be noted here that these svarabhakti-s are pronounced by the TTs very similar to a ‘l’ phoneme followed by the kurriyalukaram sound (John Lazarus 1878) in the Tamil language.[14] In the Grantha texts these svarabhakti-s are indicated by a freestanding ‘l’ phoneme, and the fact that it is a svarabhakti and not non-conjunct is clear only from the context. Some examples are:

sahasravalśāḥ ↦ sahasraval÷śāḥ (TS 1.1.2.1)
malhām ↦ mal÷hām (TS 1.8.19.1)

V_1 is the ‘v’ phoneme

For the ‘v’ phoneme as the first consonant in the sequence, there are two possibilities for V_2:

- V_2 is a mute: In this case V_2 can only be an ‘n’ or ṇ phoneme.

  manīṣāmoṣiṣṭhadāvne ↦ manīṣāmoṣiṣṭhadāv÷nne (TS 1.6.12.3)
  dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam ↦ dadhikrāv÷ṇṇo akāriṣam (1.5.11.4)

- V_2 is the phoneme ‘y’, ‘r’ or ‘l’: The fundamental rule applies, i.e., the phoneme ‘v’ is duplicated, e.g.,

  divyā āpo ↦ divvyā āpo (TS 6.1.2.3)
  tīvro raso ↦ tīvvro raso (TS 5.6.1.3)
  prayajuravlīnāt ↦ prayajuravvlīnāt (TS 6.1.2.4)

[14] There is a detailed and good study of the phonetics of svarabhakti-s as described in the śikṣā texts in Mohanty (2015). My main concern is not the phonetics of the svarabhakti-s, rather where it occurs and how it is treated in TT recitation. The svarabhakti of the ‘l’ phoneme is slightly different from the non-conjunct ‘l’ phoneme, but even trained paṇḍita-s sometimes blur the distinction.

V_1 is the sibilant 'ś', 'ṣ' or 's'

- V_2 is a mute: As per the TYP 14.9, after an unvoiced spirant, the first mute of the series is inserted as abhinidhāna:

  > aghoṣādūṣmāṇaḥ paraḥ prathamo 'bhinidhāna-sparśaparāttasya sasthānaḥ |
  > After an unvoiced spirant, a first consonant (of the same series as the) mute following it, (is inserted as) abhinidhāna.

  Some illustrative examples are

  śuṣmeṇod ↦ śuṣpmeṇod (TS 1.2.8.1)
  prasnātīḥ ↦ prastnātīḥ (TS 2.6.11.2)
  viṣṇo ↦ viṣṭṇo (TS 1.1.3.1)

- V_2 is a semi-vowel: The fundamental rule applies, i.e., the sibilant is duplicated. Some examples are

  ava sya vara ↦ avassya vara (TS 1.2.3.3)
  śiśriye ↦ śiśśriye (TS 1.5.3.1)
  uttamaśloko ↦ uttamaśśloko (TS 5.7.4.3)
  aśvamedhaḥ ↦ aśśvamedhaḥ (TS 5.7.5.3)

V_1 is the phoneme 'r'

The 'r' phoneme is not duplicated as per TYP 14.15, avasāne ra-visarjanīya-jihvāmūliyopadhmānīyāḥ. The rule of Pauṣkarasādi (TYP 14.2) and some unnamed teachers (TYP 14.3), applicable to the 'l' and 'v' phonemes are applicable to the 'r' phoneme as well, as per TYP 14.4 rephāt paraṃ ca. However, note that all consonants after the 'r' phoneme are duplicated as per TYP 14.4, whereas only the mutes are duplicated after the 'l' and 'v' phonemes.

- V_2 is a mute: Only the mute is duplicated, and if the mute is aspirated, then the corresponding unaspirated mute is duplicated. In the Grantha texts, the duplicated 't' before a 'th' phoneme and a 'd' before a 'dh' phoneme are explicitly printed, as mentioned previously.

sāśīrkeṇa ↦ sāśīrkkeṇa (TS 1.6.10.4)
ūrdhvā yasyāmatiḥ ↦ ūrddhvā yasyāmatiḥ (TS 1.2.6.1)

- V_2 is the phoneme 'y', 'l' or 'v': This is similar to the previous case of V_2 being a mute. The clarity of the duplicated syllable even by trained paṇḍita-s however varies quite a bit. It is quite probable that there was a tradition of svarabhakti of the 'r' phoneme which occur before the semi-vowels, which is reflected in this variation among the paṇḍita-s. This can be seen from the kāṭhaka section of the Taittirīya brāhmaṇa, where the word sūrya is said to have three syllables in it, and would make sense if the 'r' phoneme was pronounced as a svarabhakti, which is considered to be a vowel as per the TYP.[15]

  paryāgata ↦ paryyāgata (TS 1.6.10.3)
  tairlokam ↦ tairllokam (TS 5.2.1.7)
  evā no dūrve ↦ evā no dūrvve (TS 5.2.8.3)

- V_2 is the phoneme 'ś', 'ṣ' or 's': The phoneme 'r' attains svarabhakti if the series has only two consonants, i.e, the series is of the form $S_1 r[$ ś|ṣ|s $]S_2$, and this type of svarabhakti is called the hariṇī. This is from the rule in TYP 14.16 listing exceptions to duplication

  ūṣmā svaraparaḥ

  Clearly, if there is a third consonant following the 'ś', 'ṣ' or 's' phonemes, there is no svarabhakti of the 'r' phoneme and the other usual duplication rules take over. Some examples are:

[15] See the Kāṭhaka 1.9 (Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ 2003a) where the eight-syllabled mantra of sūrya is described as ghṛṇiriṭi dve aḳṣarē̱ | sūryaṯ iṭi trīṇi̱ | āḍiṭya iṭi trīṇi̱ |. The mantra is thus ghṛṇiḥ sūrya ādityaḥ. This should be only 7 syllables as per the regular mode of counting syllables. The later Sūryopaniṣad (A. Mahadeva Sastri 1921) describes the eight syllabled mantra by adding the salutation Om before this mantra, i.e., oṃ ghṛṇiḥ sūrya ādityaḥ, and thus getting the correct number of syllables. The verses from the Sūryopaniṣad 7 are omityekākṣaraṃ brahma | ghṛṇiriti dve akṣare | sūrya ityakṣaradvayam | āditya iti trīṇyakṣarāṇi | etasyaiva sūryasyāṣṭākṣaro manuḥ ||. If the kāṭhaka śākhin-s actually pronounced the 'r' phoneme before a 'y' phoneme as a svarabhakti, then this feature is not preserved in the recitation of this praśna by the TTs, while some other phonological peculiarities of the kāṭhaka praśna-s are still preserved by the TTs. It seems quite likely that the 'r' phoneme before the semi-vowels received differing treatment from various Vedic groups, and at least some of them continue to this day, e.g., the Tamil Ṛgvedin-s actually duplicate the 'r' phoneme before the semi-vowels.

darśapūrṇamāsau ↦ dar÷śapūrṇamāsau (TS 1.6.7.1)
varṣavṛddham ↦ var÷ṣavṛddham (TS 1.1.2.1)
barsam ↦ bar÷sam (TS 2.5.7.1)
ubhayataśśīrṣṇī ↦ ubhayataśśīrṣṭṇī (TS 1.2.4.2)
dārśyam ↦ dārśśyam (TS 3.2.2.3)

- V_2 is the h phoneme: The 'r' phoneme again attains svarabhakti under conditions similar to the 'ś', 'ṣ' or 's' phonemes and this type is called the kareṇū. Just like the 'l' phoneme svarabhakti-s, these two svarabhakti-s are pronounced in an identical fashion, although they are classified under two different names.

  barhiṣā ↦ bar÷hiṣā (TS 1.6.7.2)

  However, there is an important exception to the kareṇū svarabhakti. If V_1 has the svarita accent and V_2 has the anudātta accent, then the 'r' phoneme does not attain svarabhakti, and there is duplication of the h phoneme. This rule is not found in the TYP or the two main śikṣā-s, but is followed in the Grantha texts and TT recitation.

  e̱tadbȧ́rhi̱rhye̱ṣaḥ ↦ e̱tadbȧ́rhhi̱rhye̱ṣaḥ (TA 4.5.5)

- Special case of the form S_1rṛ: This form is also not explicitly described in the TYP or the main śikṣā texts. However, the 'r' phoneme stays non-conjunct, and is pronounced very similar to the svarabhakti.[16]

V_1 is the phoneme 'h'

The 'h' phoneme is not excluded from duplication in the TYP and TT recitations, although Pāṇini and the SYP exempt it.[17]

- V_2 is a mute: In this case V_2 has to be the 'ṇ', 'n', or the 'm' phoneme. However, there is a peculiarity in the TYP when the 'ṇ', 'n', or the 'm' phonemes occur after the 'h' phoneme. A so called nāsikya is inserted after the 'h' phoneme

[16]The pronunciation of the 'r' phoneme in this situation should be contrasted with that of the Tamil Ṛg-vedin-s, who do not pronounce it with a svarabhakti like sound.

[17]For example, the SYP 4.100, enjoins duplication of any consonant following the 'r' and 'h' phonemes, praṃ tu rephahakārābhyām.

hakārānnaṇanamaparānnāsikyam 21.14
From a 'h' phoneme (with the phonemes) 'n', 'n' or 'm' following (it), a nasal-sound (occurs)

Whitney (Whitney 1871) translates it as "After h, when followed by n, ṇ or m, is inserted a nāsikya", which is quite reasonable. However, as he points out the commentator actually interprets this statement as 'h' phoneme itself taking up a nasal sound.[18] Whitney points out that this is not a straightforward interpretation of this sutra and his contention seems correct, when the previous sūtra-s and the commentators explanation of those are examined. The pronunciation of the nasals after the 'h' phoneme seems to have a variety of opinions, but the TT pronounce these conjunct consonants with the nasal before the 'h' phoneme and transitioning to the 'h' phoneme towards the tail-end of the nasal. This is what the commentator of the TYP seems to have in mind as well.

- V_2 is a semi-vowel: The fundamental rule applies, i.e., the phoneme 'h' is duplicated.

gṛhyate ↦ gṛhhyate (TS 6.5.10.1)
prahriyate ↦ prahhriyate (TS 7.5.15.1)
śītikāvati hlāduke ↦ śītikāvatihhlāduke (TA 6.4.1)
bahvībhiḥ ↦ bahhvībhiḥ (TS 6.5.9.2)

Anusvāra

The conversion of the anusvāra at the end of a word is generally the same as in Pāṇini, where the anusvāra is usually transformed into a nasal of the same group (savarṇa-anunāsika). The difference in TT recitation is in how it is treated before the sibilants, the 'r' phoneme and some notable exemptions. The Grantha texts explicitly specify the transformation of the anusvāra unlike the Devanāgarī texts which simply use the anusvāra symbol (a dot above the line) before the mutes and leave it to the reader to make the conversion, which is not trivial during recitation. In fact, one of the sure ways of identifying a low quality recitation is to see if the reciter substitutes the 'm' phoneme for the anusvāra. Since this is a phonologically important

[18]The commentary says: tasmān naṇama-paraṃ hakāraṃ āruhya nāsikyaṃ bhavati, Thus, h when followed by n, ṇ or m becomes an inserted nāsikya.

distinction, I point out the rules governing the anusvāra, although it is exempt from duplication, which is the main topic of this paper.

- V_1 is the 'r', 'ś', 'ṣ', 's' or 'h' phoneme: The anusvāra remains and does not become a nasal as per TYP 5.29 na repha paraḥ, the 'r' phoneme being specified explicitly since the anusvāra is transformed in the case of the other semi-vowels. In these cases where the anusvāra does not become a savarṇa-anunāsika, the sarvasammata śiksā-43 specifies:

  > adhyāye taittirīyāṇāmanusvāro yadā bhavet |
  > tadādyardho gakāraḥ syādaparastvanunāsikaḥ ||
  > In the recitation of Taittirīyaka-s, when the anusvāra is present,
  > Then, a half gakāra sound followed by the anunāsika is (chanted).

  This should be contrasted with the recitation of the Tamil Ṛg-vedin-s.[19] The Vyāsa śikṣā further specifies

  > hrasvāddvittvamanusvāraḥ prāpnuyātsaṃyute pare | 341
  > tadanusvārapūrvaśca saṃyogādirdvirucyate || 342
  > After a short (vowel) the anusvāra attains doubling, if the following (ūṣman) is in a conjunct consonant,
  > That ūṣman which has the anusvāra prior, is said twice due to being conjoined (with a consonant).

  Note that this is the case if the sibilant following the anusvāra is not followed by a mute. If it is, then the rule TYP 14.9 needs to be applied further and the sibilant itself is not duplicated but the corresponding first mute is inserted as abhinidhāna. In summary, the pronunciation of the anusvāra differs as follows:

  - If V_1 is followed by a vowel, then the sound is like "g-m", where the "g" has a svarabhakti like quality to it. Note that this will always be the case with the 'r' phoneme. The following two cases apply only to the sibilants.
  - If V_1 is followed by a consonant and S_1 was long, the the sound is like "g", an ardha-gakāra.

[19] The Ṛk-prātiśākhya actually requires doubling of the sibilants after the anusvāra.

– If V_1 is followed by a consonant and S_1 was short, the the sound is like "g-g", i.e., a pure phoneme 'g' sound followed by an ardha-gakāra.

In the Grantha texts, the first two cases are denoted by the vedic anusvāra symbol, whereas the last case is the duplicated vedic anusvāra. Some examples are:

ādityānāṁ̃ sadasi ↦ ādityānāṁ̃sadasi (TS 1.1.11.2)
iṣaṁ̃rayīṇām ↦ iṣaṁ̃rayīṇām (TS 1.1.14.1)
aśravaṁ̃hi ↦ aśravaṁ̃hi (TA 1.1.14.1)
vayaṁ̃syāma ↦ vayaṁ̃ssyāma (TB 2.11.4.28)
indraṁ̃sthaviram ↦ indraṁ̃stthaviram (TB 2.4.2.20)

- V_1 is a mute or the phonemes 'y', 'l' or 'v': The TYP rules governing the behavior are similar to Pāṇini and as follows

nakāro anunāsikam TYP 5.26
makāra sparśaparastasya sasthānamanunāsikam TYP 5.27
antasthāparaśca savarṇamanunāsikam TYP 5.28

Examples are not provided in this case since these rules are well known even in the classical Sanskrit.

- Special cases: In the Vyāsa śikṣā

jñaghnottaro makāraścedanusvāro 'tra kevalaḥ | 166
dvimātra iti vijñeyo hyanyadharmavivarjitaḥ | 167
The 'm' phoneme before a jña or ghna (exists) as just an anusvāra,
This is known to be two mātra-s (in length), and indeed obtains a different quality.

This duration (mātra) lengthening is reflected in actual TT practice and a distinct pause occurs after the anusvāra. The duration of the pause is somewhat variable. Distinct pauses can be noted in the chanting of such anusvāra-s in (Sarma et al. 2004) and the paṇḍita-s from the Sringeri vedapāṭhaśāla, but in my field study I have observed some paṇḍita-s do not pause very clearly, and the pause is clear only to the trained ear. The sarvasammata śiksā-32 elaborates further:

> nakiṣṭaṃ ghnanti saṃjñānaṃ priyaṃ jñātiṃ tathaiva ca |
> dhūṃkṣṇā daṃkṣṇava ityatrānusvāro ′pi vidharmakaḥ ||
> In the places with nakiṣṭaṃ ghnanti, saṃjñānaṃ, priyaṃ jñātiṃ,
> dhūṃkṣṇā and daṃkṣṇava, the anusvāra (is pronounced with a) different quality.

Note that this vidharma quality is observed whenever the combination ṃjña occurs, as specified by the vyāsa śikṣā, e.g., saṃjñapayantyaindraḥ in TS 6.3.11.2, which is not covered by the verse quoted above. However the other cases, dhūṃkṣṇā and daṃkṣṇava, quoted above are pronounced the same way, i.e., with the lengthening of the duration. Interestingly, it is not an anusvāra, but rather the consonant ṅ, which has the extended mātra. This phonological flourish can be clearly heard in authentic TT recitations. Thus the actual TT practice is a combination of the specification of the two śikṣā-s.

Phonological peculiarities with V_1 being the 'n' phoneme

Some phonological peculiarities of the 'n' phoneme in TT recitation are known only from tradition and are reflected in the Grantha texts.

- The first is when the 'n' phoneme occurs in the conjunct consonant nts, which would become nths as per TYP 14.12. The 'n' phoneme obtains vidharma, just like the cases described previously. In practice, a pause occurs after the 'n' phoneme.[20] The Grantha texts print out a standalone 'n' phoneme in this case.

- The second peculiarity is when the conjunct consonant npr occurs. In this case, the Grantha texts print the 'n' phoneme as a standalone consonant, but it neither gets vidharma nor is pronounced like an 'n' phoneme at the end of a pada and which is not duplicated (described in the next section). It reflects the fact that the 'n' phoneme is just not duplicated, although the basic TYP rule would enjoin it.

[20] This pause is also reflected in the 'n' phoneme obtaining the svarita accent if the previous vowel had the svarita accent.

Thus a standalone 'n' phoneme is pronounced in different ways, depending on the context where it occurs. These two rules are not reflected in Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ (2003a).

V_1 is nakāra or ṅakāra at the end of a pada

This is a distinct feature of the TT recitation, where in some cases the 'n' phoneme or the ṅakāra are not duplicated when occurring at the end of a word and followed by a consonant in the next word. Note that the TYP does not have any explicit rules for this and some rules can be found in the śikṣā-s. This case has been explained very well along with examples in the introduction to Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ (2003a). Thus, the examples will not be repeated in this paper. However, I will summarize the account from the śikṣā-s and what happens in actual TT recitations. The sarvasammata śiksā-45 says:

> padāntasya nakārasya yavaheṣu pareṣu vai |
> nakārayavahāstatra tvasaṃyuktāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
> The 'n' phoneme at the end of a word, followed (by) ya, va or ha (in the next word),
> There, the 'n' phoneme and the following ya, va or ha are well known as not conjoined.

The Vyāsa śikṣā on the other hand says:

> yavahe parastheṣu nakāraścāntagastviti | 364
> nasyāntagasya dīrghāttu yavahe he ca halpare | 365
> parairebhirhi tasyaiva na syāt saṃyuktatā tathā | 366
> The 'n' phoneme at the end (of a word) which comes prior to a yakāra, vakāra or hakāra (in the next word is not duplicated).
> The 'n' phoneme at the end of (a word) which occurs after a long (vowel) and followed by a yakāra, vakāra or hakāra, or a 'h' phoneme followed by a consonant
> (The 'n' phoneme) followed by these exists without (becoming a) conjunct (consonant).

Clearly there is a difference in the account between the two śikṣā-s, since the Vyāsa śikṣā restricts the non-duplication to a word-end 'n' phoneme which is preceded by a long vowel. However, neither reflect the true

state of affairs in actual TT recitation, which is much more complicated and includes the ṅakāra as well. It is actually summarized in the sarvalakṣaṇamañjarīsaṅgrahaḥ quoted under the above sūtra-s of the Vyāsa śikṣā (Ācārya Śrīpaṭṭābhirāmaśāstri 1976),

> prāpnuto′ntau ṅanau dvitvaṃ vya-vṛ-hṛ-vra-parau ca re |
> hrasvānno vaparo dvitvaṃ sarvatra yottarastu ṅaḥ ||
> The ṅa and na at the end of a word are duplicated when followed by vya, vṛ, hṛ, vra or the 'r' phoneme (in the next word)
> The 'n' phoneme preceeded by a short vowel and followed by a 'v' phoneme is duplicated, and the ṅakāra is always duplicated when followed by a 'y' phoneme.

The non-duplicated consonant is pronounced almost like a svarabhakti, but not quite the same, and the TTs pause very slightly after the 'n' or the 'ṅ' phonemes, although this may not be discernible to the untrained ear. In the Grantha texts, this non-conjunction is again denoted by having the phonemes 'n' phoneme or 'ṅ' as a standalone consonant. (Rā Kṛṣṇamūrti śāstri and Rā Gaṇeśvaradrāviḍaḥ 2003a) again use the ÷ symbol to delineate this behavior.

Rules for the visarga

The visarga changes into the corresponding sibilants in general, except before the conjunct consonant[21] kṣa. This means that before the ka and pa series, the visarga will change into the jihvāmūlīya and the upadhmānīya respectively. The key rule in duplication is TYP 14.9, which was quoted previously. After the unvoiced sibilants, namely the jihvāmūlīya and the upadhmānīya, the first mute of the series, i.e., k and p, are inserted as abhinidhāna. Note that the jihvāmūlīya and the upadhmānīya themselves are exempted from duplication as per TYP 14.15. A point to note here about the Grantha texts is that they convert the visarga to the corresponding sibilant if followed by śa, ṣa or sa. Otherwise, the use the visarga symbol, including before the conjunct consonant kṣa. It is up to the reader to map it into the jihvāmūlīya, upadhmānīya, or an actual visarga. Some examples are:

[21] See TYP na kṣaparaḥ. Note that the kṣa itself would be converted to khṣa as per TYP 14.12.

yaḥ sāvitram ↦ yassāvitram (TB 3.10.9.36)
śukraḥ śukraśociṣā ↦ śukraśśukraśociṣā (TB 1.1.1.2)
yaḥ kṛttikāsu ↦ yaḥkkṛttikāsu (TB 1.1.2.6)
śukrapāḥ praṇayantu ↦ śukrapāḥppraṇayantu (TB 1.1.1.1)
ghanāghanaḥ kṣobhanaḥ ↦ ghanāghanaḥ kṣobhanaḥ (TS 1.2.1.1)

2.1 A note on insertion of consonants

There are several cases where consonants are inserted, even in the absence of conjunct consonants, e.g., as described in TYP 14.8. Since these happen in the absence of conjunct consonants, most texts including those in the Devanāgarī script, specify this explicitly. Thus, these cases are not treated in this paper. Another instance of insertion is the so-called yama or twin, described in the TYP 21.12-13, where a corresponding twin is inserted when a non-nasal mute is followed by a nasal mute. Strictly speaking, this describes the phonetic phenomenon when a non-nasal sound transition to a nasal sound, and can be excluded from the category of consonant duplication.

3 Algebraic Formulation

It is assumed for the sake of textual processing that white space exists between two consonants only in the case of a word-end 'ṅ' or 'n' phoneme. The reason is that only these cases have an effect on pronunciation in certain cases. In practice, useless white space can be erased easily in software developed in high-level languages such as Perl very easily. Note that there can be a white space between a vowel and a consonant, namely splitting across different words when there is no conjunction, to make the text more readable. The following notation is used to write concise equations:

- [ ] denotes a white space
- $[x_1|x_2|\cdots|x_k]$ represents k possible choices. If there are k possible choices in the LHS of the equation, there will be k possible choices in the RHS of the equation and the corresponding choices will be at the same position (index).
- The $\div$ sign will be used to represent non-conjunctivity.
- The $\{r\}$ or $\{l\}$ notation are used to represent the svarabhakti-s.

- A standalone 'n' phoneme stands for the special case of it before the conjunct consonants beginning with pr.
- The $*$ symbol is used after the vyañjana to indicate the vidharmatva.
- Wikners transliteration for the anudātta and svarita are adopted.[22]

A mathematical representation of the rules, which affect a nakāra or ṅakāra before a white space, i.e., happening at the end of a pada, is as follows:

$$
\begin{aligned}
S\mathrm{n}[\ ]\mathrm{l} &= S\,\tilde{}\mathrm{ll} && (.2)\\
S\,[\mathrm{n}|\dot{\mathrm{n}}]\,[\ ]\,[\mathrm{vya}|\mathrm{v\d{r}}|\mathrm{h\d{r}}|\mathrm{vra}|\mathrm{r}] &= S\,[\mathrm{n}|\dot{\mathrm{n}}]\,[\mathrm{vya}|\mathrm{v\d{r}}|\mathrm{h\d{r}}|\mathrm{vra}|\mathrm{r}] && (.3)\\
S_h\mathrm{n}[\ ]\mathrm{v} &= S_h\mathrm{nv} && (.4)\\
S_d\mathrm{n}[\ ]\mathrm{v} &= S_d\mathrm{n} \div \mathrm{v} && (.5)\\
S\mathrm{n}[\ ]\mathrm{y} &= S\mathrm{n} \div \mathrm{y} && (.6)\\
S\dot{\mathrm{n}}[\ ]\mathrm{y} &= S\dot{\mathrm{n}}\dot{\mathrm{n}}\mathrm{y} && (.7)\\
S\dot{\mathrm{n}}[\ ]\mathrm{v} &= S\dot{\mathrm{n}} \div \mathrm{v} && (.8)\\
S_h\mathrm{n}[\ ]\mathrm{h} &= S_h\mathrm{nn} \div \mathrm{h} && (.9)\\
S_d\mathrm{n}[\ ]\mathrm{h} &= S_d\mathrm{n} \div \mathrm{h} && (.10)
\end{aligned}
$$

[22] See `https://ctan.org/tex-archive/language/sanskrit`.

The rest of the duplication is as follows:

$$
\begin{aligned}
S_1 C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2 &= S_1 C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2, \\
&\quad \text{if } V_0 = C^{i_1,j_2} \text{ and} j_2 \neq 5 \text{ or} V_0 = V_1 = C^{i_1,5} \\
&= S_1 C^{i_1,j_1-1+j_1 \bmod 2} C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2, \\
&\quad \text{otherwise} \qquad (.11) \\
S_1 \,[\mathrm{r}|\mathrm{l}|\mathrm{v}]\, C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2 &= S_1 \,[\mathrm{r}|\mathrm{l}|\mathrm{v}]\, C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2, \\
&\quad \text{if } V_0 = C^{i_1,j_2} \text{ and} j_2 \neq 5 \text{ or} V_0 = V_1 = C^{i_1,5} \\
&= S_1 \,[\mathrm{r}|\mathrm{l}|\mathrm{v}]\, C^{i_1,j_1-1+j_1 \bmod 2} C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2, \\
&\quad \text{otherwise} \qquad (.12) \\
S_1 \,[\mathrm{r}|\mathrm{l}]\, U_a S_2 &= S_1 \,[\{\mathrm{r}\} \mid \{\mathrm{l}\}]\, U_a S_2 \qquad (.13) \\
S_1 r \mathrm{ṛ} &= S_1 r \div \mathrm{ṛ} \qquad (.14) \\
S_1 !\mathrm{rh\_} S_2 &= S_1 !\mathrm{rhh\_} S_2 \qquad (.15) \\
S_1 \mathrm{r} A V_0 V_1 \cdots V_k S_2 &= S_1 \mathrm{r} A V_0 V_1 \cdots V_k S_2, \text{ if } V_0 = A \\
&= S_1 \mathrm{r} A A V_0 V_1 \cdots V_k S_2, \text{ otherwise} \qquad (.16) \\
S_1 \mathrm{r} U C_1^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2 &= S_1 \mathrm{r} U C^{i_1,1} C^{i_1,j_1} V_0 \cdots V_l S_2 \qquad (.17) \\
S_1 \mathrm{r} U A V_0 \cdots V_l S_2 &= S_1 \mathrm{r} U U A V_0 \cdots V_l S_2 \qquad (.18) \\
\mathrm{bailv}[\mathrm{a}|\mathrm{o}] &= \mathrm{bailv} \div v[\mathrm{a}|\mathrm{o}] \qquad (.19) \\
S_1 \mathrm{ṃ}\, [\mathrm{jña}|\mathrm{ghna}] &= S_1 \mathrm{ṃ} * [\mathrm{jña}|\mathrm{ghna}] \qquad (.20) \\
[\mathrm{da}|\mathrm{dhū}]\, \mathrm{ṃkṣṇa} &= [\mathrm{da}|\mathrm{dhū}]\, \dot{n} * \mathrm{khṣṇa} \qquad (.21)
\end{aligned}
$$

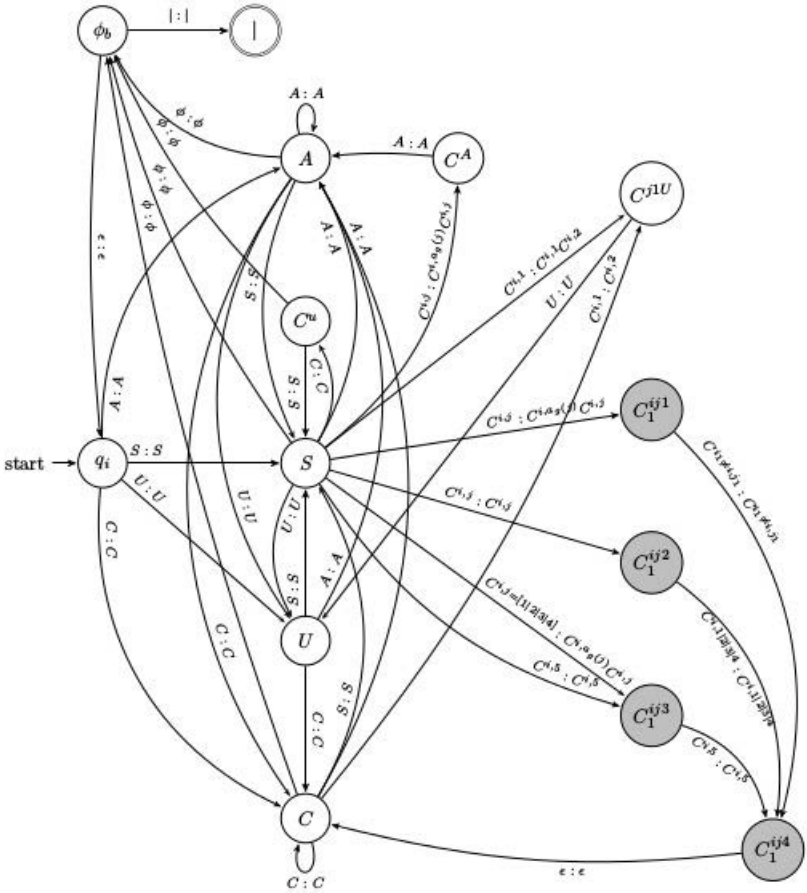

Figure 1
ND-FST for processing V_1 = mute

4 Non-deterministic Finite State Transducer Representation

A Non-Deterministic Finite State Transducer (FST) is a 7-tuple (Sipser 2006) $(Q, \Sigma, \Gamma, \delta, \omega, q_0, F)$

1. Q is a finite set called the states
2. Σ is a finite set called the alphabet
3. Γ is a finite set called the output alphabet
4. δ is the transition function
5. ω is the output function
6. q_0 is the start state
7. F is the set of accept states

The processing is done in units of one sentence. The start state is the beginning of new sentence. The accept state is when the virāma symbol (|), i.e., the end of a sentence, is detected. The symbol ϕ stands for a white-space between two words. Each sentence can be processed multiple times to apply all the rules. Of course, in actual software, this could be parallelized for faster processing. Two ND-FST processing engines are illustrated. Figure 1 shows the processing cycle when V_1 is a mute. The whitespace between words are denoted by the symbol ϕ. Note that some "super-states" are used (denoted by gray filling) in order to simplify the diagram. Each super-state will have to be broken into 5 different normal states for the 5 different series in the mutes. Figure 2 shows the processing for a word-end 'ṅ' or 'n' phoneme. Clearly, ND-FSTs can be developed for all the other rule-groups as well.

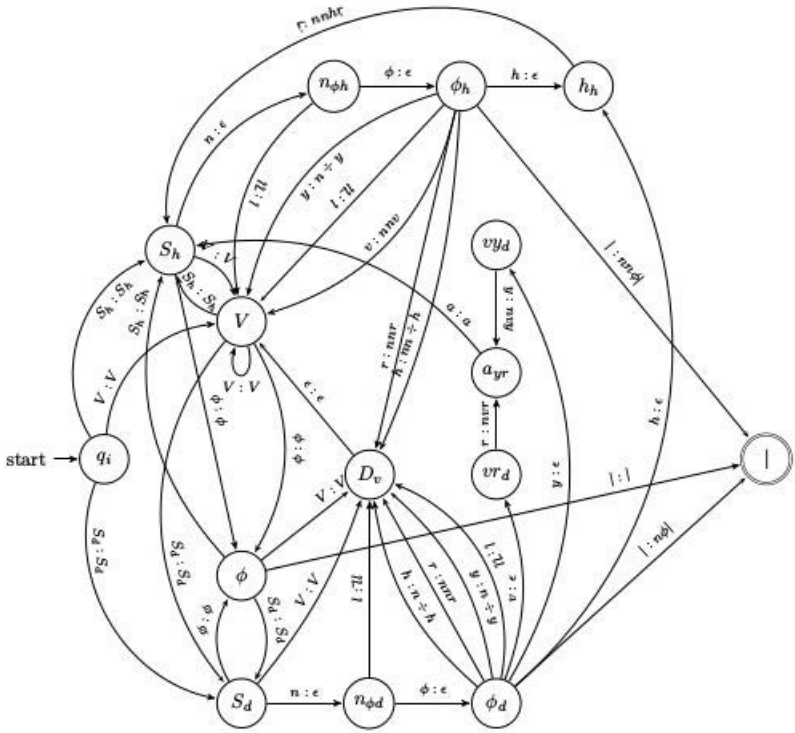

Figure 2

ND-FST for processing the 'n' phoneme at the end of a pada

5 Software for Studying Duplication

A software using the Perl programming language has been developed to study duplication and will be placed in the public domain. This software accepts an input file which contains Yajurveda sentences in the Wikner transliteration format. Rules such as svarabhakti, etc., are implemented and an output file with text in Wikner's transliteration format, using principles similar to the Grantha texts, is produced. As an option, all duplicated consonants can also be explicitly specified. This can be included in an skt file, which serves as the input to Wikner's pre-processor (which was written in the C programming language). Note that the Wikner's C code was modified slightly to accommodate some TT accentuations and syllables, which are not available from the regular pre-processor. Finally, xelatex can be used to generate pdfs from the tex output of the modified Wikner pre-processor.

6 Some Examples of Duplication

Examples of typesetting are given below with regular Devanāgarī typesetting first, Grantha-mode typesetting next, and finally the Grantha-mode with all duplicated syllables. This will clearly illustrate the differences between the Grantha mode and traditional Devanāgarī typesetting, as well as how consonants are duplicated. It should be noted that these do not cover all the TYP duplication rules.

1. Example 1, TA 3.12.33.

   (a) sa॒hasra॑śīrṣā॒ puru॑ṣaḥ | sa॒ha॒srā॒kṣaḥ sa॒hasra॑pāt | sa bhūmi॑m vi॒śvato॑ vṛ॒tvā | atya॑tiṣṭhaddaśāṃgu॒lam | puru॑ṣa e॒vedaꣳ॑ sarva॑m | yadbhū॒taṃ yacca॒ bhavya॑m | u॒tāmṛ॑ta॒ttvasyeśā॑naḥ | yadanne॑nā ti॒roha॑ti | e॒tāvā॑nasya mahi॒mā | ato॒jyāyāꣳ॑śca॒ pūru॑ṣaḥ ||

   (b) sa॒hasra॑śīr÷ṣā॒ puru॑ṣaḥ | sa॒ha॒srā॒khṣassa॒hasra॑pāt | sa bhūmi॑ṁvvi॒śvato॑ vṛ॒tvā | atya॑tiṣṭhaddaśā॑ṅgu॒lam | puru॑ṣa e॒vedaꣳ॑ sarva॑m | yadbhū॒tãyyacca॒ bhavya॑m | u॒tāmṛ॑ta॒ttvasyeśā॑naḥ | yadanne॑nā ti॒roha॑ti | e॒tāvā॑nasya mahi॒mā | ato॒jyāyāꣳ॑śca॒ pūru॑ṣaḥ ||

   (c) sa॒hassra॑śīr÷ṣā॒ puru॑ṣaḥ | sa॒ha॒ssrā॒kkhṣassa॒hassra॑pāt | sa bhūmi॑ṁvvi॒śśvato॑ vṛ॒ttvā | attya॑tiṣṭ॒haddaśā॑ṅgu॒lam | puru॑ṣa

ēvedaṁ sarvaṁ | yaddbhūtāyyaccā bhavvyaṁ | ūtāmṛtattvassyeśānaḥ | yadannēnā tirōhati | ētāvānassya mahimā | atōjjyāyāṁścā pūrúṣaḥ ||

2. Example 2, TB 1.1.1.

   (a) brahmā saṃdhāttāṃ tanmē jinvatam | kṣātraṁ saṃdhāttāṃ tanmē jinvatam | iṣāṁ saṃdhāttāṃ tāṃ mē jinvatam | ūrjāṁ saṃdhāttāṃ tāṃ mē jinvatam | rāyiṁ saṃdhāttāṃ tāṃ mē jinvatam | puṣṭiṁ saṃdhāttāṃ tāṃ mē jinvatam | prājāṁ saṃdhāttāṃ tāṃ mē jinvatam | paśūntsaṃdhāttāṃ tānmē jinvatam | stūtó ′si janādhāḥ | dēvāstvā śukrāpāḥ praṇāyantu ||

   (b) brahmā sandhāttāntanmē jinvatam | khṣātraṁ sandhāttāntanmē jinvatam | iṣāṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinvatam | ūrjāṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinvatam | rāyiṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinvatam | puṣṭiṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinvatam | prājāṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinvatam | paśūnthsandhāttāntānmē jinvatam | stūtó ′si janādhāḥ | dēvāstvā śukrāpāḥ praṇāyantu ||

   (c) brahmā sandhāttāntannmē jinnvatam | khṣāttraṁ sandhāttāntannmē jinnvatam | iṣāṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinnvatam | ūrjjāṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinnvatam | rāyiṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinnvatam | puṣṭṭiṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinnvatam | prājāṁ sandhāttāntāṃ mē jinnvatam | paśūnthsandhāttāntānnmē jinnvatam | stūtó ′si janādhāḥ | dēvāsttvā śukkrāpāḥppraṇāyantu ||

3. Example 3, TA 1.22.86.1.

   (a) puṣkaraparṇaiḥ puṣkaradaṇḍaiḥ puṣkaraiścā saṁsthīrya |

   (b) puṣkaraparṇaiḥ puṣkaradaṇḍaiḥ puṣkaraiścā saṁsthīrya |

   (c) puṣkkaraparṇṇaiḥppuṣkkaradaṇḍaiḥppuṣkkaraiśccā saṁstthīryya |

7 Conclusion

Duplication of consonants is uniquely complex and creates many interesting phonological flourishes in TT recitation. The duplication largely follows the TYP and the two main śikṣā -s, though not completely. The instances where

the śikṣā -s add additional rules and where the two main śikṣā -s disagree with each other have been pointed out. All aspects of duplication and the exceptions can be appreciated only by a trained ear. Duplication can be expressed by algebraic equations as well as by an ND-FST. A Perl script has been written to output the duplicated consonants in an exact manner. The phonetic basis of duplication and comparisons between different Taittirīya traditions would be interesting future projects.

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Word complementation in Classical Sanskrit

Brendan S. Gillon

Abstract: Classical Sanskrit has very flexible word order. This presents a challenge to the application to Classical Sanskrit of categorial grammars and their type logical extensions, which generally assume a fixed total order on the words of the language. The paper outlines the facts pertaining to complementation in Classical Sanskrit and proposes a form of the cancellation rule which accommodates Classical Sanskrit's free word order of words and their complements.

1 Introduction

Syntacticians generally distinguish between complements and modifiers. Generative syntacticians, wittingly or unwittingly, use some form of a categorial grammar to handle complementation. This approach works well enough for those fragments of a language where complement order is rigid, but it does not handle in a satisfactory way derogations from rigid word order. Moreover, for languages such as Classical Sanskrit, where complement word order appears to be completely free, off the shelf categorial grammars are utterly unsatisfactory. However, it is possible to alter the standard version of a categorial grammar to accommodate in a deft fashion the free ordering of a word's complements, as found, for example, in Classical Sanskrit. The basic idea is to take advantage of the mathematically well-known equivalence between sequences of length n on a set and functions from the set of positive integers up to and including n into the set.

Like other Indo-European languages, Classical Sanskrit distinguishes between nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions. And like other languages, its words from each of these categories have complements, some obligatory, some optional and some even excluded. In what follows, I shall assume that the reader knows these distinctions and how they apply. I shall also assume that words are assigned lexical categories which are ordered pairs.

The first coordinate is its part of speech and its second is a complement list. For example, the English verb *to greet* is assigned the category $\langle \mathrm{V}, \langle \mathrm{NP} \rangle \rangle$, where V indicates that the word is a verb and where $\langle \mathrm{NP} \rangle$ indicates that it requires a noun phrase complement. The English verb *to introduce* is assigned the category $\langle \mathrm{V}, \langle \mathrm{NP}, \mathrm{PP} \rangle \rangle$, where the complement list shows that the verb takes two complements, a noun phrase complement, followed by a prepositional phrase complement. Intransitive verbs are assigned the category $\langle \mathrm{V}, \langle\ \rangle \rangle$. In other words, intransitive verbs have empty complement lists. To enhance readability, I shall write the labels for these categories with the part of speech label to the left of a colon and the complement list to the right. Here are the categories of the three verbs just mentioned in this modified notation: $\mathrm{V}\colon \langle \mathrm{NP} \rangle$, $\mathrm{V}\colon \langle \mathrm{NP}, \mathrm{PP} \rangle$ and $\mathrm{V}\colon \langle\ \rangle$.

The remainder of the paper proceeds in two steps. The first step is to set out the data pertaining to complementation in Classical Sanskrit. The Classical Sanskrit data are drawn from Apte's *A Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Apte 1957), Monier-Williams's *A Sanskrit English Dictionary* (Monier-Williams 1899) and Apte's *Student guide to Sanskrit composition* (Apte 1885). To help fix ideas, I shall provide examples from English as well. These data are taken from Gillon (2018), which in turn draws on Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston (2002). The second step is to set out the proposal. I shall conclude the paper with an overview both of what has been covered and of what has not been.

2 Survey of the data

We begin with prepositions since their complements are the simplest to describe. In English, *in* and *into* are both prepositions. They both admit a single complement. The preposition *into* requires a complement, the preposition *in* does not. The latter permits its complement to be omitted. When the complement of a preposition is omitted, the argument corresponding to the omitted complement has its value determined contextually, either through its cotext or its setting, in ways familiar from the ways in which third-person pronouns have their values fixed contextually.

(1) Dan stood in front of the house. When the phone rang,
*he suddenly ran into.
he suddenly ran in.

(where the asterisk is the usual sign meaning that the expression to which it is prefixed is judged as odd.)

English, as it happens, also has words, traditionally classified as adverbs, which are often, but not always, compounded from prepositions and which exclude a complement. For example, the English adverb *afterwards*, though it expresses a binary relation, excludes any complement.[1]

(2) Alice lived in Montreal until 2010.
Afterwards, she moved to Vancouver.
After that, she moved to Vancouver.

Many Classical Sanskrit prepositions take a complement for which, as is well known, its case has to be specified. For example, the complement of the preposition *adhas* takes a noun phrase whose head is the sixth case, for example, *tarūṇām adhas* (beneath the trees) (Apte 1885, §112). As with English, some Classical Sanskrit prepositions, for example *upari*, have optional complements:

(3.1) *muhūrtād upari* (Monier-Williams (1899) sv *upari*)
after a minute

(3.2) *upari payaḥ pibet* (Monier-Williams (1899) sv *upari*)
afterwards he should drink milk

Next come adjectives. Though not common, some English adjectives require a complement.

(4.1) *Max is averse.
(4.2) Max is averse to games.
(Quirk et al. 1985, ch. 16.69)

Others admit optional complements. When omitted, their construal is either contextually fixed, as illustrated by the examples in (5), or is reciprocal, as illustrated by the examples in (6).

(5.1) Bill lives faraway.
Bill lives faraway from here.

(5.2) Although Bill lives faraway, he visits his parents regularly.
Although Bill lives faraway from them, he visits his parents regularly.

[1]Similar examples are found in French and are detailed in Grevisse (1964, §901).

Though cases where an adjective expresses a binary relation but excludes a complement are rare, they do exist. The English adjective *alike*, which excludes any complement, is particularly instructive in this regard, since it has two synonyms, the adjective *similar* whose complement is optional, and the preposition *like*, whose complement is obligatory.

(6.1) Bill and Carol are alike.
(6.2) Bill and Carol are similar (to each other).
(6.3) Bill and Carol are like each other.

Classical Sanskrit adjectives too take complements and the case of their complements has to be specified. For example, the adjective *sukha*, in the sense of good for, takes a fourth case complement. Other adjectives include *dūra* (*distant*), which takes a sixth case complement, *kovida* (*proficient*) which takes a seventh case complement, *sama* (*same*) which takes a third place complement, *prabhu* (*being a match for*) which takes a fourth case complement and *kalpa* (*fit*), *nikaṭa* (*near*) and *samīpa* (*near*), which all take sixth case complements.

English relational nouns are nouns with complements. A few require a complement, such as the word *lack* (Herbst 1988, p. 5) or *sake* (Chris Barker pc). A few exclude complements, such as *stranger* and *foreigner*. Most, however, admit optional complements. This is true, for example, of kinship nouns. When their complements are omitted, the construal of the missing complement is indefinite, or existential, as is illustrated by the equivalence of the sentences in (7).

(7.1) Bill is a father.
(7.2) Bill is a father of someone.

Finally, many nouns resulting from the nominalization of a verb also admit optional complements, even if the complements of the verbs from which they derive are obligatory.

While it is unclear whether or not Classical Sanskrit has relational nouns whose complements are required or excluded, it is obvious that it has relational nouns with optional complements. This is the case for kinship nouns. It is also true for nouns such as *pārśva* (*side*), *paryanta* (*edge*), *viṣaya* (*object*), *sthāna* (*object*) (Apte 1885, §11b: U4). The default case assignment is the sixth case, but other case assignments are also possible, for example, the seventh case for *kāraṇa* (*cause*) or *spṛha* (*desire*).

We now come to verbs and their complements. To fix ideas, let me summarize the situation with verbs in English. Like other well-studied lan-

guages, English verbs may take none, one, two, or sometimes even three complements. An English verb which admits no complement (e.g., *to bloom*) is known as an intransitive verb. English linguistics has no term for verbs which take exactly one complement. However, traditional English grammar does have a term for verbs which takes an adjective phrase as its sole complement. They are called copular, or linking, verbs. They include verbs such as *to appear*, *to become* and *to sound*. It also has a term for verbs which take a noun phrase as its sole complement. As the reader knows, they are called transitive verbs. But English also has verbs whose sole complements are prepositional phrases such as *to approve of*, *to rely on* and *to wallow in*, among many, many others. In addition, English has verbs whose sole complements are clauses, where clauses include finite interrogative and declarative clauses, interrogative and declarative infinitival phrases , and gerundial phrases. Here are examples of each of these kinds of verbs: *to note*, *to wonder*, *to decide*, *to recall* and *to enjoy*.

English verbs may also take two complements. The best known of such verbs are verbs such as *to give*, one complement of which is known as the direct object and the second as the indirect object. However, other pairs of complements are also common, for example, where one complement is a noun phrase and the other an adjective phrase (e.g., *to consider*) or where one is a noun-phrase or prepositional phrase and the other is a clause (e.g., *to convince* and *to say* respectively). Finally, there are a few verbs which take three complements such as *to bet*, *to trade* and *to transfer*.

Let us now turn to Classical Sanskrit verbs. There has been no study of word complementation in Classical Sanskrit, not even of just verb complementation. Still, enough for my purposes here can be gleaned from the sources mentioned earlier. Classical Sanskrit, like other Indo-European languages has verbs with no complements, one complement, two complements, and three complements. Verbs with just one complement include verbs whose sole complement is a clause, an adjective phrase, and a noun phrase. I do not know whether or not Classical Sanskrit has any verbs whose sole complement is either an adverbial phrase or a prepositional phrase. Verbs with two complements include verbs where one complement is a noun phrase and the other either another noun phrase, an adjective phrase, or a clause, where a clause may be an interrogative or declarative finite clause, a participial phrase or an infinitival phrase. There are also a few verbs with three complements.

I shall illustrate the principal features of verb complements with verbs

taking just one complement. The noun phrase complements of single complement Classical Sanskrit verbs, though typically taking the second case, may, depending on the verb, take any of the seven cases. The verb *ghrā* (*to smell*) takes a second case nominal complement, while *tuṣ* (*to be pleased with*) takes a third case nominal complement, *ruc* (*to please*) takes a fourth case nominal complement, *viyuj* (*to separate from*) a fifth case, *samjñā* (*to remember with regret*) a sixth case nominal complement and *vyavahṛ* (*to deal with*) a seventh case complement. In addition, copular verbs such as *vṛt* (*to be*) take a first case complement, which may be either a noun or an adjective.

Copular verbs exhibit an important property of many words which take complements: the single complement they admit may be from any of several categories. I shall refer to words which admit alternate complements *polyvalent* complements. The copular verb is the best-known example. In English, the copular verb admits one complement which may be either an adjective phrase, a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase or an adverbial phrase; in Classical Sanskrit, the complement may be a noun phrase in any of the seven cases, an adjective phrase or a prepositional phrase.

Another polyvalent Classical Sanskrit verb, well known to students of Classical Sanskrit grammar, is the verb *div* (*to play*), whose complement is a noun phrase in either the third (instrumental) or second (accusative) case. (Apte 1885, §59 obs.)

(8.1) *akṣair dīvyati.*
He plays dice.

(8.2) *akṣān dīvyati.*
He plays dice.

English also has many, many such verbs. A particularly compelling example is the English verb *to appoint*, which admits alternately a prepositional phrase complement and a noun phrase complement, for this verb is synonymous with another English verb *to choose*, which admits only a prepositional phrase complement.

(9.1) Dan appointed Alice as chief minister.
(9.2) Dan appointed Alice chief minister.

(10.3) Dan chose Alice as chief minister.
(10.4) *Dan chose Alice chief minister.

Though polyvalency is common with verbs, it is not unique to verbs.

Another feature of verb complements is their optionality. I call words with optional complements polyadic. It is a feature of all word classes in English and it seems to be common in other languages, including both Chinese and Classical Sanskrit. (Details pertaining to polyadic Classical Sanskrit words are given in Gillon (2015).)

3 Proposal

Let me now turn to the proposal. To understand the proposal for Classical Sanskrit complementation, let me sketch out the proposal for complementation in English. The reader familiar with categorial grammar will immediately recognize the similarity between the phrase formation rule given below for English and the cancellation rule of categorial grammar.

Careful study of English complementation (Quirk et al. (1985); Huddleston (2002)) shows that English verbs alone have nearly four dozen kinds of complements. (The details are found in (Gillon 2018, ch. 10). The general schema, to a first order approximation, is this:

(11) ENGLISH PHRASE FORMATION RULE SCHEMA

If $e|\mathrm{X}{:}\langle \mathrm{C}_1, \ldots, \mathrm{C}_n\rangle$ and $f_i|\mathrm{C}_i$, for each $i \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$, then $ef_1 \ldots f_n|\mathrm{X}{:}\langle\,\rangle$

(where $1 \leq i \leq n$).

In the schema, e, $f_1, \ldots, f_n$ are expressions. Each expression which is a simple word is assigned a category of the form $\mathrm{X}{:}\langle \mathrm{C}_1, \ldots, \mathrm{C}_n\rangle$, where X is either A (adjective), N (noun), P (preposition) or V (verb) and C_i is a complement, which itself may be a phrase, such as a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, a verb phrase, a prepositional hrase, or a clause of some kind. In effect, the rule says that, when an expression is assigned a lexical category which admits n complements is followed by n complements of corresponding categories, the resulting expression forms a phrase, that is, it forms a constituent requiring no complements. Obviously, this is an enriched cancellation rule, as familiar from categorial grammar. (See Gillon (2012) for details, as well as Gillon (2018, ch. 10).)

An application of an instance of the cancellation rule is given in the derivation below, where the expression *greeting Bill* is assigned the category VP, which is an abbreviation for $\mathrm{V}{:}\langle\,\rangle$.

	greeted	*Bill*
Alice	V:⟨NP⟩	NP
NP	VP	
	S	

In the derivation above, the total, or linear, order of the expressions matters, as one expects for English. Also, since we are talking about complementation here and subject noun phrases are not complements, the last step results from an additional rule for clause formation.

While every instance of phrase formation in English is an instance of this schema, not all instances of this schema are instances of phrase formation in English. For example, it is thought that no English word has more than three complements. It, therefore, follows all instances of the schema where n is greater than or equal to 4 do not form English phrases.

Associated with the syntactic rule in (9) is the following semantic rule.

(12) ENGLISH PHRASE VALUATION RULE SCHEMA

Let $\langle U, i\rangle$ be a structure for an English lexicon.

If $e|\text{X:}\langle \text{C}_1, \ldots, \text{C}_n\rangle$ and $f_j|\text{C}_j$, for each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$, then $v_i(ef_1 \ldots f_n|\text{X:}\langle\,\rangle) = \{x\colon \langle x, y_1, \ldots, y_n\rangle \in v_i(e|\text{X:}\langle \text{C}_1, \ldots, \text{C}_n\rangle)$ and $y_j \in v_i(f_j|\text{C}_j)$, for each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+\}$.

Before seeing how these schemata can be generalized to handle words with alternate complements and optional complements, let us see how these simpler schemata can be applied to Classical Sanskrit. The basic idea is to change the correspondence between a complement list and the complements by having two n-tuples of the same length to the requirement that there be a bijective function from the complements onto the complement list which preserves various syntactic specifications of the complement expressions. In particular, the bijection must preserve phrasal and clausal categories and, in the case of phrases, preserve the case of a phrase's head noun.

(13) SANSKRIT PHRASE FORMATION RULE SCHEMA

Let $e|\text{X:}\langle \text{C}_1, \ldots, \text{C}_n\rangle$, let $f_j|\text{A}_j$, for each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$, and let g be a bijection from $\{A_i\colon i \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+\}$ into $\{C_j\colon j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+\}$ such that the phrasal category and case, if the category has case, of A is identical with that of $g(\text{A})$. Then, $ef_1 \ldots f_n|\text{X:}\langle\,\rangle$.

Consider the verb *trai* (*to rescue*), which takes two complements:

(14) *bhīmād duḥśāsanaṃ trātum.*
to save Duḥśāsana from Bhīma.
(Apte 1885, §78: Ve 3)

Its lexical entry is $trai|\langle \mathrm{NP}_2, \mathrm{NP}_5 \rangle$, where the subscripts indicate the case requirement on the noun phrase complement. Now consider the expressions *bhīmād*, *duḥśāsanaṃ* and *trātum*, under any ordering, form a constituent and there is a bijection from the expressions *bhīmād* and *duḥśāsanaṃ* into the complement list $\langle \mathrm{NP}_2, \mathrm{NP}_5 \rangle$ which preserves the phrasal category and the case associated with the phrasal category.

trātum	*duḥśāsanaṃ*	*bhīmād*
$\mathrm{V}{:}\langle \mathrm{NP}_2, \mathrm{NP}_5 \rangle$	NP_2	NP_5
VP		

In the derivation tree above, the expressions are not totally ordered with respect to one another. In other words, any permutation of the lexical items results in the same derivational step. This, of course, contrasts with English.

Let us now consider a conservative extension of the categories and the cancellation rule which permits a simple treatment of word polyvalence. The basic idea is to replace each specification of a complement in the complement list with a set of complement categories. In the case where a word has just one complement for a position in its complement list, then its position is filled with a singleton set whose sole member is the relevant category; if the position has more than one complement which can be associated with the position, then it is assigned the set of all the categories associated with it. Cancellation occurs when a complement to the word occurs in the corresponding set in the complement list.

(15) PHRASE FORMATION RULE SCHEMA (first extension)

For each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$, let C_j be a complement category, let $\mathcal{C}_j$ be a non-empty subset of the complement categories and let C_j be a member of $\mathcal{C}_j$.

If $e|\mathrm{X}{:}\langle \mathrm{C}_1, \ldots, \mathrm{C}_n \rangle$ and $f_j|\mathrm{C}_j$, for each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$, then $ef_1 \ldots f_n|\mathrm{X}{:}\langle\,\rangle$.

For example, the verb *to choose* takes one complement and its complement is a noun phrase, whereas the verb *to appoint* takes one complement but its complement may be either a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase (headed by the preposition *as*). The contrasting complement lists are illustrated below in the contrasting lexical entries for the two verbs.

(16.1) *appoint*|V:⟨{NP}, {NP, PP}⟩
(16.2) *choose*|V:⟨{NP}, {PP}⟩

Here are examples of Classical Sanskrit polyvalent verbs:

(17.1) *div*|V:⟨{NP_2, NP_3}⟩
(17.2) *namaskṛ*|V:⟨{NP_2, NP_4}⟩
(17.3) *praṇam*|V:⟨{NP_2, NP_4, NP_6}⟩

We must now adjust the semantic rule schema paired with the extended-phrase formation rule schema so that the semantic rule schema accommodates the revisions in the phrase formation rule schema.

(16) PHRASE VALUATION RULE SCHEMA (first extension)

Let $\langle U, i\rangle$ be a structure for an English lexicon.

For each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$, let C_j be a complement category, let $\mathcal{C}_j$ be a non-empty subset of the complement categories and let C_j be a member of $\mathcal{C}_j$.

If e|X:$\langle \mathcal{C}_1, \ldots, \mathcal{C}_n\rangle$ and if $f_j|C_j$ (for each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+$), then $v_i(ef_1 \ldots f_n|X{:}\langle\,\rangle) = \{x\colon \langle x, y_1, \ldots, y_n\rangle \in v_i(e|X{:}\langle \mathcal{C}_1, \ldots, \mathcal{C}_n\rangle)$ and $y_j \in v_i(f_j|C_j)$, for each $j \in \mathbb{Z}_n^+\}$.

The final complication, occasioned by polyadic words, or words with optional complements, has been addressed for English and it can be addressed for Classical Sanskrit, but it is not possible to set out the details in the brief time allotted for the paper.

4 Conclusion

As should be well known, the treatments in generative linguistics of the formation of a phrase from its head and the head's complements amounts to some form of the cancellation rule of Categorial Grammar. While this rule works for phrases where the word order of the head word and its complements is total, or linear, it does not apply to languages where the order is not. Classical Sanskrit is such a language. In this paper, I have shown how a simple enrichment of lexical categories and a modest change in the cancellation rule permits languages where the head word and its complements are freely ordered to be brought within the purview of a cancellation rule. In addition, I showed how the enrichment can be conservatively extended to handle complement polyvalence, that is, where expressions of different syn-

tactic categories may appear in the same complement position. Finally, I stated, but did not show, that the conservative extension can be still further extended conservatively to apply to complement polyadicity, that is, where complements to a word are optional.

Three important points were not addressed: how is a clause formed from a subject noun phrase and a verb phrase; how does one distinguish in Classical Sanskrit complements from modifiers; and how does the cancellation rule introduced here affect computational complexity. Let me bring this brief article to a close by saying a few words about each point.

Since the focus on this paper is complementation, the question of the correct rule for clause formation does not arise, aside from providing an example derivation of an entire clause. Of course, in Categorial Grammar and its various type logical enrichments, the usual way to handle the formation of a clause from a subject noun phrase and a verb-phrase is through the cancellation rule, in effect, treating the subject noun phrase as a kind of complement to the verb. But this is not empirically satisfactory, as it collapses the distinction between complements and subjects, something which may in fact be warranted in the case of Classical Sanskrit.

The second point pertains to how to distinguish between modifiers and complements in Classical Sanskrit. There is some debate among linguists as to how to make this distinction. Distinguishing between modifiers and complements is an empirical question and one whose answer will vary from language to language. It is not a question which has been addressed either by scholars using contemporary linguistic ideas or by scholars of the Indian grammatical tradition. The latter fact is not surprising, since complementation is not a notion used in the Indian grammatical tradition. Nonetheless, languages do share properties, and in the absence of empirical work on the subject, I have followed the lead of what are generally regarded as complements in the study of various Indo-European languages, of which Classical Sanskrit is an example.

Finally, I have not addressed the question of the computational tractability of the enriched cancellation rules proposed here. This important question, raised by a reviewer, is not one I am currently in a position to address.[2]

[2]In this regard, let me bring to the reader's attention work by Alexander Dikovsky and collaborators seeks to address the problem which relatively free word order poses for a cancellation rule of the kind found in categorial grammar: Dekhtyar and Dikovsky (2008) and Dekhtyar, Dikovsky, and Karlov (2015). This work was kindly brought to my attention by a reviewer of this paper.

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TEITagger: Raising the standard for digital texts to facilitate interchange with linguistic software

Peter M. Scharf

Abstract: For several years, members of the International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Consortium working to facilitate interchange between digital repositories of Sanskrit texts, and digital parsers and syntactic analyzers have recognized the need to standardize reference to particular passages in digital texts. XML has emerged as the most important standard format for document structure and data interchange, and TEI as the most important standard for the XML markup of textual documents. TEI provides methods to precisely describe divisions in texts from major sections to individual morphemes, and to associate various versions with each other. Responsible text archives, such as TITUS and SARIT, have adopted the TEI standard for their texts. After a workshop to train doctoral candidates at the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan to mark-up texts in accordance with TEI in May 2017, the Sanskrit Library developed software to semi-automate the process with extensive use of regular expressions and meter-identification software, and is currently marking-up all of its texts using the TEITagger. The result will be a large repository of digital Sanskrit texts that can furnish text to the Sanskrit Heritage parser and the University of Hyderabad's parser and syntax analyzer to allow passages parsed and analyzed for dependency structure to be interlinked with their originals.

1 XML and TEI

In the age in which oral productions and hand-written documents were the predominant mode of expressing knowledge and exchanging information, each individual articulation or manuscript had its own format determined by the author and heard or read by other individuals. In the age of the print medium, presses produced multiple copies of individual productions which

could be widely distributed to numerous other individuals. At the outset of the digital age, as Scharf and Hyman (2011, p. 2) and Scharf (2014, p. 16) noted, presentation of individual productions imitated the print medium. Document creators and software engineers created works to present knowledge to human readers. As Goldfarb (1990) noted, unfortunately the tendency persists as "their worst habits" as if their production were meant only for human eyes, and had no need to coordinate with software developed by others. In 1969, however, Goldfarb, Mosher, and Lorie at International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) developed the Generalized Markup Language (GML), so called based on their initials (Goldfarb 1990, p. xiv), to mark up documents in terms of the inherent character of their constituents, such as prose, header, list, table, etc., to enable software to format the documents variously for various devices, such as printers and display screens, by specifying a display profile without changing the document itself (Wikipedia contributors 2017). Over the next decade, Goldfarb and others developed the international Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML), International Standards Organization (ISO) document 8897, to describe documents according to their structural and other semantic elements without reference to how such elements should be displayed. Thus in contrast to the HyperText Markup Language (HTML) which was designed to specify the display format of a text, SGML separates the inherent structure of a document from how it is presented to human readers and "allows coded text to be reused in ways not anticipated by the coder" (Goldfarb 1990, p. xiii).

The eXtensible Markup Language (XML) is an open-source metalanguage consisting of a stripped-down version of SGML formally adopted as a standard by the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) in February 1998. In the couple of decades since, XML has become the single most important standard format for document structure and data interchange. Wüstner, Buxmann, and Braun (1998) noted, "XML has quickly emerged as an essential building block for new technologies, offering a flexible way to create and share information formats and content across the Internet, the World Wide Web, and other networks." Benko (2000, p. 5) noted, "XML is expected to become the dominant format for electronic data interchange (EDI)." A few years ago, Zazueta (2014) noted, "XML emerged as a front runner to represent data exchanged via APIs early on;" whereas "Javascript Object Notation (JSON), emerged as a standard for easily exchanging Javascript object data between systems." He continues,

> API designers these days tend to land on one of two formats for exchanging data between their servers and client developers - XML or JSON. Though a number of different formats for data have been designed and promoted over the years, XML's built in validation properties and JSON's agility have helped both formats emerge as leaders in the API space."

Benko (2000, p. 2) also noted that two of the seven benefits the W3C defines for establishing XML include the following:

- Allow industries to define platform-independent protocols for the exchange of data.
- Deliver information to user agents in a form that allows automatic processing after receipt.

As a simple metalanguage consisting of just seven characters (`<`, `>`, `/`, `=`, `"`, `'`, ␣), XML allows users to develop markup languages of an unlimited variety. In order to facilitate interchange of textual documents, the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) developed a community-based standard for the representation and encoding of texts in digital form. The TEI Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange define and document a markup language for representing the structural, renditional, and conceptual features of texts. They focus (though not exclusively) on the encoding of documents in the humanities and social sciences, and in particular on the representation of primary source materials for research and analysis. The Text Encoding Initiative also makes the Guidelines and XML schema that validate them available under an open-source license. TEI has become the most important standard for the XML markup of textual documents. Hence to facilitate the interchange, cross-reference, and unanticipated use of digital Sanskrit text, it is imperative that digital archives of Sanskrit texts make their texts available encoded in XML in accordance with the TEI Guidelines.

2 Sanskrit digital archives and the use of TEI

A number of organizations and individuals, such as GoogleBooks, The Million Books Project, Archive.org, the Digital Library of India, and the Vedic Reserve at Maharishi International University, have made images and PDF documents of Sanskrit printed texts available, and a number of libraries,

such as the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and the Raghunath Temple Sanskrit Manuscript Library in Jammu, have made images of their Sanskrit manuscripts available. Such productions have greatly facilitated access to primary source materials; yet that access is limited exclusively to being read by a human being. Although Jim Funderburk developed software to search headwords in a list and highlight that headword in digital images of dictionary pages, and Scharf and Bunker developed software to approximate the location of passages in digital images of Sanskrit manuscripts, the results of such software are also merely displays for a human reader. PDFs do not facilitate automatic processing after receipt.

Numerous groups and individuals of various backgrounds have created digital editions of Sanskrit texts and made them available on portable digital storage media and the Web. As opposed to image data, these documents consist of machine-readable character data. Most of these are structured in simple data structures, such as lines of text numbered with a composite chapter-section-line number, in text files or directly in HTML files. These documents are intended to permit access by a human to passages by searching as well as for sequential reading. While the various providers of digital text are too numerous to mention, one site has emerged as a central registry. The Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL) lists about eight hundred such Sanskrit texts. These texts are openly available for download so that others may subject them to various sorts of linguistic processing such as metrical, morphological, and syntactic analysis. As great a service as making these texts available in digital form is, GRETIL exerted minimal discipline on its early contributors so that there is great variability in the specification of metadata. In many cases, the source edition of the text is unknown. In addition, each contributor was free to structure the document as he wished, so there is great variability in the manner of formatting verse and enumerating lines.

Although GRETIL offers the texts in a few common standard encodings including UTF8 Unicode Romanization, there is variability in how the contributors employed capitalization, encoded diphthongs versus contiguous vowel sequences, punctuation, etc. Texts available from other sources use Devanāgarī Unicode, different ASCII meta-encodings, or legacy pre-Unicode fonts. Scharf and Hyman (2011) and Scharf (2014) have already dealt with the issues regarding character encoding. Here I address higher-lever text and document structure encoding.

Even by 2006, at the start of the International digital Sanskrit library

integration project, the Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS), which contributed its texts for integration with dictionaries produced by the Cologne Digital Sanskrit Dictionaries project via morphological analysis software produced by Scharf and Hyman at Brown, had begun partially using TEI tags to mark up the structure of its texts and metadata. Over the past four years, the Search and Retrieval of Indic Texts project (SARIT) marked up all of the texts which had previously been made available in various ad hoc formats at the Indology website, and some twenty additional texts, in a consistent encoding in accordance with the TEI standard. The site (`http://sarit.indology.info`) currently houses fifty-nine Sanskrit TEI documents made available under a Creative Commons license and provides clear instructions for how to mark up Sanskrit texts in accordance with TEI.

3 TEI training

At the bequest of the SARIT project, in an initial attempt to spur large-scale encoding of Sanskrit texts in accordance with the TEI standard, I conducted a one-week e-text tutorial at the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan's Jaipur campus in February 2010. While several participants produced TEI versions of small portions of texts, the workshop failed to instigate the collaboration of technical expertise and abundant Sanskrit-knowing labor that SARIT had hoped. In May 2017, however, I was invited by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan to conduct a two-week TEI workshop at its Ganga Nath Jha campus in Allahabad. There I trained twenty Sanskrit doctoral candidates in how to encode texts and catalogue manuscripts in accordance with TEI Guidelines. In an additional week I worked with these students to encode twenty Sanskrit works in accordance with TEI, ten of which were delivered complete in the next month.

During the workshop, I trained students to analyze the structure of a plain text data-file with Sanskrit text in numbered lines or verses and to construct regular expressions to recognize strings of text with fixed numbers of syllables. We constructed regular expressions to recognize a few common verse patterns and had the students submit the verses found to the Sanskrit Library's meter analyzer produced and described by Melnad, Goyal, and Scharf (2015a,b). Once we knew that verses with a certain number of syllables were typically in a certain metrical pattern, we constructed

replacement expressions to transform the recognized pattern to well-formed TEI line group elements (`lg`) with subordinate line (`l`) and segment elements (`seg`) for each verse quarter (*pāda*) and to insert type, analysis, and metrical pattern attributes (`type, ana, met`) in the (`lg`) tag. The replacement expressions inserted the enumeration provided by the source document in (`n`) and (`xml:id`) attributes in the (`lg`) tag, and typed and lettered the verse quarters as well. Where complex numbers compiled the numbers of text divisions, subdivisions, and passages within subdivisions, the regular expression placed just the last in a separate group, and the replacement expression inserted that number in the value of the `n` attribute while putting the whole number in the value of the `xml:id` attribute. For example, the regular expression and replacement expression shown in Figure 1 was primarily responsible for transforming the following verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* (in Sanskrit Library ASCII encoding) to the well-structured TEI (`lg`) element with its subsidiaries shown in Figure 2:

> 06024070a ApUryamARam acalapratizWaM; samudram ApaH praviSanti yadvat
> 06024070c tadvat kAmA yaM praviSanti sarve; sa SAntim Apnoti na kAmakAmI

I say, "primarily responsible," because in fact the leading zeroes on the number of the verse were captured by this regular expression so that '070' was inserted in the value of the `n` attribute; an additional regular expression removed them.

Now one will notice that the original text document conveniently indicated the break between the two verse quarters in each line of a Triṣṭubh verse by a semicolon and space. This indication allowed the regular expression to group just the text of each verse quarter without leading or trailing spaces. However, no such indication was given for the break between verse quarters in an Anuṣṭubh verse because there is frequently no word-break at the pāda boundary of the ubiquitous śloka. One would want to preserve the information whether or not there is a word break there, yet would not want a pāda to begin with a space. Hence after a regular expression inserted each verse quarter in a `seg` element, subsequent regular expressions moved leading spaces, where found, from the beginning of the second `seg` to the end of the first and set the second verse quarter on a separate line. Thus the first verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*,

Figure 1

Regular expression and replacement expression to transform a plain text verse in Triṣṭubh meter to TEI

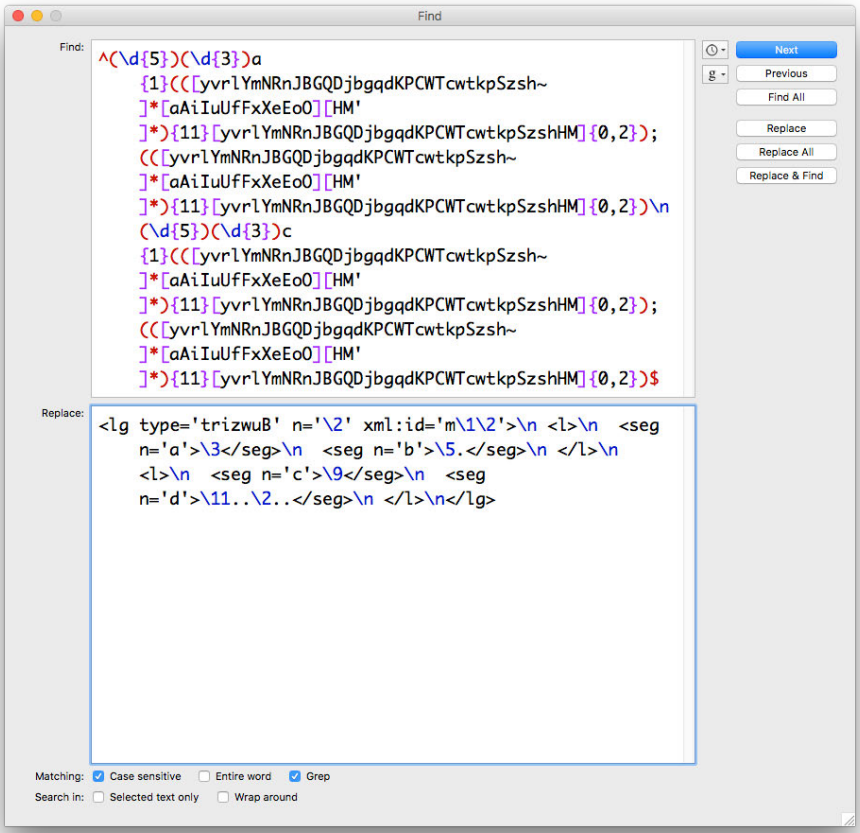


Figure 2
Bhagavadgītā 2.70 in Triṣṭubh meter

```
<lg type='trizwuB' n='70' xml:id='m06024070'>
 <l>
  <seg n='a'>ApUryamARam acalapratizWaM</seg>
  <seg n='b'>samudram ApaH praviSanti yadvat .</seg>
 </l>
 <l>
  <seg n='c'>tadvat kAmA yaM praviSanti sarve</seg>
  <seg n='d'>sa SAntim Apnoti na kAmakAmI ..70..</seg>
 </l>
</lg>
```

06023001a Darmakzetre kurukzetre samavetA yuyutsavaH
06023001c mAmakAH pARqavAS cEva kim akurvata saMjaya

was marked up in TEI and reformatted as shown in Figure 3 with each verse quarter in a separate `seg` element.

I also trained students in the workshop to compose regular expressions to capture the speaker lines such as *Dhrtarāṣṭra uvāca* that introduce speeches and to compose replacement expressions to put these in `speaker` elements. Similarly, I taught them to mark up prose sentences and paragraphs in `s` and `p` elements, to put speeches in `sp` elements, to insert `head` and `trailer` elements, to locate and capture enumeration of divisions, to insert `div` elements, to insert the whole in `body` and `text` elements, to insert page and line break elements, and to mark up bibliography. I then had them insert these elements in a teiHeader template in the `TEI` element, and to validate the complete TEI document. Figure 4 shows the first short speech of the *Bhagāvadgītā* with the `speaker` element in the context of parent `sp`, `div`, `body`, and `text` opening tags. Let me remark that guidelines for how to mark up Sanskrit text in accordance with TEI are conveniently available on the SARIT website.[1]

[1] `http://sarit.indology.info/exist/apps/sarit-pm/docs/encoding-guidelines-simple.html`

Figure 3
Bhagavadgītā 1.1 in Anuṣṭubh meter

```
<lg type='anuzwuB' n='1' xml:id='m06023001'>
 <l>
  <seg n='a'>Darmakzetre kurukzetre </seg>
  <seg n='b'>samavetA yuyutsavaH .</seg>
 </l>
 <l>
  <seg n='c'>mAmakAH pARqavAS cEva </seg>
  <seg n='d'>kim akurvata saMjaya ..1..</seg>
 </l>
</lg>
```

Figure 4
TEI markup of a speech in the context of division, body, and text elements

```
<text xml:lang='sa-Latn-x-SLP1'>
 <body>
  <div type='aDyAya' n='1'>
   <sp>
    <speaker n='1s' xml:id='m06023001s'>DftarAzwra uvAca</speaker>
    <lg type='anuzwuB' n='1' xml:id='m06023001'>
     <l>
      <seg n='a'>Darmakzetre kurukzetre </seg>
      <seg n='b'>samavetA yuyutsavaH .</seg>
     </l>
     <l>
      <seg n='c'>mAmakAH pARqavAS cEva </seg>
      <seg n='d'>kim akurvata saMjaya ..1..</seg>
     </l>
    </lg>
   </sp>
```

4 TEITagger software

After the experience of teaching Sanskrit students with minimal technical literacy to transform a plain text document to well-structured XML in accordance with TEI in a series of well-ordered steps, it occurred to me that I could also teach a machine to do the same. Ralph Bunker, the technical director of the Sanskrit Library, had previously developed software called Linguistic Mapper at my request so that I could compile a driver file that contained a sequence of regular and replacement expressions that implemented historical sound change rules between a proto-language and a descendant language. We created TEITagger by modifying Linguistic Mapper to process a series of such sets of regular and replacement expressions that matched specified numbers of syllables in certain arrangements that approximated metrical patterns. By creating a regular expression that counted the correct number of syllables per pāda we could convert every such verse to proper TEI markup in `lg` elements, with each line in an `l` element, and each pāda in a `seg` element. At the same time we could number the verse in an `n` attribute, insert an `xml:id`, and insert the presumed meter name and metrical pattern in a `type` attribute. The meter name and metrical pattern in the first version of TEITagger was presumed on the basis of the syllable count, not automatically checked against a pattern of light and heavy syllables.

We then revised TEITagger to include the feature of submitting a segment of text that matched a certain regular expression to our meter identification software that would identify the meter of a whole verse by checking the passage against specified patterns of light and heavy syllables as defined by classical metrical texts. If a match is found TEITagger version 2 automatically inserts the meter name, general type, and metrical pattern in `type`, `ana`, and `met` attributes of the `lg` element. To simplify the regular expression formulation in the command driver file for this program, we composed macros to represent vowels, consonants, syllables, syllable codas, and the typical terms used in the lines that introduce speeches. These macros are shown in Figure 5.

To further simplify testing segments of text for any meter type with any number of syllables, we introduced an iterative loop command and iteration variable in version 3. Thus, for example, with a command that consists of the single regular expression and replacement expression shown in Figure 6, TEITagger can evaluate every segment of text in a file with four verse

quarters each consisting of `n` syllables per verse quarter, where the variable `n` is tested in order from 28–1 thereby testing for all of the verses with the same number of syllables per verse quarter. Metrical patterns with the same number of syllables per verse quarter include all 468 of the samavṛtta and upajāti types as well as some of the ardhasamavṛtta and viṣamavṛtta type. Similar expressions can be composed to match verses with unequal numbers of syllables per verse quarter. Such metrical patterns include those of the ardhasamavṛtta type and mātrāvṛtta type as well as irregular variations of more regular patterns. The current version (17) also passes verse lines and individual pādas to the meter analyzer to detect their patterns in irregular verses.

Figure 5
TEITagger macros

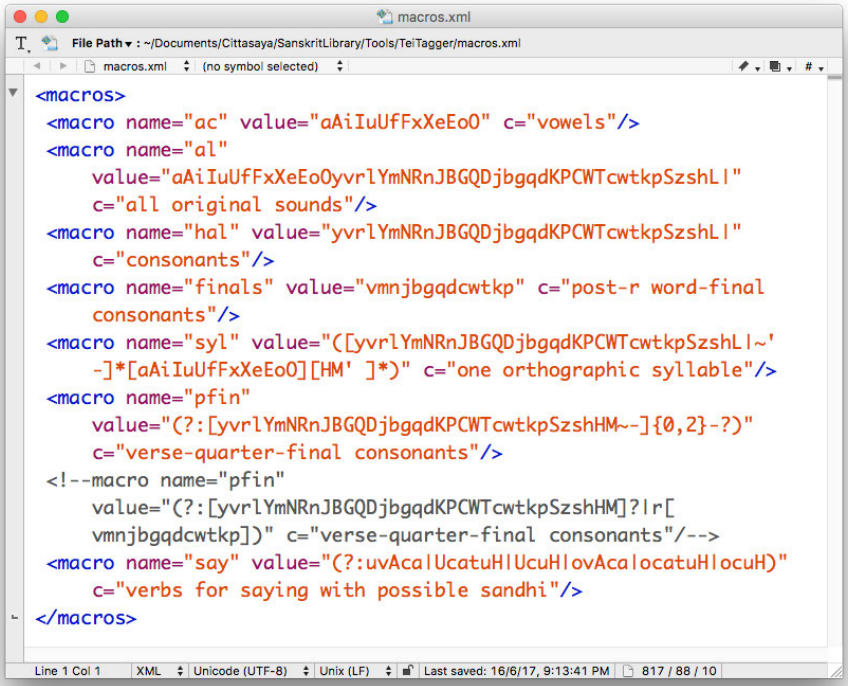
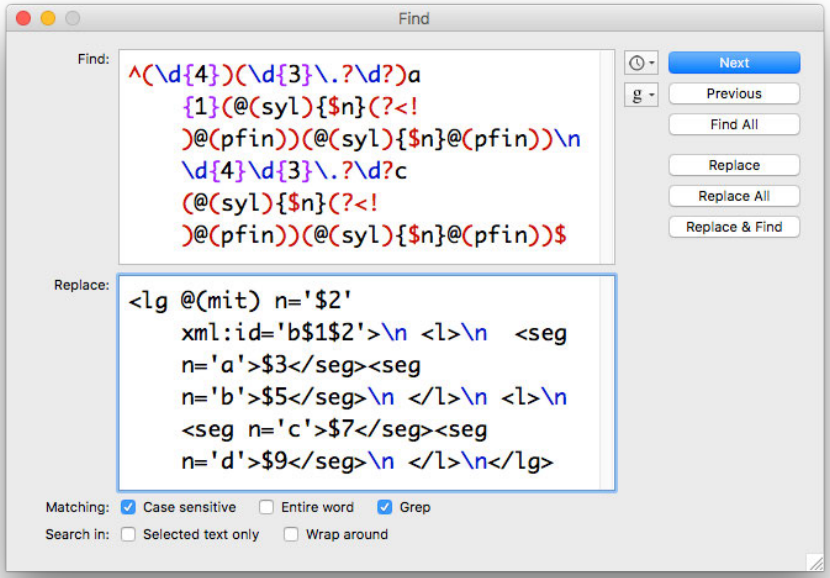


Figure 6

TEITagger iterative command to match verses with four pādas with **n** *syllables per pāda, where an arbitrary range can be specified for* **n**.



The TEITagger driver file also accepts commands to insert header and footer files so that one can add the opening XML file tags, open and close `body` and `text` tags, open and close `TEI` tags, and a `teiHeader`. Finally, TEITagger will pretty print the file if it is a valid XML file.

5 Philological use of the TEITagger software

Metrical analysis of Vedic, epic, and classical Sanskrit texts is not new. For instance, metrical analysis of the *Mahābhārata* has produced interesting results that bear on the critical composition of the text and its history. Edgerton (1939) distinguished regular versus irregular varieties of Triṣṭubh and Jagatī meters that were significantly divided between the *Virāṭaparvan* and *Sabhāparvan* respectively and thereby demonstrated separate composition and probably subsequent insertion of the *Virāṭaparvan* in the text of the *Mahābhārata*. He also described several regular patterns in the hypermetric and hypometric irregular varieties based upon the location of the caesura.

Fitzgerald (2006) reported the results of analyzing a database of the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī verses he assembled over the past couple of decades. He analyzed these metrical patterns into five segments: initial and final syllables, and three sets of three syllables each: the opening, break, and cadence. He identified three standard varieties of Triṣṭubh: (1) a regular Upajāti consisting of the alternating pādas of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā, (2) Śālinī, and (3) Vātormī; and a standard variety of Jagatī: an Upajāti consisting of alternating pādas of Vaṁśasthā and Indravaṁśā. Fitzgerald (2009) isolated two measurable variables: (1) the degree of uniformity among the pādas of the Triṣṭubh stanzas, and (2) the set of major Triṣṭubh features that were eliminated in the creation of the classical standard triṣṭubh. He isolated passages on the basis of runs of Triṣṭubh and Jagatī verses and measured the uniformity within verses in these passages to attempt to locate discontinuities that might signal different periods of composition of the passages. Fitzgerald (2004) argued, "if we are able to make reasonable arguments about historical fissures in the text, we thereby enrich our understanding of the text's possible meanings …by distinguishing multiple voices, dialogical tension, and innovation within the otherwise synchronic, unitary, received text." In his careful unpublished study of the episode of the dice match, he was able to counter the conclusions of Söhnen-Thieme (1999), and to con-

clude that "this whole episode, the Upajāti passage of chapter 60 in which Duḥśāsana drags Draupadī into the sabhā by the hair, is likely later than most or all of the rest of this episode."

Work of the sort that Edgerton and Fitzgerald have done with careful evaluation of statistics gathered with great effort over a long time could be vastly simplified and assisted by the automation provided by TEITagger. After testing TEITagger version 2 on the *Bhagavadgītā*, within a week, I tagged the entire critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, including those with irregular patterns such as those with hypermetric or hypometric pādas. A driver file of nearly a thousand lines individually matched every possible combination of the syllable counts per pāda, triple-line and single line verses as well as the normal double-line verses. For example, a separate set of a regular expression and its replacement expression targets triple-line Triṣṭubh verses with a hypermetric first pāda, another targets such verses with a hypermetric second pāda, etc. The driver file assumed that such deviant metrical patterns ought to be classified under a certain type despite the failure of the meter analyzer to find a regular type. The task preceded and inspired the development of our iteration command and commands to send verse lines and pādas to the meter analyzer described in the previous section. The driver file I developed to tag the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* with these features added consists of only 318 lines.

TEITagger version 2 tagged 73,436 verses and 1,057 prose sentences in 386 paragraphs. The verses include 68,860 Anuṣṭubhs, 2,970 Triṣṭubhs, 431 Jagatī, 322 Indravajrā, 0 Upendravajrā, 496 of the standard Upajāti variety alternating the two preceding, 88 Śālā, 78 Vāṇī (other Upajātis), 31 Aparavaktra (an ardhasamavrtta meter), 22 Praharṣiṇī, 16 Rucirā, 9 Mālinī, 4 Vasantatilakā, 4 Puṣpitāgrā, 1 Śārdūlavikrīḍita, 1 Halamukhī, 1 Āryāgīti (a type of Āryā), 1 mixture of half Kāmakrīḍā and half Kāmukī, and a hundred unidentified. The unidentified metrical patterns include for instance, 1 mixture of half Kāmukī and half unidentified, 1 mixture of a deviant pāda with subsequent Anuṣṭubh, jagatī, and Triṣṭubh pādas, as well as 98 other uninvestigated unidentified patterns.

The results of TEITagger version 2 are presented in Table 1 in comparison with some of the results Fitzgerald (2009) reported. One can see that there is a minor discrepancy of one passage in the enumeration of the prose passages. The cause of this discrepancy needs to be investigated. Yet otherwise there is astonishing consistency in the enumeration of the prose and verse passages. There is a discrepancy of just two verses of the Anuṣṭubh

meter. The discrepancy of 41 Triṣṭubh/Jagatī verses and 52 fancy meters is probably largely due to TEITagger's incorrect assumption that a number of irregular meters with 11–12 syllables per pāda were of this type rather than fancy metrical patterns. For if the meter analyzer failed to identify a verse, TEITagger relied on syllable count alone to classify it.

Using TEITagger version 17 with the more refined feature of sending verse lines and quarters to the meter analyzer, and with some revision of the meter analyzer itself, I reevaluated the metrical patterns of the *Mahābhārata*. In this version, I made no assumptions about the conformity of deviant patterns to regular types; instead, where the meter analyzer failed to find a match for a verse, I permitted it to seek a match of each line of the meter, and failing to find a match for a line, to seek a match for each pāda in the line. Where lines or pādas within a verse were identified as the same, the metrical information was combined so that along with a single type classification for the verse only the deviant lines or pādas are classified separately. Labels consisting of the meter names in SLP1 for each different meter found within a verse are separated by a forward slash in the value of the `type`-attribute of the `lg`-element that contains the verse in the TEI file. These labels are preceded by letters indicating the pādas so labeled.

Table 2 shows the numbers of verses with one to six metrical identifications for the verse as a whole or parts of the verse individually. Table 3 shows the meters recognized. Column three of Table 3 shows the number of the meter indicated in column one that was recognized as a verse. Column four shows the number of additional sets of double lines recognized within triple-line meters. Column five shows the number of lines recognized in verses not recognized as verses or sets of double lines. Column six shows the number of pādas recognized in lines not recognized as lines. The first line of each section divided by double horizontal lines tallies the numbers of that general metrical type. Rows beginning with *Upajāti* in bold in the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī sections tally the numbers for the Upajāti type patterns listed in subsequent rows within the same section. The Upajāti numbers are included in the tally for the section as a whole as well. At the bottom of the table, the row labeled *Identified* in bold summarizes the total number of verses, additional pairs of lines, additional lines, and additional verse quarters recognized. The row labeled *No type* shows the number of verses not recognized before querying the meter analyzer regarding lines and pādas, and the total number of pādas that remain unidentified. The pādas that remain unidentified are provided with the label `no_type` within the value

Table 1
Metrical and non-metrical passages in the Mahābhārata identified by TEITagger v. 2 compared with those identified by Fitzgerald

passage type	**syllables/pāda**	**TEITagger**	**Fitzgerald 2009**
passages		73,822	73,821
prose			
paragraphs		386	385
sentences		1,057	
verse		73,436	73,436
Anuṣṭubh	8	68,860	68,858
Triṣṭubh/Jagatī	11–12	4,385	4,426
Triṣṭubh	11	2,970	
Indravajrā	11	322	
Upendravajrā	11	0	
Upajāti	11	662	
Indravajrā/Upendravajrā	11	496	
Śālā	11	88	
Vāṇī	11	78	
Jagatī	12	431	
Fancy meters		100	152
Halamukhī	9	1	
Aparavaktra	13/12	31	
Puṣpitāgrā	12/13	4	
Praharṣiṇī	13	22	
Rucirā	13	16	
Vasantatilakā	14	4	
Mālinī	15	9	
Kāmakrīḍā/Kāmukī	15/16	1	
Śārdūlavikrīḍita	19	1	
Āryāgīti	7 caturmātrās + 2	1	
unidentified		100	

of the `type`-attribute in the TEI file. No lines or line pairs are so labeled because if they are unidentified their pādas are sent to the meter analyzer individually for analysis. The row labeled *Total* in bold shows the total number of verses in the *Mahābhārata* in column three but in column six just the total number of pādas analyzed individually.

Table 2

Mixed metrical patterns in the Mahābhārata identified by TEITagger v. 17

type	**identified**	**not fully**	**total**
single	70,242	3,194	73,436
mixed	689	2,505	3,194
double	85	4	89
triple	468	994	1,462
quadruple	129	1,451	1,580
quintuple	5	23	28
sextuple	2	33	35

TEITagger version 17 found matches for each of the fourteen varieties of Triṣṭubh Upajāti patterns and the several Jagatī Upajāti patterns named separately. It also found several additional samavrtta metrical patterns for lines and verse quarters not found by analyzing whole verses. Rows headed by these meter names show blanks in the columns for verses and lines where no verses or lines of that type were found. These initial results of applying TEITagger to analyze the metrical patterns in the *Mahābhārata* demonstrate its capacity to reveal detailed information about a massive work and to mark up the results in a way that permits computational compilation so that these results may be presented to scholars in ways that may inspire further insight.

Table 3

Metrical patterns in the Mahābhārata identified by TEITagger v. 17

meter type	**syllables/ pāda**	**verse**	**2/3 lines**	**line**	**quarter**
Anuṣṭubh	8	68,360	10	521	633
Anuṣṭubh3	8	68,322	10	518	610
Pramāṇikā	8	38	0	1	22
Vidyunmālā	8			2	1

meter type	syllables pāda	verse	2/3 lines	line	quarter
Vibhā	8				6
Haṁsaruta	8				1
Triṣṭubh	11	1,355	62	970	3,252
Indravajrā	11	171	3	271	941
Upendravajrā	11	94	0	174	805
Vātormī	11	1	30	0	597
Rathoddhatā	11	5	0	0	0
Śālinī	11	38	0	0	909
Upajāti	11	1,046	29	525	0
Bhadrā	11	68	2	167	0
Haṁsī	11	90	0	188	0
Kīrti	11	114	3	0	0
Vāṇī	11	98	4	0	0
Mālā	11	73	1	0	0
Śālā	11	82	0	170	0
Māyā	11	50	3	0	0
Jāyā	11	50	1	0	0
Bālā	11	82	5	0	0
Ārdrā	11	68	3	0	0
Rāmā	11	62	1	0	0
Rddhi	11	85	3	0	0
Buddhi	11	67	2	0	0
Siddhi	11	57	1	0	0
Jagatī	12	411	4	94	343
Vaṁśasthā	12	359	3	73	181
Indravaṁśā	12	1	0	5	95
Bhujaṅgaprayāta	12	3	0	0	0
Kāmadattā	12				4
Vaiśvadevī	12			3	55
Śruti	12			2	8
Upajāti	12	48	0	16	0
Śaṅkhanidhi	12	1	0	2	0
Padmanidhi	12	2	0	14	0
Vaṁśamālā	12	45	1	0	0
Fancy		116	0	37	32

meter type	syllables pāda	verse	2/3 lines	line	quarter
Halamukhī	9	1	0	0	0
Śuddhavirāj	10				1
Aparavaktra	13/12	27	0	3	0
Puṣpitāgrā	12/13	33	0	3	0
Praharṣiṇī	13	8	0	1	1
Rucirā	13	28	0	11	28
Prabhavatī	13				1
Vasantatilakā	14	3	0	0	1
Praharaṇakalikā	14			1	0
Mālinī	15	9	0	0	0
Śārdūlavikrīḍita	19	1	0	0	0
Upagīti	5cm+l+1cm+g	6	0	29	0
Āryāgīti	7cm+gg	0	0	1	0
Identified		70,242	76	1,622	4,267
No type		3,194			4,297
Total		73,436			8,564

6 Communication between TEI files and linguistic software

As mentioned in section 1, one of the principal benefits of encoding Sanskrit texts using TEI XML is to fulfill the need to coordinate directly, without human intervention, with software developed by others, possibly in ways not anticipated. In particular, by encoding Sanskrit texts in TEI we anticipate coordinating a large repository of digital Sanskrit texts with parsers and syntax analyzers, such as the Sanskrit Heritage parser and the University of Hyderabad's संसाधनी. TEI provides robust standardized methods to coordinate various versions of texts and to refer to particular divisions and segments within a text so that parsed and syntactically analyzed passages may be interlinked with their originals. Naturally, the highest levels of coordination between versions would require standardized identification of the repository that houses the original file from which a passage was taken and submitted to a linguistic analysis tool on another site. An attribute value pair such as simply `repository='sl'`, or more officially `repository='US-RiPrSl'` using the International Standard Identifier for

Libraries and Related Organizations (ISIL), ISO 15511, might identify the Sanskrit Library as the repository. Obviously standardized identification of the file within the repository is required, either by collection and item identifiers or by filename. These identifiers should be interpretable programmatically as a URL, or be a URL directly provided with a submission. For example, if I submit the first verse of the unanalyzed text of the *Mahābhārata* to the Sanskrit Heritage parser I might provide the URL `http://sanskritlibrary.org/texts/tei/mbh1.xml` with my submission.

A second level of standardized identification is required to identify the type of analysis. When the Sanskrit Library analyzed the TITUS archive's texts for inclusion in 2006, it discovered a surprising variety in the degree and type of analysis of sandhi. Some of these encoding practices can be specified in the encoding description of a document. However, standard designation of various degrees of analysis is needed to coordinate versions. At the least, one might consider standard designation for the types of analysis of Sanskrit texts described in Table 4. For clarity, it is strongly recommended that these different degrees of analysis be located in separate files, not combined in a single file. TEI provides simple means of coordinating such versions by synchronizing element identifiers (`xml:id`).

Once a file containing the version of a text with a specific degree of analysis is identified, standardized reference to particular sections and passages is required. TEI provides machine-readable methods for declaring the element used and the structure of references within two elements of the `teiHeader`:

- `tagsDecl`
- `refsDecl`

The tagging declaration may be used to document the usage of specific tags in the text and their rendition.[2] Figure 7 shows the `tagsDecl` element used for the Sanskrit Library's TEI edition of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. Because the value of the `partial` attribute is specified as false, the tags listed as values of the `gi` attribute of the `tagUsage` elements are all the elements and the only elements that occur under the text element. The `lg`, `l`, and `seg` elements are used to mark up verses as shown in figures 2, 3, and 4, in the last of which are shown also the use of the `body`, `div`, `sp`, and `speaker` elements. The `p` and `s` elements are used to mark up paragraphs

[2]See the TEI P5 guidelines at `http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/HD.html#HD57`, and `http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/ref-tagsDecl.html`

Table 4
Degrees of analysis of Sanskrit texts

1. continuous text (*saṁhitā-pāṭha*)
    a. with breaks only where permitted in Devanāgarī script, i.e. only after word-final vowels, visarga or anusvāra
    b. with breaks where permitted in Roman script, i.e. after consonants as well
    c. with breaks where permitted in Roman script with designation immediately following characters representing sounds that result from single replacement sandhi at word boundaries
2. sandhi-analyzed text (*pada-pāṭha*)
    a. with word final visarga throughout, without designation of compound constituents
    b. distinguishing visarga originating in final *s* from visarga from final *r*
    c. with designation (but not analysis) of compound constituents as permitted in Devanāgarī script, i.e. after constituent-final vowels, visarga or anusvāra
    d. with designation (but not analysis) of compound constituents as permitted in Roman script, i.e. after constituent-final consonants as well
    e. with designation (but not analysis) of compound constituents as permitted in Roman script, with designation immediately following characters representing sounds that result from single replacement sandhi at constituent boundaries
    f. with analysis of sandhi between compound constituents as well
3. morphologically analyzed text
4. lexically and morphologically analyzed text
5. syntactically analyzed text
    a. dependency structure
    b. phrase structure

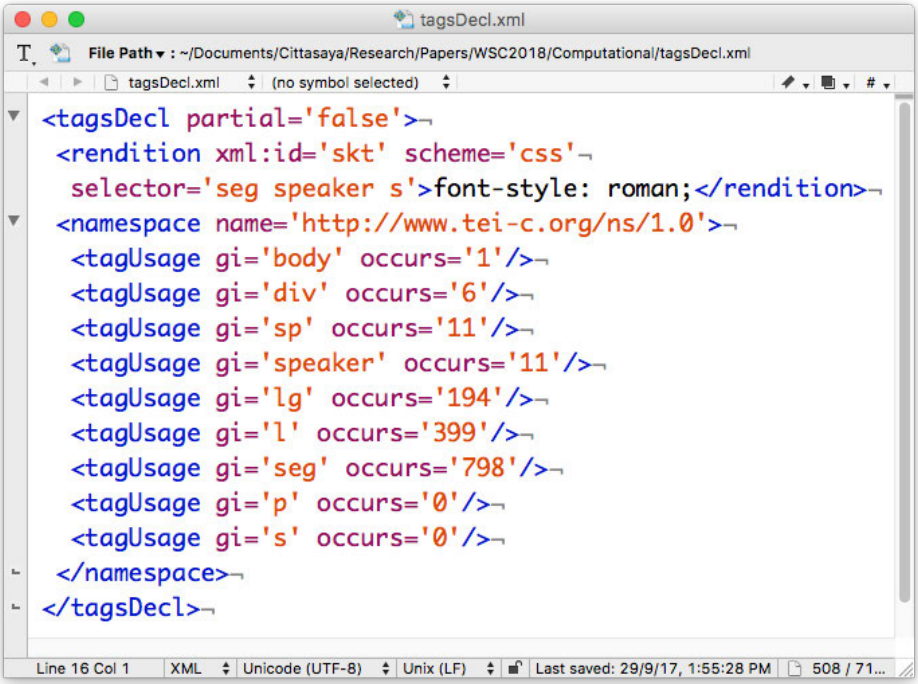
and sentences in prose. The numbers listed as values of the `occurs` attribute in the `tagUsage` elements indicate the number of occurrences of the element named in the value of the `gi` attribute. The numbers shown are those for the *Svargārohaṇaparvan*. Those mentioned as values of the `selector` attribute of the `rendition` element with `xml:id='skt'` are all the elements and the only elements that render Sanskrit text in SLP1 to be transcoded to Unicode Roman, Devanagari, or another Indic Unicode encoding for redisplay. These elements provide all that is necessary to extract Sanskrit text from the encoding for display in HTML, and for submission as a unit to metrical, morphological and syntactic analysis software. The attribute values of the elements listed in the `rendition` element with `xml:id='sktat'` lists all the attributes and the only attributes whose values are Sanskrit text in SLP1 to be transcoded. These attribute values are Sanskrit terms that might be used to display menus in an HTML display to select divisions such as parvan, and adhyāya.

The reference declaration describes the reference system used in the text.[3] TEI offers the possibility of describing the pattern of canonical references formally in a manner amenable to machine processing. A regular expression describing the pattern of the canonical reference is paired with a replacement expression that describes the path to the attributes that contain the referenced numbers (`n` attributes of `div` and `lg` elements in verse in the *Mahābhārata*, and of `p`, and `s` in prose). Figure 8 shows the `refsDecl` element of the Sanskrit Library's TEI edition of the *Svargārohaṇaparvan*. The pattern shown in the `matchPattern` attribute of the first `cRefPattern` element describes a canonical reference to any verse quarter in the *Mahābhārata*. The three sets of digits separated by periods refer to the parvan, adhyāya, and verse; the letter refers to the pāda, for example, 6.24.70a refers to the first pāda of the seventieth verse of the twenty-fourth adhyāya of the sixth parvan shown in Figure 2. (The 24th adhyāya of that parvan is the second in the *Bhagavadgītā*.) The first of the two `cRefPattern` elements gives a replacement expression that matches a path that has verses directly as children of a `div` element; the second, one that has verses as children of an intervening `sp` element within an adhyāya. Subsequent `cRefPattern` elements describe shorter references to whole verses, adhyāyas, and parvans. These elements and attributes directly provide an unambiguous method to

[3] See the TEI P5 Guidelines at `http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/HD.html#HD54`, and `http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/ref-refsDecl.html`

Figure 7

The `tagsDecl` element in the Sanskrit Library's TEI edition of the Svargārohaṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata



resolve canonical references to particular passages. Yet, processed in the opposite direction, from the replacement path to the match expression, the references provide a means to compose canonical references from `n` attributes.

Once a standard system of exact references to specific passages in unanalyzed continuous text has been adopted, reference to various versions of analyzed passages are easily constructed by specifying in addition the degree of analysis described in Table 4. One method of doing this in a TEI document would be to specify the degree of analysis as a value of the `ana` attribute of the `text` element. Another would be for archives to add a standard addition to the filename.

Linguistic software that produces TEI output would add elements subordinate to those containing text in the TEI document that contains the continuous text. A document that contains analyzed sandhi but no further analysis would insert each word (*pada*), including compounds (*samasta-pada*), in a `w` element. A document that contains compound analysis would insert the lexical constituents of compounds in a `w` element subordinate to the compound's `w` element. Although the types of analysis described in Table 4 do not envision tagging non-lexical morphemes such as the infix *a* and suffix *ti* in the verb *gacchati*, such morphemes would be inserted in an `m` element. TEI provides attributes that may be used for lexical and morphological analysis of each word in a `w` element. The stem of the word is made the value of the `lemma` attribute. We have chosen to make the lexical identifier a value of the `type` attribute and the morphological identifier a value of the `subtype` attribute. Figure 9 shows our TEI mark up of the sandhi analysis of the first verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*, *MBh.* 6.23.1, and Figure 10 shows our TEI mark up of the lexical and morphological analysis of the same verse. Where authors deliberately compose passages that are amenable to more than one analysis (*śleṣa*), alternative analyses — whether of verses, lines, verse quarters, prose passages, or individual words — may be analyzed in separate files where, in order to permit coordination, they may be supplied with the identical division numbers and xml:ids as their unanalyzed passages and the preferred analysis.

As a result of standardized coordination of markup and reference between Sanskrit text archives and Sanskrit computational software, HTML displays showing the unanalyzed version of a verse might be able to include a set of links to various analyzed versions for the convenience of students and scholars of Sanskrit. Conversely, displays of the results of analysis of a passage might also provide links to the unanalyzed source.

Figure 8

The `refsDecl` element in the Sanskrit Library's TEI edition of the Svargārohaṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata

refsDecl.xml

```
<refsDecl>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2}).(\d{1,3}).(\d{1,3})([a-e])"¬

      replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1']/div[@type='
      aDyAya'][@n='$2']/lg[$3]/l/seg[@n='$4')">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya, verse that is not subordinate to a speech, pAda</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2}).(\d{1,3}).(\d{1,3})([a-e])"¬

      replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1']/div[@type='
      aDyAya'][@n='$2']/sp/lg[$3]/l/seg[@n='$4')">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya, verse that is not subordinate to a speech, pAda</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2}).(\d{1,3}).(\d{1,3})"¬

      replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1']/div[@type='
      aDyAya'][@n='$2']/lg[$3])">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya, verse that is not subordinate to a speech</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2}).(\d{1,3}).(\d{1,3})"¬

      replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1']/div[@type='
      aDyAya'][@n='$2']/sp/lg[$3])">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya, verse that is subordinate to a speech</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2}).(\d{1,3}).(\d{1,3}s)"¬

      replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1']/div[@type='
      aDyAya'][@n='$2']/sp/speaker[$3])">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya, speaker</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2}).(\d{1,3})"¬

      replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1']/div[@type='
      aDyAya'][@n='$2'])">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
 <cRefPattern matchPattern="(\d{1,2})"¬
  replacementPattern="#xpath(//body/div[@type='parvan'][@n='$1'])">¬
  <p>parvan, aDyAya</p>¬
 </cRefPattern>¬
</refsDecl>¬
```

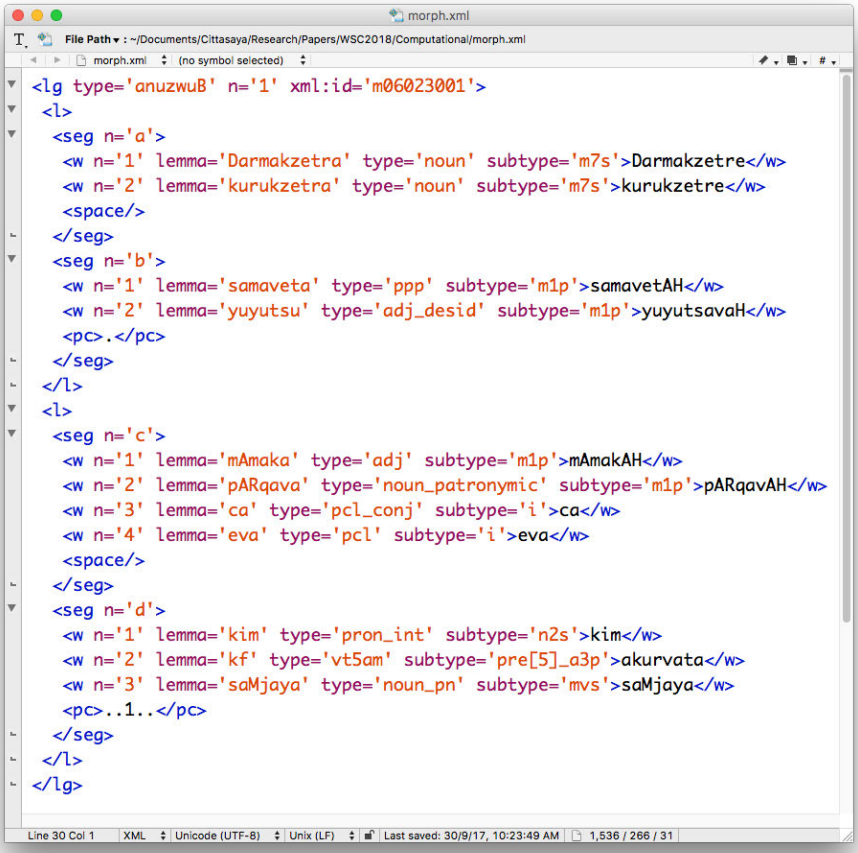
Line 31 Col 1 | XML | Unicode (UTF-8) | Unix (LF) | Last saved: 29/9/17, 12:09:18 PM | 1,617 / 251 / 31

Figure 9

TEI mark up of the sandhi analysis of MBh. 6.23.1, the first verse of the Bhagavadgītā

Figure 10

TEI mark up of the lexical and morphological analysis of MBh. 6.23.1, the first verse of the Bhagavadgītā



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Preliminary Design of a Sanskrit Corpus Manager

Gérard Huet *and* Idir Lankri

Abstract: We propose a methodology for the collaborative annotation of digitalized Sanskrit corpus tagged with grammatical information. The main features of the proposal are a fine grain view of the corpus at the sentence level, allowing expression of inter-textuality, sparse representation allowing non-necessarily sequential acquisition, and distributed collaborative development using Git technology. A prototype Sanskrit Corpus Manager has been implemented as a proof of concept, in the framework of the Sanskrit Heritage Platform. Possible extensions and potential problems are discussed.

1 Introduction

Several digital libraries for Sanskrit corpus have been developed so far. We may mention the GRETIL site of Göttingen's University,[1] with a fair coverage, under various formats. The Sarit site,[2] developed by Dominik Wujastyk, Patrick McAllister and other Indology colleagues, contains a smaller corpus, but it follows a uniform format compliant with the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standard, and has a nice interface. Furthermore it benefits from a collaborative acquisition framework using Git technology. The Sanskrit Library[3] developed by Peter Scharf and colleagues, also follows the TEI, and benefits from the tagging services of the Sanskrit Heritage Platform, since individual sentences link to its segmentation cum tagging service. DCS[4] developed at Heidelberg University by Oliver Hellwig, is the most advanced from the point of view of linguistic analysis, since it is fully

[1] Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages `http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.htm`

[2] Search And Retrieval of Indic Texts `http://sarit.indology.info`

[3] Sanskrit Library `http://www.sanskritlibrary.org`

[4] Digital Corpus of Sanskrit `http://kjc-sv013.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de/dcs/`

annotated with morphological tags indexing a lexicon of stems. Its development involved several iterations of deep learning algorithms (Hellwig 2009, 2015, 2016). Covering at present 560,000 sentences, it is today the closest analogue for Sanskrit of the Perseus Digital Library for Greek and Latin corpus.[5]

Several other efforts are currently under development, although unfortunately with little standardization effort. Not all digital libraries are publicly available. For instance, the TITUS Thesaurus of Indo-European text[6] is accessible only to scholars participating in the acquisition effort.

There exist now several computational linguistics tools that process Sanskrit text in order to parse it under a grammatical representation that can be considered an approximation to a formal paraphrase of its meaning. Typically, a sentence will yield a stream of morphological tags. The DCS analyser of Oliver Hellwig, based on statistical alignment on a data base of lemmas trained from a seed of human-annotated tags, has the advantage of being fully automatic. The Sanskrit Heritage Platform under development at Inria Paris offers a service of segmentation with tagging (at two levels, inflection and morphology of stems), linking into a choice of two dictionaries. It also has a surface parser using *kāraka* analysis that can be used for learners on simple sentences, but is not sufficient for corpus processing (Huet 2007). It also links with Amba Kulkarni's Saṃsādhanī analyser,[7] that helps produce a dependency graph (Kulkarni 2013). This structure captures the semantic role (*kāraka*) analysis of a sentence, provided it is not too dislocated. Furthermore, an auxiliary tool helps the annotator to transform a dislocated sentence into its prose order by proper permutation of its segments.

Thus it seems that the time is ripe to consider establishing a common repository that would store digital Sanskrit libraries in annotated form, either automatically, or with the help of competent annotators using interactive tools. We present here a preliminary proposal for the design of a Sanskrit corpus manager concept, that could serve as a seed repository for the collaborative editing of texts, and that could support navigation and search through appropriate further tools. We have developed a simplified implementation of the concept, using technology available off-the-shelf as free software. We shall conclude by listing problems in the managing of a joint corpus repository.

[5]Perseus `http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/`

[6]TITUS `http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/index.htm`

[7]Saṃsādhanī `http://scl.samsaadhanii.in`

2 Specificities of Sanskrit corpus

Processing Sanskrit by computer is in some sense easier than processing other natural languages, at least if we restrict ourselves to the classical language. It benefits of the grammatical tradition [*vyākaraṇa*] dating back from hoary times, since the grammar of Sanskrit was fixed by Pāṇini 25 centuries ago in his Aṣṭadyāyī, which was initially descriptive, but later became prescriptive. Classical Sanskrit was not the vernacular local prakrit, which is used only in the theater. It was the language of the educated [*śiṣṭa*]. And thus, it was assumed grammatically correct, which means that we may align our segmentations to a precise recursive definition.

Granted, there are many non-Paninian forms in epics literature, and there are many corrupted texts. But we may record exceptions, and corrupted texts may perhaps be amended. Of course philologists will shudder at the thought of amending texts, but they must excuse my irreverence, considering that in my professional trade, programs with bugs must be corrected, and only secondarily treated as historical artifacts in the version-maintaining repository. The main merit of mistakes is to trace possible filiations of versions, since scribes often copied without amending their sources, and thus errors would be transmitted. But this assumption is not always met, and thus the classical phylogenetic tradition is challenged (Hanneder 2017). In any case, I am making the assumption that the corpus recorded in the global repository has been edited to the point of being grammatically correct. Possibly as a result of the interactive use of grammatical tools, in as much as they may be used as editing assistants.

Actually, the Sanskrit language is not that regular. Even seemingly regular processes such as compounding pose problems in the proper analysis of written texts, since compounding is not associative, and accent is not marked in writing. Furthermore, there are many different styles, not just prose and poetry. The grammatical *sūtra* style is very concise, closer to algebraic rules, with phonemes used both for linguistic and meta-linguistic notation. The *śāstra* style of scholastic Sanskrit (Tubb and Boose 2007) is also highly artificial. The Indian tradition of formal debate (*vāda*) (Tripathi 2016) produced texts that are layers upon layers of commentaries, with counter-arguments (*pūrvapakṣa*) alternating with upheld theses (*uttarapakṣa*, *siddhānta*). Poets indulged in obscure constructions, rare lexemes, very long compounds, and dislocated sentences. Furthermore, the inherent ambiguity of phonetic enunciations where word boundaries are blurred by sandhi gave rise to a

whole new genre of *śleṣa* – double entendre – where ambiguous segmentation yields possibly opposite meanings (Bronner 2010). For instance, consider *nakṣatrapathavartinā rājñā* from Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. It may mean a glorious king "following the path of the stars" (*nakṣatra-patha-vartinā rājñā*), or a despicable king, "not following a noble path" (*na kṣatra-patha-vartinā rājñā*), playing on the oronyms *nakṣatra* and *na kṣatra*. Here specific philological apparatus is needed in order to display the two readings, it is not just a matter of choice between segmentations, since both readings are intended. But if linear text is given up in benefit of graphical display, we may visualise the mixed two readings as shown in our Reader tool, see Figure 1.

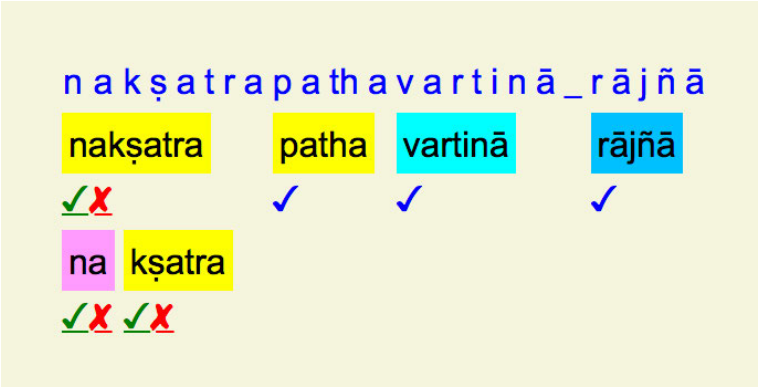

Figure 1
Daṇḍin's prototype śleṣa

Other difficulties in interpreting Sanskrit text are the absence of distinctive sign for proper names (like capitals in Roman script), making e.g. *kṛṣṇa* ambiguous between the divine hero and the black color, and the ambiguity of *prādi* compounds such as *nirvācya*, that may mean "what should not be talked about" (with *nis* preposition acting as negation) as well as "what should be explained" (now compositional future participle of verb *nirvac*). Another problem, at the discourse level this time, is indirect speech, whose ending is marked with particle *iti*, but whose beginning must be guessed from the context. All these reasons show that editing a text in order to express several possible meanings with distinct morphological annotations, explained through distinct grammatical analyses, is a much more difficult task than simply listing raw sentences in sandhied form.

Finally, Sanskrit literature abounds in inter-textuality features. Mantras are quoted, stories are retold in a manifold manner, bards adapt orally transmitted tales, learned commentaries pile up on each other, numerous anthologies of poems and maxims (*subhāṣita*, *nyāya*) share a lot of material, *mahākāvya*s expand episodes of epics, etc.

Considering all these difficulties, we propose a set-up for progressive computer-aided tagging of selected portions of corpus, with documented intertextuality, as an alternative to TEI-style full digitalization of corpus in raw form. Thus one of the important requirements is that the (partial) corpus be represented at a low level of granularity, typically a *śloka* for poetry, or a sentence for prose.

3 Available technology

The main paradigm of the proposed annotation scheme is that it should be a distributed service, not just available from a server for consultation of readers, but itself the locus of collaborative annotation activity. This is in line with the recommendation of Peter Robinson (Robinson 2009): "The most radical impact of the digital revolution is to transform scholarly editing from the work of single scholars, working on their own on single editions, to a collaborative, dynamic and fluid enterprise spanning many scholars and many materials".

In the software development domain, now Git technology (Chacon and Straub 2014) is the de facto standard for such collaborative development. Originally designed to serve as versioning cum distribution for the Linux effort, it quickly replaced all previous software management systems. It has several implementations, one managing the GitHub site, popular for open-source development. The GitLab software offers additional functionalities, notably in terms of security.

A Git project consists of branches evolving with time, each branch carrying a hierarchy of files. The hierarchy corresponds directly to the structure of the file system of the host operating system. The files typically contain source code of software, and of its documentation. But they may be of whatever format. Collaborators of the project have a local copy of the relevant branch on their own computer station. So they may not only compile and install locally the software, but they may modify it and add to it. After local testing, the developer may request the supervisor of the branch to update

the global site with his modifications. On approval, the software merges the modifications with the current version, a possibly complex operation.

Git is a major change of paradigm in the collaborative development of massive efforts. It is now used for the dynamic management of documents of various nature. This is a mature technology, with the finest available algorithms in distributed computing, alignment, compaction, cryptography. It looks like the ideal collaborative tool for developers of a digital library.

The other obvious technological decision is to use Web technology for the user interface. HTML and XML support Unicode for presenting all writing systems. Web services are now the absolute standard for distributed services.

4 Implementing a prototype as a proof of concept

A 2-months effort in summer 2017 was defined as a student Master project. The second author, in the Master program of University Paris Diderot, and an Ocaml expert, was offered an internship at Inria for its implementation. He familiarized himself rapidly with the sources of the Sanskrit Heritage Platform, put at this occasion on Inria's GitLab site for distributed development under Git. At the same time, a second Git project was launched as the Sanskrit Heritage Resources, to distribute the lexical resources used by the Platform machinery, as well as the Sanskrit morphology XML databanks that it produces.

The requirement was to implement a corpus manager as a Web service, using the Sanskrit Heritage Platform as interactive tagging service, and producing progressively an annotated corpus as a sub-branch of the Sanskrit Heritage Resources Git project. The hierarchical structure of the corpus is directly mapped on the directory structure of the UNIX file system.

4.1 The Sanskrit Heritage Corpus Manager

Three levels of capabilities have been defined. The Reader capacity is available to any user. As its name indicates, he is only allowed to read the library, but not to modify it. The Annotator capacity allows addition and correction to the corpus files. The Manager capacity allows addition and correction to the directory structure. These three capacities are mapped respectively to permissions of the UNIX file system, and to roles in the Sanskrit corpus project, initially located as a component of the Sanskrit Heritage Resources Git project.

Texts are available as leaves of the directory structure, such as "KAvya/BANa/KAdambarI/". In Manager mode, one may add to this structure, or edit it. In Reader mode one may navigate through it, through a simple Web interface with scrolling menus. In Annotator mode you may add to the text, or give corrections. For instance, let us assume that, in Annotator mode, we input a sentence in the initially empty directory "KAvya/BANa/KAdambarI/". We are forwarded to the Sanskrit Heritage Reader page (Goyal and Huet 2016), where we input in the text window the following string:

rajojuṣe janmani sattvavṛttaye sthitau prajānā.m pralaye tamaḥspṛśe |
ajāya sargasthitināśahetave trayīmayāya triguṇātmane namaḥ ||

The segmenter returns with 155,520 solutions represented on a single HTML page as a graphical display where the annotator, if familiar with the tool, very quickly converges to the desired solution (in 13 clicks). When this is done, a Save button prompts the annotator, who may save this segmentation in the corpus, or abort. On saving he is returned to the corpus interface, which prompts him for the next sentence. The screen he sees at this point is represented in Figure 2. It indicates that now branch "KAvya/BANa/KAdambarI/" supports a text where sentence 1 is now listed (in IAST notation according to local settings, could be Devanāgarī or both).

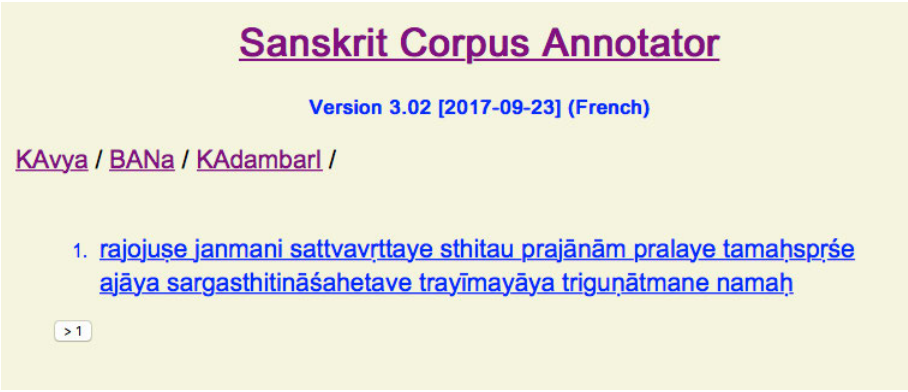

Figure 2
After saving sentence 1

This sentence 1 is itself a link, to the display of the Heritage reader, as shown in Figure 3. Note that this is what we saved, showing the unique so-

lution selected by the annotator. Note also that what we see is just the usual display of the Reader: you may click on segment rectangles in order to get their morphology. The morphology is itself linked to the dictionary, which can be set either to the Sanskrit-French Heritage dictionary maintained at the site, or to the electronic version of the Sanskrit-English Monier-Williams dictionary. It is not just an HTML static page, it is a dynamic page where all services of the Platform are available. Including backtracking on the annotator choices, via the Undo service! You may also click on the Unique Solution tick and continue the analysis with gender agreement. Or by clicking on the UoH Analysis Mode tick, go further into *kāraka* analysis with Amba Kulkarni's dependency analyser. Thus, it would be easy to extend the service with other displays under various analyses, provided with proper meta-data.

Figure 3
Displaying sentence 1

Now let us return to Figure 2. Please note the "> 1" button. It invites the annotator to continue his tagging task, with another sentence. If you click on it, a scrolling menu prompts you with the sentence number, and an Add button. You may at this point choose not to continue in sequence, for instance choose sentence 4. On pressing Add we are back in the loop with the Reader.

After entering sentence 4, we get the image of this piece of corpus as Figure 4. There are now two mouse-sensitive buttons: one marked "2 – 3" for filling the hole between 1 and 4, the other one, marked "> 4", for entering sentences after the 4th one. This illustrates the partial nature of the annotated corpus. Scholars may concentrate on often quoted parts, or verses they have a special interest in, without having to tag continuously from the beginning of the work. This is important, in view of the non-fully-automatic nature of the annotating task. It also allows work splitting

between annotators of the same text. Merging their contributions will be managed by the Git mechanisms.

Figure 4
After annotating sentences 1 and 4

When a Reader browses the corpus, he will see exactly the same display, except that the adding buttons will not appear.

When an annotator has completed some tagging, he may call a routine that will store his annotations in the local repertory of the Corpus Git project. He may then use the `commit` Git command to commit his annotations, with proper documentation. Once in a while he may distribute his contributions to the community by using the `push` Git command in order to merge his work with those of the other annotators, under control of the project Managers.

4.2 Application to citations analysis in the Heritage dictionary

This prototype of a corpus manager has been implemented as an auxiliary service of the Heritage platform segmenter. It is currently being put to use to manage citations in the Heritage hypertext dictionary. Its current 800 citations are being progressively tagged, and entered in a standalone branch "Heritage_citations" of the corpus. The corpus structure is implemented as a sub-project of the Heritage_Resources Git project, and as such is incorporated in the Heritage_platform server data, at installation time. Thus the facility is available for testing to whoever installs the two software packages through Inria's GitLab server, as projects `https://gitlab.inria.fr/huet/Heritage_Resources.git` and `https://gitlab.inria.fr/huet/Heritage_Platform.git` respectively. The public server

site `http://sanskrit.inria.fr` has been updated with the corpus manager, available as a "Corpus" service from the site directory at the bottom of its pages. Of course only Reader mode is available at the public site. But the distribution version, available through Git, will allow annotators to develop their own tagged corpus, and possibly merge them in the common Git repository when registered as an official Annotator.

An example of such analysed citation may be viewed in our dictionary at entry *kunda*. Please visit URL `http://sanskrit.inria.fr/DICO/21.html#kunda`. This entry is illustrated by a quotation from śloka 6.25 of Kālidāsa's Ṛitusaṃhāra, underlined as mouse-sensitive. Clicking on it brings you to the corresponding corpus page, where the sentence is displayed as a list of colored segments, as shown in Figure 5. Clicking on a segment brings its lemma, with lexicon access to the root items. Although it has the same look-and-feel as the segmentation tool, it is actually displayed by the corpus manager, navigating in Reader mode in its "Heritage_citations" branch. This can be verified by clicking on the "Continue reading" button, which brings you to this branch directory, where the śloka appears as item 10. This shows the smooth integration of this tool within other services.

Figure 5
Annotated quotation

5 Extending the prototype to other tools

The extreme simplicity of this design makes it easily extensible to other grammatical tools implemented as Web services. All that is needed to incorporate them is to include a save button in the pages that return the result of their analysis, with the functionality of saving their HTML source in the corpus hierarchy. Or, even, in the style of our own implementation,

to store the sentence analysis data as parameters for the invocation of a dynamic corpus crawler. Conversely the Add facility of the corpus manager will have to be made aware of the variety of such services, and its display accommodated to show all analyses of the given śloka by the various services. This assumes of course that these services are reachable from the putative annotators, either installed on their station's own Web server, or available at publicly available Internet servers. The Heritage set of services may be used both ways, since it is itself distributed as an open-source system from its Git project repository. Should the concept prove itself useful, it would be easy to separate the Corpus Manager from the Heritage distribution, and make it a stand-alone facility.

It is to be remarked that having several grammatical tools available for displaying corpus in analysed form does not induce any commitment on a standard display, each tool may keep its look-and-feel, and links to its specific functionalities. We are not demanding either to synchronize or align taggings effected by various tools. Annotators using one tool may tag sentences irrespective of whether they have been already processed with some other tool. All we have to agree on is the directory structure and its metadata format (under control by the Git users with Manager capability), and in the designation scheme of individual files representing the analyses.

6 Design of inter-textuality functionalities

This simple prototype provides for the moment a strictly hierarchical view of the corpus. This is too restrictive, since it allows no sharing. For instance, in the skeleton corpus of "Heritage_citations", we would like to link item 10 to its original in Ṛtusaṃhāra. Of course we could enter its duplicate in its proper branch, say "KAvya/KAlidAsa/Ritusamhara/6/25". But we would like to document this by recording its "absolute" link in the "Heritage_citations" branch at item 10. This would be an easy extension of the current mechanism. But this is only one simple example of inter-textuality. Some of the citations are not to a full śloka, but perhaps to a portion, or a simplification, or a reordering of some original quotation. Thus we would need to design a notation to document such partial sharing between different branches of the corpus.

6.1 Collating recensions and manuscript segments

We also want to be able to use the tool for recording, and comparing, various manuscripts traditions of the same text. Actually, the idea of this low-granularity corpus representation arose from a presentation by Pr Brockington at a seminar in Paris in december 2016 (Brockington 2016). He showed there two representations of various manuscripts of Sanskrit epics.

The first one, extracted from traditional phylogenetic methods (Phillips-Rodriguez, Howe, and Windram 2009) represents a tree of manuscripts of Mahābhārata, expressing the growth of the material over time. It has been obtained through phylogenetic analysis performed on sargas 43-47, 51, 59-60 and 64-65 of the Dyūtaparvan by the Supernetwork method in the SplitsTree package. The sigla used are those of the Critical Edition, with J substituted for Ñ and Z for Ś. It is reproduced in Figure 6 below (courtesy Wendy Phillips).

The second one is a Venn diagram of Rāmāyaṇa's manuscript relationships, reproduced in Figure 7 (taken from (Brockington 2000), courtesy John Brockington). This Venn diagram representation (possibly completed by the suitable ordering of the verse portions) is a more informative view of relationships between manuscript groups, since it represents the (multi-)set of all ślokas of all manuscripts, each one represented as a subset, possibly intersecting in complex ways with other manuscripts. In other words, the Rāmāyaṇa is there considered as a Boolean expression in terms of its manuscripts segments, a more detailed concept than the phylogenic tree, although not currently producible automatically from recensions in an obvious manner.

This suggests that our śloka-level corpus ought to accommodate notation amenable to express complex sharing relationships between the manuscripts, such as:

$$A = B\,[1-250]\,; C\,[5-23]\,; B\,[251-300]$$

expressing that manuscript A is the same as B with interpolation of a portion of C. Such sharing relationships ought to turn into extra annotations on the corpus data representations, so that navigation through the various versions would be available.

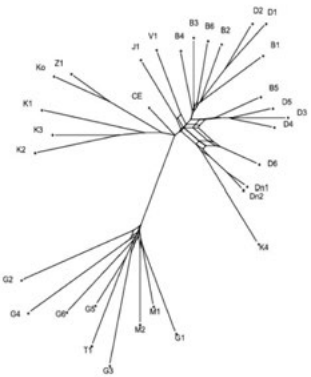

Figure 6
Phylogenetic analysis

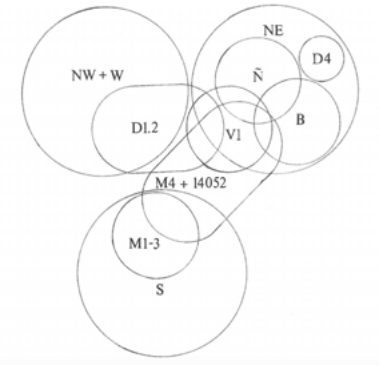

Figure 7
Venn diagram

6.2 Paths management on shared corpus

It should be obvious at this point that an extra level of abstraction is needed in order to be able to name contiguous portions of corpus recensions that are shared across manuscript versions, such as $C\,[5-23]$ in the notation above. This path in our corpus tree is shared between recensions A and C. If we want to express this sharing in our corpus structure, and thus avoid the duplication of śloka annotations between A and C, we shall need to introduce the notion of path through a dag[8] of branches, of which our corpus structure is only a specific spanning tree. This induces a need to express the concept of the successor of a śloka node *along a given path*, since in our example node $B.250$ has successor $B.251$ along path B, but $C.5$ instead along path A. Thus we need to record this information in node $B.250$, so that we may later navigate along path A by following the path B until its 250th node, and then continue from node $C.5$, until node $C.23$, which will be followed by node $B.251$ along the A path.

This of course assumes that the numbering of ślokas is now a function of its path, so that e.g. śloka $B.251$ appears at index 269 along path A, since śloka $B.251$ is shared with $A.269$ The same mechanism could allow for instance to assign to index Bhagavadgītā.1.1 the same śloka as Mahābhārata.6.63.23.

[8] directed acyclic graph

The determination of the portions of text that are amenable to sharing is decided by the human corpus managers/annotators, not a fully automatic process, since we do not want to share maximally by identifying all identical ślokas across all texts. For instance, we shall not identify all the evocations of a ritual mantra across all texts, with absurd cluttering of a unique node with all possible successors in all the texts. Furthermore, we do not want that two occurrences of the same verse in one text lead to looping paths.

6.3 Cohabitation of readings

Representing the *padapātha* form of a Sanskrit utterance is the first level of its interpretation. Assigning morphology to its segments is a further level of interpretation. Assigning *kāraka* semantic roles consistent with nominal cases and verbal voices is still a deeper interpretation; linking anaphoric references to their antecedent and cataphoric ones to their postcedent, together with entity-name recognition, brings analysis at the discourse level. Accommodating these various levels of analysis of a text will need adaptations to our corpus representation structure. The basic idea is that a piece of corpus represents more than the raw text as a stream of phonemes, and that paths through the fine-grain structure represent not just a list of phonetic productions, but a specific *reading* of this text.

Thus we must admit paths that represent different glosses of a given text, possibly contradictory. For instance, we would need different path assignments for Bhagavadgītā according to Śaṅkara and to Madhva respectively, so that e.g. BhG{24.2.17} appears as *nāsatovidyatebhāvonābhāvovidyatesataḥ* on the first path, and *nāsatovidyate'bhāvonābhāvovidyatesataḥ* on the second.[9] Note that in this example, the use of *avagraha* does disambiguate the two readings, but as stream of phonemes they are the same. This is a case showing that we need two different nodes in our corpus representation for common phonetic material, since their meanings are not compatible. Note that the two readings are oronyms, but this is not a case of *śleṣa*, where the two meanings are intended. We could talk of XOR-oronyms, contrasted with AND-oronyms (the genuine *śleṣa*s), for which we want to represent the two readings *together* in the same structure. The XOR/AND terminology stems from Boolean algebras in Stone form, such as Venn diagrams.

Genuine *śleṣa*s are often used for expressing simili figures of style, as Bāṇa demonstrated ad nauseum in Kādambarī. Their translation in lan-

[9] communicated by Pr. Madhav Deshpande

guages such as French or English necessitates heavy paraphrases weaving the description and its metaphor as coordinated phrases.[10] Giving a notation to represent the two readings without duplication is an interesting challenge: we want to represent minimally the two segmentations while sharing their common segments. Note that the graphical interface of the Heritage Reader gives a possible solution to this problem, since we may keep the two sets of segments, without any duplication, by trimming all segments that appear in neither. See Figure 1.

The design of a proper notation for annotated corpus is beyond the scope of the present paper, and is the affair of professional philologists, but our prototype could provide a test bed for such experiments.

Actually, we could also include in the corpus directories information concerning studies of a particular śloka or portion of text, mentioning bibliographic references to relevant literature. It could also refer to discussions concerning specific grammatical points, respective validity of the various annotations, etc. Each Sanskrit śloka could have its own blog page, and the global corpus structure could evolve into social networking for Sanskrit text!

7 Remaining problems

Our toy corpus manager raises serious issues which will have to be well assessed before scaling up to a durable infrastructure.

First of all, we are suggesting that a common repository of analysed Sanskrit text be agreed upon by both developers of computational linguistics tools and scholars managing digital libraries. This raises issues of a legal and sociological nature. Certain institutions will want to control what they deem is their intellectual property. Certain scholars will refuse to compromise with their freedom of doing things their own way. Even if a critical mass of individuals agree on sharing their work on a common source-free repository, we know from experience that committee work is not always optimum to design a technical artifact. Apparently simple issues such as the naming of branches may reveal complex problems, the solutions of which may not be easy to agree on.

[10] In French, *śleṣa* is limited to curiosities like the holorime "Gal, amant de la Reine, alla, tour magnanime, galamment de l'arène à la tour Magne à Nîmes" and jokes like "mon frère est ma sœur" playing on the oronyms *ma sœur/masseur*

Another important issue is durability. Our proposal assumes that the analyzing tools will be perennial, in as much as their proper availability is necessary for the display of their analyses. This is implicit from the fact that we are not restricting ourselves to displaying static XML or HTML pages, but allow the execution of Web services (cgi-bin executables in the Web jargon) which demand availability of programming languages and their compilers over the life span of the digital library. Thus robustness and maintainability of the satellite tools are critical. Versioning is another issue, since our analysis tools are not finished products, but experimental software that keeps evolving, and that may depend on lexical resources that also evolve themselves. Thus non-regression analysis tools will have to be developed, in order to correct taggings that are no longer identified or are no longer unique after a change of version. However, please note that improvements in precision that do not compromise recall often do not require revisiting the analysed corpus, which should be robust to such upward-compatible improvements.

Finally, let us emphasize that our proposal concerns just the foundations of a collaborative framework for the grammatical annotation of Sanskrit text, and has no pretense at providing philological tools such as collating software. Such tools will have to be re-thought over this low-level representation of the corpus.

8 Conclusion

We have presented general ideas concerning a Sanskrit corpus manager, and implemented a prototype with the Sanskrit Heritage Platform to test the main concepts. The main design imperative is that corpus managing ought to be a collaborative effort, allowing text annotation on a variety of grammatical analysis services. The prototype implementation, in a restricted setting, shows that the infrastructure development is actually rather simple, if one uses off-the-shelf technology such as Web services and Git repositories. It is hoped that this proposal will spur interest from philologists and computational linguists, and hopefully contribute to their increased collaboration.

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Enriching the digital edition of the *Kāśikāvr̥tti* by adding variants from the *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī*

Tanuja P. Ajotikar, Anuja P. Ajotikar, *and* Peter M. Scharf

1 Introduction

1.1 Importance of the present work

As is well-known, the *Kaśikāvr̥tti* (*KV.*), written by Jayāditya and Vāmana in the seventh century CE, is the oldest extant complete running commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*A.*). While several complete editions of the text have been published, and a critical edition by Sharma, Deshpande, and Padhye (1969–1970), it is known that the *KV.* has textual problems. Sharma, Deshpande, and Padhye's critical edition is based on only nine manuscripts as well as four previous editions while in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* Raghavan and Kunjunni Raja (1968, 116b–188a) have noticed more than two hundred manuscripts. Efforts to produce a truly critical edition begun nearly thirty years ago led to the publication of an edition of the pratyāhāra section by Haag and Vergiani (2009). Now with new funding under the direction of Malhar Kulkarni at the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, a project promises to produce an edition of the first pāda of the first adhyāya.

Manuscripts in India last no more than about five hundred years. The oldest readable manuscript of the *KV.* dates only to the early fifteenth century. Yet several centuries earlier, the *KV.* was commented upon in the *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* by Jinendrabuddhi in the eighth or ninth century and then in the *Padamañjarī* by Haradatta in the thirteenth century. These commentators provide information about the constitution of the text of *KV.* in several ways: by direct citation and incipits, as well as less directly by a discussion on the text. The information provided by commentators

hundreds of years prior to the oldest manuscript is invaluable to reliably establish the text of the *KV.* It would be extremely helpful for the community of Sanskrit grammarians if an edition supplemented with the readings available in the commentaries of the *KV.* is made available.

The Osmania edition seldom mentions variants reported in the commentaries, and, when it does, occasionally does so erroneously. Kulkarni et al. (2016) include an appendix indicating which readings of the Osmania edition of the *KV.* on the pratyāhāra sūtras are supported by the *Nyāsa* (*NY.*) and *Padamañjarī* (*PM.*). In that appendix, they use various signs to indicate which reading is supported by *NY.*, which is supported by *PM.*, and which is supported by both of them. It is a useful appendix, yet it covers a small fraction of the text and it lacks information concerning readings in commentaries that differ from the Osmania edition, whether the *PM.*, which is a later commentary, is aware of the reading given by the *NY.*, how many readings are regarded as wrong by these commentators, etc. Therefore, there is a need to create an edition that presents this information accurately for the whole text to the community of Sanskrit grammarians in particular and Sanskrit scholars in general.

2 Method of data collection

The complex, diffuse, and extensive nature of the data in the commentaries regarding readings in the *KV.* begs for systematic digital methodology. The digital medium provides a means to collect and organize complex information reliably, and to present that information in multiple uncomplicated views. The Text-Encoding Initiative (TEI) provides a means to indicate supporting and variant readings in a critical apparatus. The digital text of the Osmania edition (1970) of the *KV.* is available from the Sanskrit Library in a sandhi-analyzed form in the Sanskrit Library's Phonetic Encoding (SLP1). Hence we choose to undertake the production of a digital edition of the sandhi-analyzed *KV.* with critical apparatus tagged in accordance with TEI in SLP1. We proceed in this undertaking despite the fact that the source digital text is not yet reliably proofread and is not yet itself marked up according to TEI. We propose to so mark it up during the course of our work in accordance with the method demonstrated by Scharf (2018).

2.1 TEI critical apparatus tags

TEI offers the following elements and attributes to mark up a critical apparatus:

1. The `app` (apparatus) element is used to group together each lemma and all its variations; it has two child elements: `lem` and `rdg`.
2. The `lem` (lemma) element is an optional child of the `app` element. In this context, the term *lemma* signifies the accepted reading in the base text.
3. The `rdg` (reading) element is a required child of the `app` element used to indicate variations from the base text.
4. The `loc` (location) attribute of the `app` element specifies the location of the lemma in the base text.
5. The `wit` (witness) attribute specifies which commentary supports the reading. This attribute is used in both of the elements `lem` and `rdg`.
6. The `type` attribute is used to specify whether the reading is termed occasional, wrong or desired in the apparatus.

At present the `loc` attribute specifies only the canonical number of the sūtra under which the lemma occurs. In a sandhi-analyzed TEI text fully marked as described by Scharf (2018), the location will be specified in addition precisely to the paragraph, sentence, and possibly word.

2.2 Sigla

The `wit` attribute's values are sigla that indicate which commentary and variants reported in commentaries witness a particular reading. The following sigla are used:

1. `ny` stands for the reading given by the *Nyāsa*.
2. `pm` stands for the reading given by the *Padamañjarī*.

2.3 Types of readings

Four different types of readings are found in each of the two commentaries. We indicate these by the following values of the `type` attribute in SLP1 encoding:

1. `apapAWa` indicates that the reading is considered wrong by the commentator.
2. `kvacit` indicates that the reading is mentioned as a variant found by the commentator somewhere other than in his principal text.
3. `yukta` indicates that the reading in question is not received by the commentator, but suggested by him as the correct reading.
4. `pratIka` indicates that the reading is an incipit that supports but is not identical to the lemma.

2.4 Samples

Below are shown three samples of TEI tagging in our critical apparatus. The first shows a lemma supported by both commentaries. The second shows a lemma for which each commentator has given a different reading. The readings are assumed to be found by each commentator in his principal manuscript of the *KV.* since the readings are provided without any comment regarding their source. The third example shows a lemma supported by Jinendrabuddhi's principal text and partially supported by Haradatta's, yet for which Jinendrabuddhi remarks that the reading in another manuscript is incorrect.

```
<app loc='A1.1.1'>
  <lem wit='ny pm'>vfdDiSabdaH</lem>
</app>

<app loc='A1.1.2'>
  <lem>jayanti</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny'>paWanti paWan</rdg>
  <rdg wit='pm'>pacanti jayanti</rdg>
</app>

<app loc='A1.1.30'>
  <lem wit='ny'>tvayakA kftam</lem>
```

```
    <rdg wit='ny' type='apapAWa'>tvakayA</rdg>
    <rdg wit='pm' type='partial'>tvayakA</rdg>
  </app>
```

3 Issues

3.1 Data representation

Gathering comments regarding readings from commentaries differs from the collation of manuscripts. When a critical edition is prepared, the assumption is that each manuscript covers the entire span of text edited unless comments to the contrary are made in the manuscript description in the introduction or a comment regarding omission is made in the critical apparatus. Hence only variants are reported in the critical apparatus and it is assumed that silence regarding a witness reports its support for the adopted text. Readings that are identical to the lemma are not reported. In contrast, commentaries on scientific texts, and on grammatical texts in particular, generally do not mention or comment upon every word of their base text. Even the *KV.*, as a commentary on every sūtra of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, does not mention every word of every sūtra as there found. Subcommentaries as a rule specifically mention only a small proportion of the words in the base text. Since the full text is not always cited, one cannot assume that silence regarding reading in the base text indicates support. Therefore, while collecting readings from the commentaries, it is necessary to note explicit comments regarding support along with variants. The notation of positive readings, as well as variants, has the additional advantage of allowing us to analyze how much of the existing text in the Osmania edition is supported by each of these commentaries.

To compile statistics concerning the percent of text covered, supported, and departed from by the commentaries calls for a consistent unit of enumeration. Traditional accounting of the extent of text in India used the orthographic syllable (अक्षर) as the basic unit. The most accurate modern method would be to use the character. We plan to use characters in the phonetic encoding scheme SLP1. Neither a word nor a reading can accurately serve as such a unit as will become clear shortly; however, tabulating lemmata and calculating the number of characters in each will provide an accurate measure of the extent covered by each commentary.

3.2 Omissions

Omissions are recorded in TEI with an empty `rdg` tag and optionally supplied with a `cause` attribute that explains the reason for the deletion of the text. Possible values of the cause attribute suggested by the TEI editors include for example the following:

1. `homeoarchy`, which indicates the accidental skipping of a line of text because its beginning is similar to preceding or following lines, and

2. `haplography`, which indicates the inadvertent omission of a repeated written letter or letters.

While such explanations may be relevant for omissions in manuscripts, they are hardly relevant to edited commentaries where presumably editors have corrected such errors. The reason for the absence of a certain word or sentence in any commentary is usually inexplicable. Hence it is not useful to use the `cause` attribute. To represent the absence of a segment of the base text in the commentary, an empty `rdg` element is used, for example, as follows:

On *A.* 1.1.51 उरण्रपरः, while explaining the importance of the first word उः in the sūtra, the *KV.* as in the Osmania edition gives two counterexamples, खेयम् and गेयम्. Both the *NY.* and *PM.* witness and explain the first counterexample. The text of the *NY.* quotes the example and states its derivation as follows: खेयमिति। ई च खनः इति क्यप्। इकारश्चान्तादेशः। आद्गुणः।.[1] The *PM.* says: खेयमिति। ई च खनः।. They then both proceed directly to the derivation of the counterexample to the second word in the sūtra, सौधातकिः, skipping any mention or discussion of the word गेयम् given in the Osmania edition. The fact that both commentaries proceed from the explanation of the first example relevant to the first word in the sūtra directly to discussion relevant to the second word in the sūtra implies that the second counterexample on the first word in the Osmania edition was not in the text of the *KV.* referred to by the *NY.* and *PM.* The omission of the second word by the commentators is represented by an empty `rdg` element as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.51'>
  <lem>geyam</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny pm'/>
```

[1]We cite the text of the Osmania editions with sandhi as is but drop quotes and references, and use only the daṇḍa as punctuation.

```
</app>
```

3.3 Problem in lemmatizing words as examples

It is not always appropriate to select individual words as the unit of a lemma. Frequently sentences are used as examples, particularly where interword phonetic changes are demonstrated or where syntax is relevant. Each such example should be understood as a single unit rather than as a series of individual words. For instance, *A.* 1.1.12 अदसो मात् terms प्रगृह्य a vowel ई or ऊ preceded by a म् in forms of the demonstrative pronoun अदस्, thereby preventing by *A.* 6.1.125 sandhi with a following vowel such as would occur by *A.* 6.1.77. If *A.* 1.1.12 did not include the word अदसः, then any vowel ई or ऊ preceded by a म् would be termed प्रगृह्य and not undergo sandhi. The *KV.* on this rule shows the importance of the word अदसः by citing two counterexamples: शम्यत्र and दाडिम्यत्र. If each of these counterexamples were represented as a sequence of two individual words with sandhi analyzed शमी अत्र, दाडिमी अत्र, as currently in the sandhi-analyzed digital edition, the significance of the counterexamples would vanish. Hence, sandhi is restored in these and similar cases, and each such example is treated as a single lemma.

3.4 Problems in lemmatizing altered sequences of examples

The *KV.* cites two examples on *A.* 1.1.51: कर्ता and हर्ता. The order of the examples is significant in establishing the correct text; hence how that order is attested in both manuscripts and commentaries is pertinent. The *NY.* quotes these examples in the same order as कर्ता। हर्ता इति before further explaining each form. If there were a variant that inserted another example between these two examples, then certainly that variant would be post-*NY.* It would be possible to represent each of these examples in a separate `app` element and to represent an addition by an `app` element between them that pairs a `rdg` element with an empty `lem` element. Conversely, it would be possible to represent an omission by an `app` element that pairs a `lem` element with an empty `rdg` element. However, such a method is more cumbersome and generally not adopted in critical editing. Hence, where the sequence of examples is an issue showing some variation in the commentaries, the sequence is represented by tagging those examples in a single `app` element.

```
<app loc='A1.1.51'>
```

```
  <lem wit='ny'>kartA hartA</lem>
</app>
```

Similarly, in many cases it is simpler and more comprehensible to annotate variants of a sentence by taking the whole sentence as a single unit rather than its phrases or individual words as units. For example, on *A.* 1.1.57, the Osmania edition reads तुकि कर्तव्ये न स्थानिवद् भवति। and the *NY.* reads तुकि न स्थानिवद्भवतीति। Since positive readings are reported as well as variants, there are three ways to report this reading. One way is to tag every word and report the absence of the word कर्तव्ये as an omission. The second way would be to tag the phrase तुकि कर्तव्ये, and the third would be to tag the entire sentence. Under either of the first two methods, we still require `app` elements to represent the support of the manuscripts for the other words or phrase in the sentence. Hence it is simpler to tag the whole sentence as a single unit and to treat the reading available in the *NY.* as a single variant as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.57'>
  <lem>tuki kartavye na sTAnivat Bavati</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny'>tuki na sTAnivat Bavati</rdg>
</app>
```

Moreover, it is often the case that if an edition selects small units such as individual words and represents variants in the form of the omission of those words, the reader requires more effort to understand what the exact reading of the witness is because he has to reconstruct the sentence from fragments. Sanskrit commentators themselves describe such additional effort as prolixity of understanding (प्रतिपत्तिगौरव). Thus, we tag the data on the level of the word, phrase, or sentence according to the demand of the situation. The following are a couple of additional examples of the omission of words handled as variants of phrases or sentences.

Under *A.* 1.1.47, the Osmania edition reads स्थाने-योग-प्रत्ययपरत्वस्य अयम् अपवादः। The *PM.* omits the word अयम् and reads स्थानेयोगप्रत्ययपरत्वस्यापवादः। Instead of representing this omission in three `app` elements, the first and third taking स्थानेयोगप्रत्ययपरत्वस्य and अपवादः as lemmata with the *PM.* as witness, and the second with अयम् as lemma and an empty `rdg` element with the `PM.` as witness, we treat the whole sentence as a single variant and tag it in a `lem` element under a single `app` element as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.47'>
  <lem>sTAneyogapratyayaparatvasya ayam apavAdaH</lem>
```

```
  <rdg wit='pmvar'>sTAneyogapratyayaparatvasya apavAdaH</rdg>
</app>
```

On *A.* 1.1.48 the *KV.* reads: रै अतिरि। नौ अतिनु। The *NY.* reads अतिरि। अतिनु इति। According to the Osmania edition, the *KV.* supplies the examples अतिरि and अतिनु with the base words रै and नौ of the final constituents of the compounds which undergo replacement of their final vowels with a short vowel by *A.* 1.2.47. Both the *NY.* and *PM.* omit these base words and attest only the examples. This can be represented in three ways: (1) by taking each word individually and representing रै and नौ as omitted, (2) by taking the set of both examples as a single unit and representing the omission of these two base words as one variant, or (3) by the medial course of taking each set of base word plus example as a unit and representing the omission of the base word in each as a variant consisting of just the example. Here we chose the third course and placed each set of base word and example in a `lem` element under an `app` element and the reading in a `rdg` element witnessed by the *NY.* and *PM.* as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.48'>
  <lem>rE atiri</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny pm'>atiri</rdg>
</app>
<app loc='A1.1.48'>
  <lem>nO atinu</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny pm'>atinu</rdg>
</app>
```

3.5 Difference in order

On *A.* 1.1.47 the Osmania edition has three examples: विरुणद्धि, मुञ्चति, and पयांसि. The *NY.* has the variant रुणद्धि without the preverb वि instead of विरुणद्धि, and places this example last in an order different from that of the Osmania edition: मुञ्चति, पयांसि, and finally रुणद्धि. Two differences are relevant: the change in the order of examples, and a variant for one of them. As above, these differences could be represented as an omission and an addition. However, it is simpler to tag all three words in the *KV.* in a single `lem` element under one `app` element, to treat the reading in the *NY.* as a single variant, and to record it in a single `rdg` element.

```
<app loc='A1.1.47'>
  <lem>viruRadDi . muYcati . payAMsi .</lem>
```

```
    <rdg wit='ny'>muYcati . payAMsi . ruRadDi</rdg>
  </app>
```

3.6 Inferring readings from explanations

Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta often provide explanations that permit one to infer that they had certain readings of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* even though they do not directly cite the reading. For example, the Osmania edition on *A.* 1.3.63, आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञो ऽनुप्रयोगस्य, cites two examples: ईक्षाञ्चक्रे and ईहाञ्चक्रे. The *NY.* comments on these examples as follows:

> ईक्षाञ्चक्रे इत्यादि। ईक्ष दर्शने। ईह चेष्टायाम्। ऊह वितर्के। लिट्। इजादेः इत्यादिनाऽऽम्। आमः इति लेर्लुक्।
> ईक्षाञ्चक्रे etc. After the roots ईक्ष् 'see', ईह् 'strive', and ऊह् 'conjecture', the affix लिट् is introduced (by *A.* 3.2.115); आम् is introduced by *A.* 3.1.36 इजादेश्च गुरुमतो ऽनृच्छः; and the affix लिट् is deleted by *A.* 2.4.81 आमः.

Here the *NY.* refers to three verbal roots, namely ईक्ष्, ईह्, and ऊह्. The Osmania edition gives only two forms which are derived from the roots ईक्ष् and ईह्. The citation of the additional verbal root ऊह् in the *NY.* is relevant to the form ऊहाञ्चक्रे which must have been an additional example. Hence the text of the *KV.* received by the *NY.* must have had three examples, the third of which the established text in the Osmania edition lacks. We tag such an inferred reading in the same way we tag a direct reading. An addition is tagged conversely to the way an omission is tagged by providing an empty `lem`-element with an associated reading in a separate `app`-element (cf. §3.2). Thus the present case is tagged as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.3.67'>
  <lem wit='ny pm'>IkzAYcakre</lem>
</app>
<app loc='A1.3.67'>
  <lem/>
  <rdg wit='ny'>UhAYcakre</rdg>
</app>
```

Similarly, under *A.* 1.4.20 अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि, the *KV.* explains the purpose of the rule in the following words: भपदसञ्ज्ञाधिकारे विधानात् तेन मुखेन साधुत्वमयस्मयादीनाम् विधीयते। 'By means of the inclusion of this rule in the section headed by the terms पद and भ, the fact that the words included in the

list beginning with अयस्मय are correct is provided.' In this explanation, the Osmania includes the phrase तेन मुखेन. The *NY.* comments on this sentence as follows: कथं पुनरेषां साधुत्वं विधीयत इत्याह भपदसंज्ञाधिकारे इत्यादि। द्वारम्। मुखम्। उपाय इत्यनर्थान्तरम्। 'In answer to the question, "But how is the validity of these words established?" he says, "By means of the inclusion of this rule in the section headed by the terms पद and भ etc." द्वार 'door', मुख 'mouth', उपाय 'means' — there is no difference in meaning. Because of the fact that the words मुख and उपाय follow the word द्वार, they may serve to explain the latter. In that case, the word मुख would not be a quotation from the base text. Hence, Jinendrabuddhi's comment may indicate that the word द्वार was read instead of the word मुख in the version of the *KV.* available to him. The sentence in the reading received by Jinendrabuddhi would then have been the following: भपदसञ्ज्ञाधिकारे विधानात्तेन द्वारेण साधुत्वमयस्मयादीनां विधीयते। The *PM.* demonstrates that this supposition is correct and that Haradatta received the same reading as Jinendrabuddhi. For Haradatta states यदि सञ्ज्ञा विधीयेत अानन्तर्याद्भसञ्ज्ञाविधानद्वारेणैव निपातनं स्यात् ...भपदसंज्ञाधिकारे इत्यादि। द्वारम् उपायः। 'If this rule provided a term, due to the fact that it occurs just after (the provision of the term भ in *A.* 1.4.18), mention would be made only of words that occur by the provision of the term भ. The term पद would not occur, nor would the conjunction of the terms भ and पद. ...भपदसंज्ञाधिकारे etc. The word द्वार means उपाय.' The *PM.* explicitly mentions the word द्वारेण and does not mention the word मुख at all. Instead it explains the word द्वार by the word उपाय. Hence, the *PM.* clarifies the statement in the *NY.* and must be based on the same text that inspired the statement in the *NY.* Although neither Jinendrabuddhi nor Haradatta refers to the word द्वारेण directly as a citation by using the word इति after it, their comments are a direct indication of a variant of the reading in the Osmania edition. We represent this case as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.4.20'>
  <lem>muKena</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny pm'>dvAreRa</rdg>
</app>
```

The following is another case where Haradatta's comments imply a variant reading. Under *A.* 1.4.3 यू स्त्राख्यौ नदी, the *KV.* explains the word यू in the sūtra as ई च ऊ च यू. The *PM.* quotes this statment in the *KV.* and further says, क्वचित्तु विभक्त्यन्तमेव पठ्यते 'But in some places the form is read ending in a nominal termination.' This statement indicates that the nominative dual

form य्वौ was read in some manuscript available to Haradatta. We represent this inferred reading in the apparatus as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.4.3'>
  <lem wit='ny pm'>I ca U ca yU</lem>
  <rdg wit='pm' type='kvacit'>yv0</rdg>
</app>
```

3.7 Mistakes in the editions of the commentaries

Unfortunately the editions of the *NY.* and *PM.* include mistakes. We have discovered errors of mistaken sandhi analysis, mistaken sentence division, and mistaken quotation in our work so far. The following are three examples.

On *A.* 1.1.39, there is a set of counterexamples: आधये, चिकीर्षवे, and कुम्भकारेभ्यः. The Osmania edition of the *NY.* reads चिकीर्षवः इति। At first glance, it seems that this is a variant for चिकीर्षवे. चिकीर्षवे is the dative singular of the nominal base चिकीर्षु, and चिकीर्षवः is the nominative plural. The description of the form in the *NY.* is of the dative singular. The *NY.* explicitly states that the form is a dative singular of the nominal base चिकीर्षु, formed by applying the fourth-triplet nominal termination ङे and the गुण replacement of the final vowel उ by *A.* 7.3.111 घेर्ङिति. Thus the nominative plural form चिकीर्षवः does not fit the description given by the *NY.*, and the correct form is चिकीर्षवे. Hence there is no variant for the word चिकीर्षवे in *KV.* in the text of the *NY.*

How did the erroneous word चिकीर्षवः come to be found in the edition of the *NY.*? The editors of the Osmania editions often analyze sandhi in an attempt to be helpful to readers. Their original manuscripts must all have read चिकीर्षव इति with regular sandhi. In the Osmania edition of the *NY.*, the editors regularly analyze sandhi of examples and quotations followed by इति and place them in quotation marks. The sandhi of चिकीर्षव इति can be analyzed in two ways: चिकीर्षवे इति and चिकीर्षवः इति. Thus wrong sandhi dissolution created what appears to be a variant in the *NY.* when in fact the text has no such variant. On the basis of internal evidence, we infer the correct reading and report it as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.39'>
  <lem wit='ny pm'>cikIrzave</lem>
</app>
```

The same sandhi error is made by the editors of the Osmania edition of the *NY.* on *A.* 1.1.67. The Osmania edition of the *KV.* states तस्मात् इति

पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति। न पूर्वस्य।. Here the Sanskrit library sandhi-analyzed text reads पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देशे in the locative. The Osmania edition of the *NY.* states तस्मात् इति। पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देशः इति। First of all there should not be a full-stop after इति in the phrase तस्मात् इति. Moreover the sandhi-dissolution पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देशः इति is wrong. As in the preceding example, the proper dissolution is पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देशे as in the Sanskrit Library's sandhi-analyzed text. Hence we do not report this case as a variant, but take it as support for the text of the *KV.* as analyzed in the Sanskrit Library edition and report it as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.67'>
  <lem wit='ny pm'>tasmAt iti paYcamyarTanirdeSe</lem>
</app>
```

On *A.* 1.1.56 the Osmania edition of the *NY.* includes an erroneous sentence break and erroneous indication of a quotation of the base text. The Osmania edition of the *KV.* reads न अल्विधिरनल्विधिः इत्यर्थः। In the Osmania edition of the *NY.*, Jinendrabuddhi's explanation of the compound अनल्विधि is edited as follows: स पुनः समासो मयूरव्यंसकादित्वात् समासं कृत्वा नञ्समासः कृतः। 'न अल्विधिरनल्विधिः' इति । The editors of the *NY.* put a daṇḍa after कृतः and put single quotes around न अल्विधिरनल्विधिः to indicate that it is a quotation from the *KV.* This is a mistake. Careful reading of the text indicates that the दण्ड should be removed and the passage ending with इति read as a single sentence as follows: स पुनः समासो मयूरव्यंसकादित्वात्समासं कृत्वा नञ्समासः कृतो नाल्विधिरनल्विधिरिति । "But that compound, formed because it is included in the list beginning with मयूरव्यंसक, is formed as a negative tatpuruṣa compound (नञ्समास): न 'not' अल्विधि 'a phonetic operation' = अनल्विधि." The cited phrase न अल्विधिरनल्विधिः is not a citation to the *KV.*; it does not refer to the base text. It is a typical compound analysis of a nañtatpuruṣa compound. Such an analysis may have been made originally by a commentator on the *KV.*, even by Jinendrabuddhi himself, rather than by the authors of the *KV.*. Hence without independent support from manuscripts, it should not be adopted in the text of the *KV.* on the basis of the explanation provided in the *NY.*. However, since the editors of the Osmania edition of the *KV.* have adopted the sentence न अल्विधिरनल्विधिः इत्यर्थः। in their base text, the editors of the Osmania edition of the *NY.* marked न अल्विधिः अनल्विधिः as a quotation from the base text. Unfortunately this is misleading. If it were a quotation from the base text it would have included the closing words इत्यर्थः। We do not accept that the

text of the *NY.* supports the reading न अल्विधिरनल्विधिः इत्यर्थः in the *KV.* and hence refrain from including it in our critical apparatus.

3.8 Discrepancies in quotations within different sections in the same commentary

There are many occasions where the commentary on the *KV.* on one sūtra cites text from the *KV.* on another sūtra. Both the *NY.* and *PM.* do this. We mark these cases as support or variants of the text they cite just as we do citations to the base text in commentaries on the cited base text under the same sūtra. If the citation does not differ from commentary on the base text on the same sūtra, we make no addition. However, if the citation constitutes a variant that differs from one under the base text on the same sūtra, or support for the reading of the base that received no support from the commentary on the base text on the same sūtra, we add an additional `rdg` element containing the new reading with a `source` attribute indicating the sūtra under which that reading was found.

For example, on *A.* 2.3.19, the Osmania edition of the *KV.* reads पितुरत्र क्रियादिसम्बन्धः शब्देनोच्यते। पुत्रस्य तु प्रतीयमान इति तस्याप्राधान्यम्। On *A.* 1.1.56, the *NY.* quotes the text exactly as given in the *KV.* on *A.* 2.3.19. However, while commenting on *A.* 2.3.19, instead of पुत्रस्य तु प्रतीयमान इति तस्याप्राधान्यम्, the *NY.* quotes पुत्रस्य तु प्रतीयमानत्वादप्राधान्यम्, adding the affix त्वात् and omitting इति तस्य. Thus the *NY.* gives two different readings for the same base text at two different places. We report both of these readings as follows:

```
<app loc='A2.3.19'>
  <lem wit='ny' source='A1.1.56'>pituH atra kriyAdisambanDaH Sabdena ucyate.
    putrasya tu pratIyamAnaH iti tasya aprADAnyam</lem>
  <rdg wit='ny'>putrasya tu pratIyamAnatvAt aprADAnyam</rdg>
</app>
```

4 Sample results

Below we report the results of 578 readings gleaned from the our tagged data of the third quarter of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*A.* 1.3). Indicated is the number of times the commentators agree with or differ from the base text, agree with or differ from each other, report, approve of or disapprove of variants.

1. Only the *NY.* agrees with the base text: 227
2. Only the *PM.* agrees with the base text: 131
3. The *NY.* and the *PM.* share the same reading which agrees with the base text: 155
4. Only the *NY.* differs from the base text: 24
5. Only the *PM.* differs from the base text: 23
6. The *NY.* and the *PM.* share the same reading which differs from the base text: 9
7. The *NY.* and the *PM.* each mention a reading which differs from the reading of the other: 6
8. The *PM.* is aware of variants: 9
9. The *PM.* received a different reading for which it suggests a better option: 1

Ten percent (10%) of the readings gleaned from the commentators in *A.* 1.3 support a change in the base text of the *KV.* The project of collecting readings from commentators, therefore, promises to contribute significantly to the establishment of a more correct text of the *KV.*

5 Conclusion

The issues discussed demonstrate the depth of understanding required to determine what each commentator must have read and the care required to represent that information accurately. The method of preparing a critical apparatus of readings of the *KV.* attested in the *NY.* and *PM.* described above provides a reliable and well-structured database of valuable information about the text of the *KV.* and its historical transmission that is both human and machine-readable. This database will serve as a valuable resource for producing a critical edition of the *KV.* The results of this project will also reveal the textual history of the *KV.* between when Jinendrabuddhi wrote his commentary in the eighth or ninth century, Haradatta wrote his in the thirteenth century and the more recent dates of the extant manuscripts of the text. The database will permit one to determine systematically how

much of the text of the *KV.* was known to each of the commentators. It will reveal how many variations occurred in the transmission of the text and how many readings have been lost to us in the course of time. The methods used in this project are applicable to similar philological work to prepare an edition and determine the textual history of any Sanskrit text with commentaries or indeed of any commented text extant in the form of manuscripts.

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From the Web to the desktop: IIIF-Pack, a document format for manuscripts using Linked Data standards

Timothy Bellefleur

Abstract: This paper describes the implementation of a document file format for the representation of the composite image, text, and additional data, focusing on the use case of manuscripts. The organizational methodology follows emerging standards for Linked Data, as well as some standards already in use by scholars and projects in Sanskrit Digital Humanities. It also presents a model for scholars in need of organizing this relevant data to begin to do so in a manner that facilitates future transition into online spaces.

1 Introduction

Textual scholars face a number of practical challenges when organizing and working with their materials in the digital space. While common, established formats exist to serve the needs of the individual artifacts of the process (principally images and text), few adequately provide for the compilation of these pieces, and fewer still for connections between them. As a result, scholars typically must make do with collections of related files, deficient formats, and even ad hoc strategies for organizing and referencing their data. These issues can be particularly severe for textual projects in Indology, which often deal with large amounts of data. Solutions to these sorts of challenges have been developed, but are targeted towards the Internet, where interconnected networks of disparate data resources are commonplace and the necessity of navigating through them requires both robust and extensible standards. However, as theoretically ideal as working in a networked online space might be, practical concerns of access, convenience, distribution, and

portability dictate that we still often require offline documents, even if those documents are of a particular composite variety.

In this paper, I describe the implementation of a document file format for the representation of the structured, composite image, text, and extensible additional data, focusing on the use-case of manuscripts. The organizational methodology follows emerging standards for Linked Data, employing the International Image Interoperability Framework (Appleby et al. 2017b), JSON-LD (Sporny, Kellogg, and Lanthaler 2014), and Web Annotation Data Model (Sanderson, Ciccarese, and Young 2017) standards as well as their related ontologies for data description and linking. It also incorporates some standards already in use by scholars and projects in Sanskrit Digital Humanities, such as the XML-based Text Encoding Initiative Guidelines (TEI Consortium 2017) for textual representation.

The overall objectives of this project are two-fold. First, it presents an offline-friendly document format that can serve in many cases as a replacement for composite document containers such as Adobe Corporations' Portable Document Format (PDF) while being immediately more extensible for the inclusion of textual and other related data as well as interconnections between the document components. Second, it presents a model for scholars in need of organizing this relevant data to begin to do so in a manner that facilitates future transition into online spaces with as little friction as possible.

To provide a specific use case for this project: In Dr. Adheesh Sathaye's ongoing digital critical editing work on the medieval Sanskrit story collection *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, the primary dataset includes scans or photographs of some 90 manuscripts in several different Indic scripts along with electronic text transcriptions using IAST romanization. Thus far, the most convenient solution for organizing and storing these resources has been to compile the manuscript images into PDF files, to keep each transcription as a separate file, and to annotate each folio in the transcription to its corresponding PDF page number. While this method is simple enough to implement and requires no special software besides Adobe Acrobat, it is not ideal for a number of reasons. Links between text and images are defined, but there is no easy way to navigate from one to the other; despite being representations of the same text (facsimile image and electronic text), the files for each representation of a manuscript are essentially isolated from each other. The PDF format—however ubiquitous and relatively efficient it functions as a simple multi-image file format—is difficult to extend, parse, and embed

into other programs, as well as relying on commercial software for optimal creation and editing. As retrieval of specific folio images, linking textual transcription data more directly with these images and navigating these links becomes necessary, it is likely that the project will need to abandon its current PDF-based scheme. Adopting existing standards for Linked Data serves the project's goal of describing its data and relationships between that data in a well-defined, extensible way, where it will come to include editorial secondary data in an eventual online space. However, even in their simplest useful implementations, these standards currently do not provide comparable simplicity or convenience to that of a single, editable document file. Furthermore, implementing an online-only method of storage, retrieval, and editing enforces its own complexities and restrictions on interacting with the data, especially since the primary data objects can be conceived of simply as discrete documents of text and image data. By adapting Linked Data models to the extent necessary for use in an offline idiom, we can maintain and even increase ease of use for this project (and other document-centric projects) while simultaneously employing the same methodologies used in online spaces.

2 Background

The term Linked Data comes from the World Wide Web Consortium's Semantic Web project and has come to encompass a variety of standards for identifying, describing, representing, and exchanging structured data and the relationships between this data using standard Web technologies. Linked Data formats follow the model of the Resource Description Framework (RDF), which represents data in a graph of resources (nodes or vertices) and the relationships (or edges) between them. A basic premise of Linked Data is that every node should possess a unique URI (Uniform Resource Identifier, like a web address), which may be used to retrieve it or information about it or be used as an unambiguous reference to the resource by other objects. Description of the information in these resources is standardized by the use of a variety of different controlled vocabularies (widely referred to as "ontologies") which each define a set of terms and the interpretation of their values.[1] A number of syntax notations exist for serializing

[1] Among the most widespread of these ontologies is the Dublin Core Metadata Initiative Terms for general metadata (DCMI Usage Board 2012, also used widely in digital libraries

these RDF graphs in existing common formats used in data interchange such as XML (via RDF/XML) and JSON (via JSON-LD). Employing this model, further standards have been developed for the representation of specific complex data structures in a well-defined manner. Among these, the International Image Interoperability Framework and the Web Annotations Data Model are central to the design of this project.

The International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) is a comprehensive Linked Data standard providing a core model for representing image collections in the JSON-LD format (the Presentation API), as well as a set of additional APIs for dealing with the querying and presentation of these resources. IIIF resources may be described in terms of their often-multiple structural and logical arrangements and divisions and extensively linked with related resources such as text transcriptions and annotations. These linkages are facilitated through the use of the World Wide Web Consortium's Web Annotations Data Model, which defines a schema for creating detailed metadata about and relationships between resources, as well as specifying a flexible set of methods for targeting specific portions of a given resource relevant to the annotation or relationships involved.

In the IIIF's core model (see Figure 1), a document consists of a series of virtual canvases onto which content such as images are associated by means of annotations (using the Web Annotation Data Model). These canvases are organized into one or more sequences that provide a logical ordering. Although each of these component resources has its own unique identifier, a set of required structural resources is defined within a single manifest resource which also contains overall metadata for the document. Additional resource types such as collections (groupings of manifests), ranges (groupings of canvases), annotation lists (collections of annotation data), and layers (groupings of annotation lists) provide logical structures for organizing associated data. In some cases, these additional resources may be defined directly in the manifest. However, most resources representing data beyond the basic structure of a document are defined externally and their identifiers referenced in the manifest so that they may be retrieved as necessary. The most ubiquitous of these external resources are annotation lists, which contain all annotations and resource linkages for canvases besides the basic associated images.

and archival studies), the Simple Knowledge Organization System for classification and taxonomy (Miles and Bechhofer 2009), and the Friend of a Friend ontology for describing persons and agents (Brickley and Miller 2014).

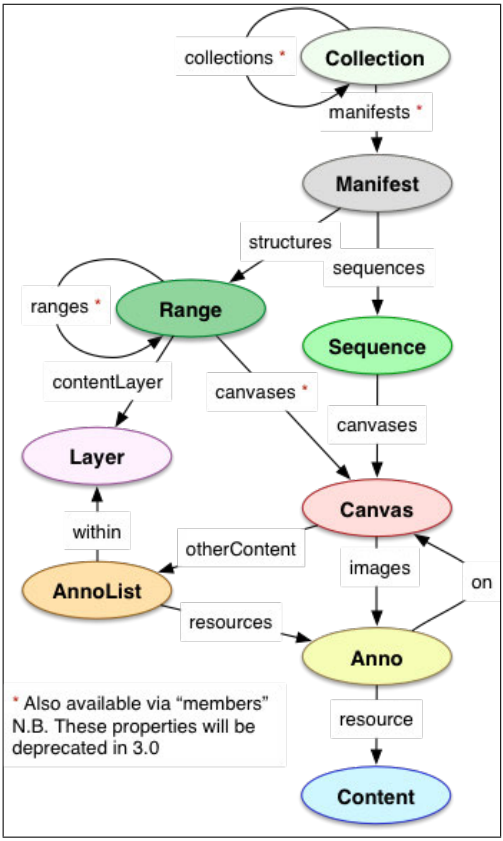


Figure 1
IIIF resource hierarchy (Appleby et al. 2017b).

The IIIF model satisfies all the basic needs of a structured, image-based document, much like Adobe's Portable Document Format but in a more easily parseable and extensible way. For composite documents like manuscripts, which may not only have multiple divisions and organizational structures but also associated transcription data, the advantages of the IIIF become more pronounced. However, since it is designed for use online Linked Data services and to be efficient for large quantities of variable annotations and metadata, the IIIF specification only permits a limited number of resources to be fully described within its manifest and does not specify a method of packaging additional associated resources together. This leads to a significant quantity of individual resource files within an IIIF document's structure. For an online service, where these resources can be stored in a database or as a complex file structure that manages user queries, this poses a minimal challenge to accessibility in most cases. However, if a user wishes to retrieve a document's entire collection of resources all at once, a solution must be devised. It is a primary aim of this paper to propose such a method that bridges the divide between complex online structure and simple document files while maintaining the benefits of the IIIF model.

3 IIIF-Pack Format Structure

The format proposed here, provisionally named IIIF-Pack, provides a method for packaging an IIIF resource into a single file along with its related parts and optional external resources. Taking inspiration from the OpenDocument (Durusau and Brauer 2011) and Microsoft Office Open XML (ISO/IEC 2012) formats, the separate resources are compiled together under a well-defined file and folder structure using the ubiquitous Zip archive format originally developed by PKWARE and implemented widely in open-source libraries such as Zlib (Gailly and Adler 2017). This file archive strategy solves the issue of compiling numerous files as well as providing fast, adequate compression for text-based resources and an index through which individual files may be efficiently extracted, appended, or removed from the archive container. While the internal path structure of the Zip format does not rely on the order of files it contains—this is managed by the central directory section at the end of the file—it is prudent that the IIIF-Pack format prioritizes storing static resources at the beginning of the archive to facilitate performant modification of its contents.

Rather than identifying individual resources with URIs according to Internet-style addresses, identifiers for resources within the IIIF-Pack file are defined as absolute pathnames, with the root of the archive acting as the root of the virtual path. IIIF resources within this structure follow the recommended nomenclature for given resource types (see Figure 2) with the leading `{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}` segments omitted.[2] All resources types except "content"[3] are assumed to be in the JSON-LD graph description format. Whenever one IIIF resource is defined within another, such as in the manifest, these are loaded into the resource graph along with their parent and become directly accessible by their identifier name. Where a resource may be requested by its identifier but not already present within the loaded graph, the local file extension `.json` is assumed by the parser and the file is dereferenced from the archive. Accordingly, the document manifest is stored in the root of the archive as `manifest.json` and assigned the URI `/manifest`.

By directly adopting the IIIF's organizational model, IIIF-Pack benefits from more than simply a standardized method of description designed for complex document structures. It also facilitates easy translation between both online and offline spaces for projects that may want to transition at some future point. In that case, all that is required is to extract the files and add the appropriate `{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}` to each resource's identifier. This process also functions in reverse, should a project wish to package an existing IIIF resource into a single document file. Furthermore, it remains closely compatible with software developed to work with the IIIF standards.

For the initial use case of IIIF-Pack as a document format for manuscripts, the two principal types of content resources are images and text transcriptions. In virtually all cases, images make up the largest bulk of the data in a document, and as such, efficient image compression strategies are critical. While the IIIF Presentation API does not specify a restricted set of image formats to be associated with its canvases, the IIIF Image API (Appleby et al. 2017a) identifies seven commonly-supported formats which

[2]Implementing IIIF collections in a single package is certainly possible as well, though not explored here. In this case, the IIIF document "`identifier`" segment of the path would need to be defined and retained.

[3]The IIIF considers "Content" type resources to be any internal resources that are not IIIF structural resources or annotations. In practice this usually means images, but may include additional associated data.

Resource	URI Pattern
Collection	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/collection/{name}
Manifest	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/manifest
Sequence	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/sequence/{name}
Canvas	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/canvas/{name}
Annotation	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/annotation/{name}
AnnotationList	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/list/{name}
Range	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/range/{name}
Layer	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/layer/{name}
Content	{scheme}://{host}/{prefix}/{identifier}/res/{name}.{format}

Figure 2
IIIF recommended URI patterns (Appleby et al. 2017b).

users may want to extract from a document: JPEG, TIFF, PNG, GIF, JPEG2000, PDF, and WebP. The inclusion of PDF as an image format in this list is notable not only for its wide support but also because the PDF standard supports a variety of highly-efficient algorithms for compressing bi-level (black and white) images, in particular the JBIG2 standard (Ono et al. 2000). JBIG2 provides the highest lossless compression of bi-level images currently available by employing symbol recognition and arithmetic encoding and is thus invaluable in efficient storage of manuscript images, many of which may be acquired in black and white as photocopies or printouts of microfilm. Individual JBIG2 images may be stored in their own file containers with a minor increase in efficiency over single-image PDFs, however, this method is less well-supported, while all major PDF libraries support decoding the format.

For textual data resources, the prevailing schema in use in Sanskrit Digital Humanities is the Text Encoding Initiative's TEI Guidelines (TEI Consortium 2017) and related standards such as EpiDoc (Elliott et al. 2017). The SARIT project (Wujastyk et al. 2017) is one of the leading contribu-

tors to the adoption of this format in digital Indology today. These XML-based standards define the representation of tagged, annotated textual content, structure, and emendation in a variety of flexible ways. Associating a given part of an XML document to an IIIF canvas is effectively accomplished using the Web Annotations Data Model's selector system, which supports identifier-based selection through the use of XPath (Robie, Dyck, and Spiegel 2017), CSS-style selectors (Çelik et al. 2011), and the XPointer Framework (Grosso et al. 2003), for which the TEI standard has contributed several registered schemes.

4 IIIF-Pack Example Document

The figures below describe a simple example IIIF-Pack file structure and its components, using the image and textual data for a single manuscript from the aforementioned *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* digital critical edition project. The manuscript data includes 217 folio images extracted from a PDF document into individual JBIG2-compressed files along with a single-file TEI XML transcription of the text. Figure 3 illustrates the file and folder structure inside the archive. Figure 4 illustrates the opening portion of the IIIF manifest file, including the full definition of the first canvas resource in the document. Figure 5 shows the annotation list for a single canvas, containing the association of transcription data with the manuscript folio it represents using XPointer selectors on the associated TEI document. Finally, Figure 6 contains the beginning of the definition file for the transcription layer resource, which groups together all of the individual annotation lists providing granular links to each folio's transcription. Although it is omitted from Figure 4, the manifest resource is also directly associated with an annotation list identifying the full TEI document as a transcription of the full IIIF resource. The resulting IIIF-Pack file is 20% smaller in size (9.3MB) than the image source PDF (11.8MB), despite including IIIF structural and annotation data as well as a text transcription.

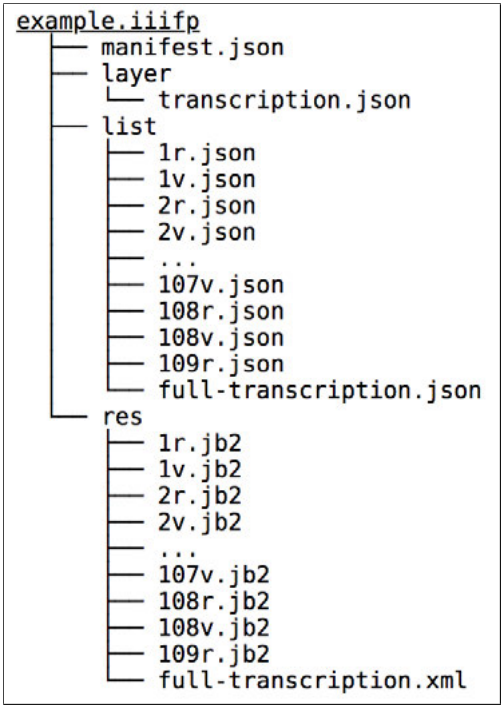


Figure 3
Example IIIF-Pack internal file layout.

Figure 4
Beginning of manifest file for example document.

```
{
  "@context": "http://iiif.io/api/presentation/2/context.json",
  "@id": "/list/1r",
  "@type": "sc:AnnotationList",
  "within": {
    "@id": "/layer/transcription",
    "@type": "sc:Layer"
  },
  "resources": [
    {
      "@type": "oa:Annotation",
      "motivation": "sc:painting",
      "resource": {
        "@id": "/res/full-
transcription.xml#xmlns(x=http://www.w3.org/2005/04/xpointer-schemes/)
x:range(x:left(//pb[@n='1r']),x:left(//front/node()[last()]))",
        "@type": "dctypes:Text",
        "format": "application/tei+xml"
      },
      "on": "canvas/1r"
    }
  ]
}
```


Figure 5

Annotation list for canvas of folio 1 (verso) in example document.


```
{
  "@context": "http://iiif.io/api/presentation/2/context.json",
  "@id": "/layer/transcription",
  "@type": "sc:Layer",
  "label": "TEI Transcription",

  "otherContent": [
    "/list/1r",
    "/list/1v",
    "/list/2r",
    "/list/2v",
    "/list/3r",
    "/list/3v",
    "/list/4r",
    "/list/4v",
    "/list/5r",
    "/list/5v",
    "/list/6r",
    "/list/6v",
    "/list/7r",
    "/list/7v",
    "/list/8r",
```

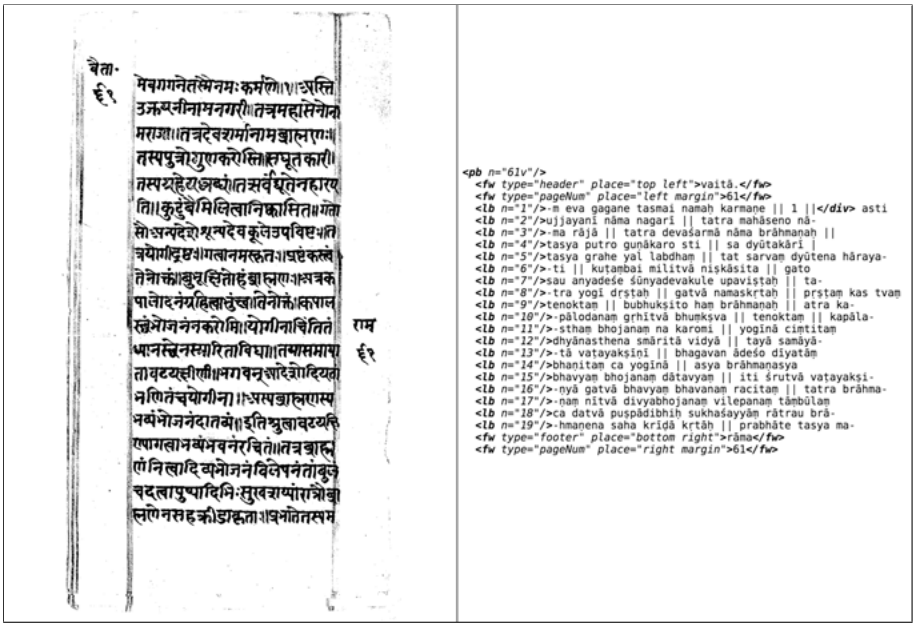

Figure 6

Beginning of transcription layer definition in example document.

5 Software Support

As with many Linked Data standards, general-use software tools for IIIF resources are fairly sparse. The most mature of these tools is Mirador, an open-source, web-based image and annotation viewer (Project Mirador Contributors 2017) designed for digital libraries and museums. The rerum.io project, based out of the Center for Digital Humanities at St. Louis University, has begun to develop online tools and services for facilitating user onboarding as part of their early adoption of the IIIF model (Cuba, Hegarty, and Haberberger 2017). The most noteworthy of these is a tool for generating IIIF manifests and other Presentation API structures from a list of images. Two actively maintained web server frameworks exist for serving images according to the IIIF Image API specification, providing support for retrieving specific canvases or regions of IIIF resources in multiple formats. Overall, the state of the software suggests that while the IIIF standards have gained traction, there is still significant work to be done to broaden their scope of use. For the IIIF-Pack format, I have developed rudimentary parsing and viewing components in order to test its viability as a proof-of-concept. These include support for a separate JBIG2-format image decoder to eliminate the overhead of using single-page PDF files where JBIG2 compression is desired.

The development of two tools is critical to the success of this project: First, a cross-platform IIIF-Pack file viewer that can display the canvases along with their associated textual data according to the document's defined sequences and annotations (see mock-up in Figure 7). I am examining employing a subset of Mirador as a basis for this application using the cross-platform Electron framework (GitHub Inc. et al. 2017) employed widely in desktop software built on web technologies. The second tool simplifies the workflow of producing a complete IIIF resource structure from source images and transcriptions and packaging them into an IIIF-Pack file. Following these, a library that facilitates performant, in-place editing of the IIIF-Pack file's resources will provide the full suite of functionality for the document format. I expect these tools to begin public-facing testing by the first half of 2018 and plan to demonstrate them at the 17th World Sanskrit Conference in July.



```
<pb n="61v"/>
  <fw type="header" place="top left">vaitā.</fw>
  <fw type="pageNum" place="left margin">61</fw>
  <lb n="1"/>-m eva gagane tasmai namaḥ karmaṇe || 1 ||</div> asti
  <lb n="2"/>ujjayanī nāma nagarī || tatra mahāseno nā-
  <lb n="3"/>-ma rājā || tatra devaśarmā nāma brāhmaṇaḥ ||
  <lb n="4"/>tasya putro guṇākaro sti || sa dyūtakārī |
  <lb n="5"/>tasya grahe yal labdhaṃ || tat sarvaṃ dyūtena hāraya-
  <lb n="6"/>-ti || kuṭambai militvā niṣkāsita || gato
  <lb n="7"/>sau anyadeśe śūnyadevakule upaviṣṭaḥ || ta-
  <lb n="8"/>-tra yogī dṛṣṭaḥ || gatvā namaskṛtaḥ || pṛṣṭaṃ kas tvaṃ
  <lb n="9"/>tenoktaṃ || bubhukṣito haṃ brāhmaṇaḥ || atra ka-
  <lb n="10"/>-pālodanaṃ gṛhītvā bhuṃkṣva || tenoktaṃ || kapāla-
  <lb n="11"/>-sthaṃ bhojanaṃ na karomi || yogīnā cimtitaṃ
  <lb n="12"/>dhyānasthena smāritā vidyā || tayā samāyā-
  <lb n="13"/>-tā vaṭayakṣiṇī || bhagavan ādeśo diyatāṃ
  <lb n="14"/>bhaṇitaṃ ca yoginā || asya brāhmaṇasya
  <lb n="15"/>bhavyaṃ bhojanaṃ dātavyaṃ || iti śrutvā vaṭayakṣi-
  <lb n="16"/>-nyā gatvā bhavyaṃ bhavanaṃ racitaṃ || tatra brāhma-
  <lb n="17"/>-naṃ nītvā divyabhojanaṃ vilepanaṃ tāmbūlaṃ
  <lb n="18"/>ca datvā puṣpādibhiḥ sukhaśayyāṃ rātrau brā-
  <lb n="19"/>-hmaṇena saha krīḍā kṛtāḥ || prabhāte tasya ma-
  <fw type="footer" place="bottom right">rāma</fw>
  <fw type="pageNum" place="right margin">61</fw>
```

Figure 7

Side-by-side view of manuscript folio image and its TEI-XML transcription.

6 Conclusion

While this project is in an early stage, I hope that its utility is already apparent. Textual scholars need not abandon the convenience of offline documents to benefit from advances in structuring and connecting their data. Given the promise of emerging new standards and the unfortunate state of existing document formats in meeting a variety of needs, some way of bringing current advances to bear on the practical needs of scholars is sorely needed. Furthermore, the broad extensibility of these standards leaves many additional possibilities left unexplored here—for example, the inclusion of digital stemmatic and other philological data, or metadata integration with growing online databases such as PANDiT (Bronner et al. 2017). By adopting Linked Data standards designed for the web, we may benefit from their manifest organizational proficiencies and future developments without requiring either that textual work happen natively online or that a significant reconception of the idea of a document takes place. In doing so, we can also prepare our work for the ongoing movement into interconnected online spaces in a less onerous, more effective way.

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New Vistas to study Bhartṛhari: Cognitive NLP

Jayashree Aanand Gajjam, Diptesh Kanojia *and* Malhar Kulkarni

Abstract: A sentence is an important notion in the Indian grammatical tradition. The collection of the definitions of a sentence can be found in the text *Vākyapadīya* written by *Bhartṛhari* in fifth century C.E. The grammarian-philosopher *Bhartṛhari* and his authoritative work *Vākyapadīya* have been a matter of study for modern scholars, at least for more than 50 years, since Ashok Aklujkar submitted his Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard University. The notions of a sentence and a word as a meaningful linguistic unit in the language have been a subject matter for the discussion in many works that followed later on. While some scholars have applied philological techniques to critically establish the text of the works of *Bhartṛhari*, some others have devoted themselves to exploring philosophical insights from them. Some others have studied his works from the point of view of modern linguistics, and psychology. Few others have tried to justify the views by logical discussions.

In this paper, we present a fresh view to study *Bhartṛhari*, and his works, especially the *Vākyapadīya*. This view is from the field of Natural Language Processing (NLP), more specifically, what is called Cognitive NLP. We have studied the definitions of a sentence given by *Bhartṛhari* at the beginning of the second chapter of *Vākyapadīya*. We have researched one of these definitions by conducting an experiment and following the methodology of silent-reading of Sanskrit paragraphs. We collect the Gaze-behavior data of participants and analyze it to understand the underlying comprehension procedure in the human mind and present our results. We evaluate the statistical significance of our results using the T-test and discuss the caveats of our work. We also present some general remarks on this experiment and the usefulness of this method for gaining more insights into the work of *Bhartṛhari*.

1 Introduction

Language is an integral part of the human communication process. It is made up of structures. There are sentences, which are made up of words, which in turn are made up of syllables. There has been a lot of discussion about which among these is a minimal meaningful unit in the language. The notions of a sentence and a word have been described in different fields of knowledge such as grammar, linguistics, philosophy, cognitive science, etc. Some provide a formal definition of a sentence, while others give the semantic definition. The *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya* schools of thought in Sanskrit literature hold some views about the nature of a sentence. The grammarian-philosopher *Bhartṛhari* enumerated eight definitions of a sentence given by early grammarians and *Mīmāṃsakas* in the second *Kāṇḍa* (Canto) of his authoritative work *Vākyapadīya*.

The question that how does a human being understand a sentence has been dealt with in the field of psycholinguistics for the last 20 years. Various studies conducted in the last decade have addressed this question by using several experimental methods. There are many off-line tasks[1] such as Grammaticality Judgement task, Thematic Role Assignment task, etc. which are helpful in examining how the language-users process the complete sentences. In addition to these off-line techniques, psycho-linguists have investigated a number of sophisticated on-line language comprehension methodologies. Some of them are behavioral methods such as Acceptability Judgement, Speed-Accuracy Trade-off, Eye-Movement Behavior, Self-Paced Reading, etc. Some are neuro-cognitive methods such as electroencephalogram (EEG),[2] Event-Related brain Potentials (ERPs),[3] functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI),[4] Positron Emission Tomography (PET)[5] etc.

[1]These methodologies are called as 'off-line' because they study the comprehension process after the participant performs the task, most of which are the pen-paper methods.

[2]EEGs measure the electrical activities of the brain while performing a task by applying electrode/s to the scalp.

[3]ERPs provide a very high temporal resolution. The spontaneous electrical activity of the brain is measured non-invasively by means of electrodes applied to the scalp (Choudhary 2011).

[4]fMRIs are BOLD (Blood Oxygen Level Dependent) techniques and used while studying both neurologically healthy adults and people with reading disabilities, mostly the brain-damaged patients.

[5]PETs are the neuroimaging techniques which are based on the assumptions that areas of high radioactivity are correlated with the brain activities.

which study the ongoing or real-time cognitive procedure while a participant performs a task.

This paper addresses one of the eight definitions given by *Bhartṛhari*. The main goal is to study this definition from the cognitive point of view i.e. to study the underlying comprehension procedure in human beings taking this definition as the foundation. It also allows us to find the cases of the linguistic behavior of the readers in which this definition holds true. We use an Eye Tracker device to collect the Gaze (Eye) Movement data of readers during the procedure of silent reading[6] of Sanskrit paragraphs.

Gaze Tracking: An Introduction

Gaze tracking is the process of measuring a gaze point or the movement of the participants' eyes. The device which measures the eye-movements is called as Eye-Tracker. We use an 'SR-Research Eyelink-1000 Plus'[7] which mainly comprises of two PCs (Host PC and Display PC), a camera and an infrared illuminator. It performs the monocular eye-tracking with a sampling rate of 500Hz (one sample/2 millisecond). The Host PC is used by the supervisor for navigating through the experiment. A supervisor can set up the camera, perform the eye-calibration process, check and correct the drifts, present the paragraphs to the readers, and record the session on the Host PC. Similarly, Display PC is used by the reader for reading the paragraphs and answering the questions. The pupil of the participant is captured by the camera and the eye-movements are captured by the infrared illuminator. These eye-movements are mapped to the data that is presented to the participant on the Display PC with the help of some image processing algorithms.

Eye-Tracker records several eye-movement parameters on the Area of Interest (AOI) such as *Pupil size*, *Fixations* and *Saccades*. An AOI is an area of the display that is *of the concern*, like a word or a sentence or a paragraph, which in our case is a word. A *Fixation* is when the gaze is focused

[6]The oral and silent reading represents the same cognitive process. However, readers decrease processing time on difficult words in silent as compared to oral reading. (Juel and Holmes 1981). For the current paper, we focus on the silent-reading methodology of the paragraphs.

[7]More information can be found at the link: `http://www.sr-research.com`

on a particular interest area for 100-500 milliseconds. A *Saccade*[8] is the movement of gaze between two fixations which occurs at an interval of 150-175 milliseconds.[9] Specifically, due to its high sampling rate, Eye-Tracker is also able to capture *Saccadic-Regressions* and similarly *Progressions*. A *Regression* a.k.a *Back-tracking* is a backward-moving saccadic movement in which the reader looks back to something that they had read earlier. On the contrary, a *Progression* is a forward-moving saccadic path.

The availability of embedded inexpensive eye-trackers on hand-held devices has come close to reality now. This opens avenues to get eye-tracking data from inexpensive mobile devices from a huge population of online readers non-intrusively, and derive cognitive features. For instance, *Cogisen:* has a patent (ID: EP2833308-A1)[10] on eye-tracking using an inexpensive mobile webcam.

Till date, there has been lots of research which have been carried out using eye movement data on various tasks such as reading (texts, poetry, musical notes, numerals), typing, scene perception, face perception, mathematics, physics, analogies, arithmetic problem-solving and various other dynamic situations (driving, basketball foul shooting, golf putting, table tennis, baseball, gymnastics, walking on uneven terrain, mental rotation, interacting with the computer screens, video game playing, etc.) and media communication (Lai et al. 2013) etc. *Reading researcher*s have applied eye-tracking for behavioral studies as surveyed by Rayner (1998). Recently, some researchers have even used this technique to explore learning processes in complex learning contexts such as emergent literacy, multimedia learning, and science problem-solving strategies.

In Section 2, we discuss the related work in the fields of Sanskrit grammatical tradition and cognitive NLP. In the next Section 3, we present our approach which focuses on the experimentation details and we present the analysis and results in Section 4. Section 5 gives the evaluation of our work,

[8]The word 'Saccade' is a French-origin word. It was Luis Émile Javal (French eye specialist and a politician) who named the movement of the eyes as 'Saccades' for the first time in 19th C.

[9]As far as human anatomy is concerned, eyes are never still; there are small movements/tremors of the eyes all the time. They are called as 'Nystagmus' (Rayner 1998). These eye movements are involuntary and hence not measured by the machine. The movements of the eyes which are deliberate, occur at the interval of 150-175 ms and they are considered as the features for the analysis.

[10]`http://www.sencogi.com`

which is followed by the Section 6 on discussion. We conclude this paper in Section 7 by suggesting possible future work.

2 Related Work

In this section, we discuss the work that has been done on the notions of sentence and sentence-meaning by Indian and Western scholars in subsection 2.1. The studies that have been carried out in the fields of Cognitive NLP are presented in subsection 2.2. We also present a bird's eye view of our research area in the figure at the end of this section.

2.1 Sentence Definitions and Comprehension

Sanskrit grammatical tradition is started with *Pāṇini*'s *Ashtadhyayi*. *Pāṇini* in his work doesn't define a sentence explicitly. However, few modern scholars attribute a sentence as the base of the derivational process in *Pāṇini*'s grammar (Kiparsky and Staal 1969). This view is criticized by Houben (2008) and SD Joshi and Roodbergen (2008). According to some scholars, the notion of *Kāraka* (Huet 2006) or the notion of *Sāmarthya* (Deshpande 1987; Devasthali 1974) are *Pāṇini*'s contribution to the syntax. The latter view is opposed by Mahavir (1984). After *Pāṇini*, *Kātyāyana* who wrote *Vārttikas* on the rules of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gave two definitions of the sentence[11] (P.2.1.1 Vt.9) (A sentence is chiefly the action-word, accompanied by the particle, nominal words, and adjectives) and *ekatiṅ vākyaṃ (P.2.1.1 Vt.10) (a sentence is that [cluster of words] containing a finite verb [as an element]).* for the first time, which are said to be formal in their nature and not referring to the meaning content (Laddu 1980; Matilal 1966; Pillai 1971). Deshpande (1987) argued that *Kātyāyana*'s claim that each sentence must have a finite verb relates to the deeper derivational level and not to its surface expressions. Hence, a sentence may or may not contain a finite verb on the surface level and there can be a purely nominal sentence (Bronkhorst 1990; H. Coward 1976; Tiwari 1997). *Patañjali* in his *Mahābhāṣya* discussed the integrity of a sentence in terms of having only one finite verb. According to him, a sentence must have only one finite verb, and also purely nominal sentences may not be considered as complete. The word *asti* (is) should be understood in those sentences (Bronkhorst 1990). Modern scholars dis-

[11] *ākhyātaṃ sāvyayakārakaviśeṣaṇaṃ vākyaṃ*

cussed that a sentence having two identical finite verbs[12] doesn't militate against the integrity of a sentence (Deshpande 1987; Jha 1980; Laddu 1980; Pillai 1971).

Bhartṛhari, for the first time, deals with the semantic issues in the second *Kāṇḍa* i.e *Vākyakāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīya* (VP). We can find a comprehensive treatment on various theories of sentence and their meanings along with their philosophical discussions. He enumerates eight views on the notion of a sentence which are held by earlier theorists in India. The verse is:

Ākhyātaśabdaḥ saṅghāto jātiḥ saṅghātavartinī
Eko'navayaḥ śabdaḥ kramo buddhyanusaṃhṛtiḥ |
Padamādyaṃ pṛthaksarvaṃ padaṃ sākāṅkṣamityapi
Vākyaṃ prati matirbhinnā bahudhā nyāyavādinam || (VP.II.1-2)

The definitions are as follows: (1) *Ākhyātaśabdaḥ-* The verb, (2) *Saṅghātaḥ-* A combination of words, (3) *Jātiḥ saṅghātavartinī-* The universal in the combination of words, (4) *Eko'navayavaḥ śabdaḥ-* An utterance which is one and devoid of parts, (5) *Kramaḥ-* A sequence of words, (6) *Buddhyanusaṃhṛtiḥ-* The single whole meaning principle in the mind, (7) *Padamādyam-* The first word, and (8) *Pṛthak sarvam padam sākāṅkṣam-* Each word having expectancy for one another. These eight views on the sentence are held by earlier grammarians and *Mīmāṃsakas.* They look at the sentence from different angles depending upon the mental dispositions formed due to their discipline in different *Śāstras.*[13]

The definitions *jātiḥ saṅghātavartinī, eko'navayavaḥ śabdaḥ* and *buddhyanusaṃhṛtiḥ* can be categorized under *Bhartṛhari*'s theory of *Sphoṭa* which believes that a sentence is 'a single undivided utterance' and its meaning is 'an instantaneous flash of insight'. This definition is studied by various modern scholars in their respective works. (H. Coward 1976; Loundo 2015; Pillai 1971; Raja 1968; Sriramamurti 1980; Tiwari 1997). Some modern scholars have studied the theory of *Sphoṭa* in different perspectives. G. H. Coward (1973) showed the logical consistency and psychological experience[14] of *Sphoṭa* theory, while Houben (1989) compared *Bhartṛhari*'s

[12]The definition *ekatiṅ vākyaṃ* is explained by *Patañjali* by giving the illustration of *brūhi brūhi*, which indicates that a verb repeated is to be regarded as the same. *Kaiyyaṭa*, the commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya*, also takes the term *eka* as identical.

[13]*Avikalpe'pi vākyārthe vikalpā bhāvanāśrayāḥ |* (VP II.116)

[14]Coward argues that, according to traditional Indian *Yoga*, the *Sphoṭa* view of language is practically possible. It is both logically consistent and psychologically realizable.

Śabda to Saussure's theory of sign[15] (Houben 1989). Later on, Akamatsu (1993) tried to look at this theory in the philosophical and historical context of the linguistic theory in India.

In contrast with the theory of *Sphoṭa*, *Mīmāṃsaka*s hold the view that a syllable has a reality of its own and the word is a sum-total of the syllables and the sentence is only words added together. The remaining definitions such as *ākhyātaśabdaḥ, saṅghātaḥ, kramaḥ, padamādyam* and *pṛthak sarvam padam sākāṅkṣam* are categorized under this view. Various modern Indian scholars (Bhide 1980; Choudhary 2011; Gangopadhyay 1993; Iyer 1969; Jha 1980; Sriramamurti 1980) have discussed the compositionality of a sentence in modern times. This view is also studied by various Western psycholinguists such as Sanford and Sturt (2002), and criticized by Pagin (2009) who asserts that it is not enough to understand the meanings of the words to understand the meaning of the whole sentence. Studies by Foss and Hakes (1978), Davison (1984), Glucksberg and Danks (2013) and Levy et al. (2012) proved that the sequence is the important parameter in understanding the English sentence. Similar studies by McEuen (1946) and Davison (1984) have shown that people usually tend to skip the first word in the sentence unless it is semantically loaded.

We study the very first definition i.e. ***ākhyātaśabdaḥ*** which states that a single word *ākhyāta* ('The Verb') is the sentence. The explanation of this definition as given by *Bhartṛhari* himself in VP.II.326 suggests that if a mere verb denotes the definite means of the action (i.e. the agent and accessory) in the sentence then that verb should also be looked upon as a sentence.[16] In the introduction to the *Ambākartrī* commentary on the VP by Pt. Raghunatha Sarma, he discusses this view by giving examples such as *pidhehi*. He mentions that when someone utters the mere verb i.e. *pidhehi* ('Close' [imperative]), it also necessarily conveys the *karma* of the action which is *dvāram* ('the door'), in which case, the mere verb *idhehi* can be considered as a complete sentence[17] (Sarma 1980). This view is emphasized by later modern scholars by saying that if a linguistic string is to be considered as a sentence, it should have the expectancy on the level of the semantics and not

[15] Houben suggested that in both the works a purely mental signifier plays an important role.

[16] *ākhyātaśade niyataṃ sādhanaṃ yatra gamyate |*
tadapyekaṃ samāptārthaṃ vākyamityabhidhīyate ||" (VP.II.326)

[17] *pidhehīti …atra dvāramiti karmākṣepāt paripūrṇārthatve 'dvāraṃ pidhehi' iti vākyam bhavatyeva |*

just on the word-level (Laddu 1980; Pillai 1971). As stated by the commentator *Puṇyarāja*, this definition believes that the meaning of a sentence is of the nature of an action,[18] which means **the meaning of the finite verb becomes the chief qualificand in the cognition that is generated** and other words in the sentence confirm that understanding of a particular action[19] (Huet 2006; Pillai 1971). Moreover, as said in the commentary, this definition does not deny the status of the sentence of the linguistic string which contains other words besides the verb. But it emphasizes the fact that, sometimes a single verb can also convey the complete meaning, hence can be looked upon as a sentence.[20] Depending upon these views established by the commentary, we can explain the word ***ākhyātaśabdaḥ*** in both ways viz. the compound *ākhyātaśabdaḥ* is analyzed either as *ākhyātaḥ eva śabdaḥ* (i.e. *Karmadhāraya Samāsa-* 'The verb' [itself can also be considered as a sentence.]) or as *ākhyātaḥ śabdaḥ yasmin tat* (i.e. *Bahuvrīhi Samāsa-* 'the linguistic string consisting the verb' [is a sentence.]),[21] both of which are qualified as 'a sentence'. However, one cannot decide whether this definition leaves out purely nominal sentences when it comes to assign the status of the sentence.[22]

Some earlier work on this view in the field of Psycholinguistics such as McEuen (1946) proves that in the English language, the sentence cognition takes place even if the verb is unavailable. The same view is put forward later by Choudhary (2011). He showed that in verb-final languages such as Hindi, comprehenders do not wait for the verb in case they have not

[18] *riyā vākyārhtaḥ |*

[19] *Kriyā kriyāntarādbhinnā niyatādhārasādhanā |*
Prakrāntā pratipattṛruṇāṃ bhedaḥ sambodhahetavaḥ ||" (VP.II.414)

[20] *tatrākhyātaśabdo vākyamti vādinām ākhyātaśabda eva vākyamiti nābhiprāyaḥ …kintu kvacid ākhyātaśabdo'pi vākyam, yatra kārakaśabdaprayogaṃ vinā kevlākhyātaśabdaprayoge'pi vākyārthāvagatiḥ …* (*Ambākartrī on VP.II.1-2*)

[21] We, in this paper, have studied the latter view, and presented the sentences having verbs and other words as the stimuli to the participants. For studying the first view, which requires presenting the only-verb sentences, it would have led to the loss of context when it comes to the written language cognition. Hence, in stead of presenting only-verb sentences, we have dropped the agent-denoting word from the sentence, which would help us to find out, whether the verbs express their means of actions and are as comprehensible as the sentences having the complements too.

[22] We also tried to present these kind of sentences, to study if the nominal sentences are as much comprehensible as the sentences having verbs, or whether it amounts to the excessive cognitive load in the readers which makes them to consider the verb for the better understanding of it.

been reached to it yet but they process the sentence incrementally. The study by Osterhout, Holcomb, and Swinney (1994) showed that the verb has complement-taking properties. Hence, it is the major element in the procedure of sentence-comprehension.

Considering these studies as the motivation, we test the definition of the verb by using an experimental method i.e. by using readers' **Eye Movement Behavior** on the data which contains verbs, which contains purely nominal sentences and which lack the agents. We are aware that there might be some shortcomings with this definition. There can be the cases or situations in which this definition doesn't hold true or holds true partially.[23] *The aim of this paper is to find out the cases in which it does.* Hence, we carry out an experiment to find out the situation in which this definition is valid and also provide statistical evidence for the same.

2.2 Cognitive NLP

It is very clear from the vast number of studies that Eye Movement behavior can be used to infer cognitive processes (Groner 1985; Rayner 1998; Starr and Rayner 2001). *The eye is said to be the window into the brain* as quoted by Majaranta and Bulling (2014). Rayner (1998) has mentioned in his work that the reading experiments have been carried out in different languages such as English, French, Dutch, Hebrew, German (Clematide and Klenne 2013), Finnish, Japanese and Chinese etc. There are few studies on Indian languages such as Hindi (Ambati and Indurkhya 2009; Choudhary 2011; Husain, Vasishth, and Srinivasan 2014; Salil Joshi, Kanojia, and Bhattacharyya 2013) and on Telugu (Ambati and Indurkhya 2009). The writing style is mainly from left to right except for Hebrew (right to left). Khan, Loberg, and Hautala (2017) studied the eye movement behavior on Urdu numerals which is written bidirectionally. The orthography has been both horizontal and vertical (Japanese and Chinese). These works have been taken place at various levels of language such as typographical, orthographical, phonological (Miellet and Sparrow 2004), lexical (Husain, Vasishth, and Srinivasan 2014), syntactic (Fodor, Bever, and Garrett 1974), semantic, discourse, stylistic factors, anaphora and coreference (Rayner 1998). Few studies were conducted on fast readers versus poor readers, children

[23] Such as in poetry, some concern is also to be given to the sequence (*kramaḥ*) of the words. While learning a new language, every word including first word (*padamādyaṃ*) seems to play the major role, etc.

versus adults versus elderly adults, multilingual versus monolinguals (De Groot 2011), normal readers versus people with reading disabilities such as dyslexia, aphasia (Levy et al. 2012), brain damages or clinical disability (Rayner 1998), schizophrenia, Parkinson's disease (Caplan and Futter 1986) or oculomotor diseases. Various methodologies were followed such as eye contingent display change, moving window technique, moving mask technique, boundary paradigm, Naming task, Rapid Serial Visual Presentation (RSVP) versus Self-paced reading, reading silently versus reading aloud, etc.

The experiments that took place on reading have been used mainly to understand the levels underlying the comprehension procedure. Apart from that, a study for word sense disambiguation for the Hindi Language was performed by Salil Joshi, Kanojia, and Bhattacharyya (2013) where they discuss the cognitive load and difficulty in disambiguating verbs amongst other part-of-speech categories. They also present a brief analysis of disambiguating words based on different ontological categories. Martinez-Gómez and Aizawa (2013) use Bayesian learning to quantify reading difficulty using readers' eye-gaze patterns. Mishra, Bhattacharyya, and Carl (2013) proposes a framework to predict difficulty in translation using a translator's eye-gaze patterns. Similarly, A. Joshi et al. (2014) introduce a system for measuring the difficulties perceived by humans in understanding the sentiment expressed in texts. From a computational perspective Mishra, Kanojia, and Bhattacharyya (2016) predict the readers' sarcasm understandability, detects the sarcasm in the text (Mishra, Kanojia, Nagar, et al. 2017a) and analyze the sentiment in a given sentence (Mishra, Kanojia, Nagar, et al. 2016) by using various features obtained from eye-tracking.

Eye-tracking has been used extensively for Natural Language Processing (NLP) applications in the field of Computer Science, apart from the immense amount of studies done in the field of psycholinguistics. Mishra, Kanojia, Nagar, et al. (2017b) model the complexity of a scan path, and propose the quantification of lexical and syntactic complexity. They also perform sentiment and sarcasm classification (Mishra, Dey, and Bhattacharyya 2017) using neural networks using eye-tracking data via the use of a convolutional neural network (CNN) (LeCun et al. 1998). They refer to the confluence of attempting to solve NLP problems via cognitive psycholinguistics as *Cognitive NLP*.

Our method of analyzing eye-movement patterns in the Sanskrit language is the first of its kind and is inspired by these recent advancements.

The *Bird's eye view* of our research area is presented in Figure 1. The highlighted and bold text is our research interest in the current paper.

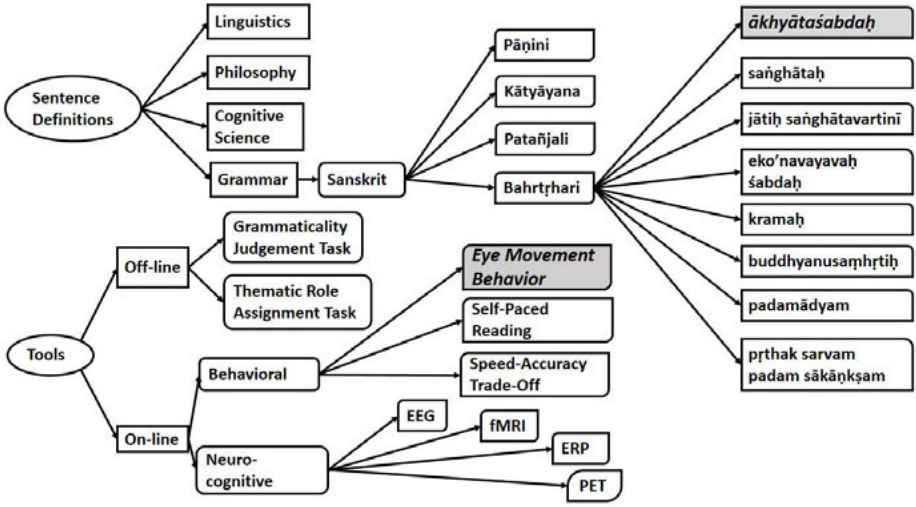

Figure 1
A brief analysis of our research area

3 Our Approach

We describe our approach to dataset creation in Subsection 3.1, experiment details which includes participant selection in Subsection 3.2, feature description in Subsection 3.3, followed by the methodology of the experiment in Subsection 3.4.

3.1 Dataset Creation

We prepare a dataset of 20 documents consisting of either a prose (Total 13) or a poetry (a *subhāṣita*) (Total 7) in the Sanskrit language. Prose documents mainly contain the stories taken from the texts such as *Pañcatantra*, *Vaṃśavṛkṣaḥ* and *Bālanītikathāmālā*. *Subhāṣita*s are taken from the text *Subhāṣitamañjūṣā*. The stories are comprised of 10-15 lines each, and each *subhāṣita* is 2 - 4 verse long. We create three copies of 20 paragraphs as the experiment demands and manipulate them as follows:

- **Type A:** These are 20 documents that do not contain any changes from the original documents. They are kept as they were.

- **Type B:** In this set of documents, we remove the finite and infinite verbs completely which results in a syntactic violation in the respective sentences. These are purely nominal sentences. In poetry, instead of removing the verbs, we replace the verbs with its synonym verb to maintain the format of the poetry. The motivation behind this kind of modification is to test how much does a verb contributes to the comprehension of a sentence, both syntactically and semantically. There are 20 documents of this kind.

- **Type C:** Here, the verbs are kept constant but we drop the *kartā* in the sentences. *kartā* being semantically loaded in the sentence, we choose to drop it for the demand of the experiment i.e. to investigate whether a mere verb without its agent can denote the meaning of the whole sentence. *Kartās* are not removed from the sentences which did not have finite or infinite verbs in the original document to avoid the possibility of insufficient information. This kind of modification will throw some light on the view that the verb itself can be considered as a sentence. In Type C of poetry, the stimulus is degraded by replacing the original finite verbs by distant-meaning finite verbs by retaining the same grammatical category. Even though these verbs bear the syntactic integrity of the sentence, they tend to be semantically incompatible with the other words in the linguistic string. This incompatibility leads to semantic inhibition while processing it, which in turn allows the reader to reconstruct the meaning of the sentence all over again. There are 20 documents of this kind.

The paragraphs do not contain text which readers might find difficult to comprehend. We normalize the text to avoid issues with vocabulary. We control the orthographical, typographical, and lexical variables that might affect the outcome of the experiment. We maintain a constant orthography throughout the dataset. The passages are shown in *Devanāgarī* script and the writing style is from left to right. We keep the font size large, customize the line spacing to optimum and adjust the brightness of the screen for the comfort of the participant. We ensure that there is no lexical complexity in the prose. We minimize it by splitting the *sandhis* (total 70), separating the compound words with the hyphens (total 51), and also by adding commas

in appropriate places for the easier reading. The verses are not subject to this kind of modification. This forms our original document. Sentences in the original dataset vary in their nature with respect to the verbs. There are 7 purely nominal sentences, 33 sentences with no finite verb but the *kṛdantas* and 70 sentences having at least one finite verb in them. There are no single-sentence paragraphs which eliminate the possibility of insufficient contextual information while reading. In poetry, there are 26 finite verbs in total, each verse having 3 to 4 finite verbs in it. Two linguists validate our dataset with 100% agreement that the documents are not incomprehensible. This forms the ground truth for our experiment.

All these types of documents (i.e. Type A, B, and C) are shuffled in such a way that **no reader gets to read both types of the same paragraph**. Hence, we tried to maintain the counter-balance to remove the bias of the paragraphs. 20 of such shuffled paragraphs make one final dataset. There are three final datasets: Datasets 1, 2, and 3. Out of the 20 participants, 7 participants are presented with *Dataset 1*, 6 participants with *Dataset 2* and remaining 7 participants with *Dataset 3*. We formulated two multiple-choice questions in each paragraph. The first question of which is one and the same for all paragraphs which helps us get the reader's viewpoint about the meaningfulness of the paragraph concerned. The second question is based on the gist of that paragraph which works as a comprehension test for the readers, which also ensures that people have read attentively and eliminates the cases of mindless reading. The answers given by the participants on both questions are used by us to decide the inter-annotator agreement and the accuracy rate.

3.2 Experiment Details

We chose 20 participants [24] with a background in Sanskrit.[25] They have been learning Sanskrit for a minimum of 2 years to a maximum of more than 10 years. The participants are neurologically healthy adults who belong to the age group of 22 to 38. They are well-acquainted with the Sanskrit language, however, they were not aware of the modifications made to the datasets beforehand. All of the participants can understand, read, and speak multiple languages. While most of the participants are native speakers of Marathi; few of them have Kannada, Telugu, and Hindi as their native language.

They are provided with a set of instructions beforehand which mentions the nature of the task, annotation input method, and necessity of head movement minimization during the experiment. We also reward them financially for their efforts. They are given two sample documents before the experiment so that they get to know the working of the experimentation process.

3.3 Feature Description

The eye-tracking device records the activity of the participant's eye on the screen and records various features through gaze data. We do not use all the feature values provided by the device for our analysis, but only the ones which can provide us with the prominence of a word (interest-area) and in turn, show us the importance of words that belong to the same category. These are features which are calculated based on the gaze behavior of the participant, and we use for our analysis:

[24]The number of participants is less owing to the restriction that we needed our readers to know Sanskrit. We chose the readers with a normal or corrected vision since the readers who use bi-focal eyeglasses would pose a minor possibility of erroneous eye-movement data. Moreover, some other human-related aspects such as very dark or very light irises, downward-pointing eyelashes, naturally droopy eyelids, the headrest not fitting the person's head or even the incorrigible head motions amount to the calibration fails and errors while reading. We aim to increase the number of participants in future experiments.

[25]We chose to present the Sanskrit data to the participants instead of their native languages because it would be more faithful to study the definition, taking the same language which was the lingua franca at the time when these definitions were enlisted. Nonetheless, we also aim to conduct the same definition on the native speakers and carry out the contrastive study for a better understanding of the definition.

1. **Fixation-based features** -
   Studies have shown that attentional movements and fixations are obligatorily coupled. More fixations on a word are because of incomplete lexical processes. The more cognitive load will lead to more time spent on the respective word. There are some variables that affect the time spent on the word such as word frequency, word predictability, number of meanings of a word or word familiarity, etc. (Rayner 1998). We consider the Fixation duration, Total fixation, Fixation Count for the analysis. These are motivated by Mishra, Kanojia, and Bhattacharyya (2016)

   (a) Fixation Duration (or First Fixation Duration)-
   First fixations are fixations occurring during the first pass reading. Intuitively, increased first fixation duration is associated with more time spent on the words, which accounts for lexical complexity.

   (b) Total Fixation Duration (or Gaze Duration)-
   This is a sum of all fixation durations on the interest areas. Sometimes, when there is syntactic ambiguity, a reader re-reads the already read part of the text in order to disambiguate the text. Total fixation duration accounts for the sum of all such fixation durations occurring during the overall reading span.

   (c) Fixation Count-
   This is the number of fixations in the interest area. If the reader reads fast, the first fixation duration may not be high even if the lexical complexity is more. But the number of fixations may increase in the text. So, fixation count may help capture lexical complexity in such cases.

2. **Regression-based feature** -
   Regressions are very common in complicated sentences and many regressions are due to comprehension failures. A short saccade to the left is done to read efficiently. Short within-word saccades show that a reader is processing the currently fixated word. Longer regression (back the line) occur because the reader did not understand the text. Syntactic ambiguity (such as Garden Path sentences etc.), syntactic violation (missing words, replaced words) and syntactic unpredictability lead to shorter saccades and longer regressions. We consider

the feature Regression Count i.e. a total number of gaze regressions around the AOI (Ares of Interest).

3. **Skip Count** -
   Our brain doesn't read every letter by itself. While reading people keep on jumping to the next word. The predictable target word is more likely to be skipped than an unpredictable one. We take Skip count as a feature to calculate the results. Skip count means whether an interest-area was skipped or not fixated on while reading. This is calculated as the number of words skipped divided by total word count. Intuitively, higher skip count should correspond to lesser semantic processing requirements (assuming that skipping is not done intentionally). Two factors have a big impact on skipping: word length and contextual constraint. Short words are much more likely to be skipped than long words. Second, words that are highly constrained by the prior context are much more likely to be skipped than those that are not predictable. Word frequency also has an effect on word skipping, but the effect is smaller than that of predictability.

4. **Run Count** -
   Run count is the number of times an interest-area was read.

5. **Dwell Time-based feature** -
   Dwell time and Dwell Time percentage i.e. the amount of time spent on an interest-area, and the percentage of time spent on it given the total number of words.

3.4 Methodology

As described above in Section 3.1, we modified the documents in order to test the syntactic and semantic prominence of a verb in both prose and poetry. Such instances of modification of the data may cause a syntactic violation, semantic inhibition, and leads to insufficient information to comprehend the document, at the surface level of the language. It enforces the reader to re-analyze the text. The time taken to analyze a document depends on the context (Ivanko and Pexman 2003). While analyzing the text, the human brain would start processing the text in a sequential manner, with the aim of comprehending the literal meaning. When such an *incongruity* is perceived, the brain may initiate a re-analysis to reason out such disparity (Kutas

and Hillyard 1980). *As information during reading is passed to the brain through eyes, incongruity may affect the way eye-gaze moves through the text. Hence, distinctive eye-movement patterns may be observed in the case of the successful finding of a verb, in contrast to an unsuccessful attempt.*

This hypothesis forms the crux of our analysis and we aim to prove this by creating and analyzing an eye-movement database for sentence semantics.

4 Analysis & Results

As stated above, we collect gaze data from 20 participants and use it for our analysis. We try to verify the first sentence definition given by *Bhartṛhari*. With our work, we find that **the verb** is the chief contributor to the sentence-semantics and enjoys more attention than other words in the process of sentence comprehension. To study how does a reader uses a verb in constructing the meaning of a linguistic string, we analyze the time one spends on the particular verb (dwell-time percentage), the number of times one backtracks (regression out count) or skips (skip count) the verb, the number of times the verb is read through (run count) and fixated upon (fixation count). We analyze these features on the verbs vs. non-verbs in Datasets 1, 2 and 3 and present the results in the Figures 2 (dwell-time percentage), 3 (regression count) and 4 (skip count) in the form of graphs.

The analysis of dwell-time percentage, regression count and skip count proves our point that verbs are prominent elements while constructing the sentence meaning. It can be clearly seen that ***verbs are spent more time on, regressed about more and skipped a lesser number of times than non-verbs.*** All the participants except a few correlate with our hypothesis. We observe that in Figure 2, Participant 5 (P5) has spent less time on the verbs but we also observe, as shown in Table 1, that P5 lacks in agreement compared to the other annotators. Participants 11 (P11), 12 (P12), and 18 (P18) do not lack in agreement, still, they do not read verbs as much as the other consistent participants and hence are clearly outliers. Even though these four participants have not fixated on the verb for more time, the number of times they regressed around verbs is significantly higher as shown in Figure 3. Figure 4 shows that verbs are unanimously skipped for a lesser number of times than non-verbs, hence it is proved that a reader cannot afford to skip verbs while constructing the sentence meaning.

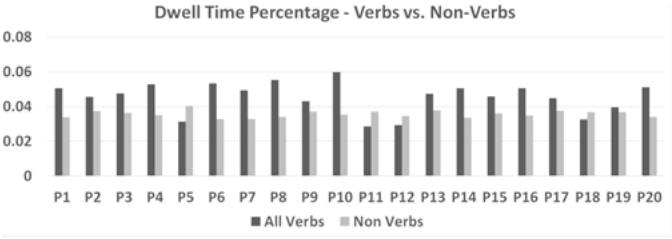

Figure 2

A Comparison of Dwell-Time Percentage on Verbs and Non-Verbs for all Datasets, and all participants

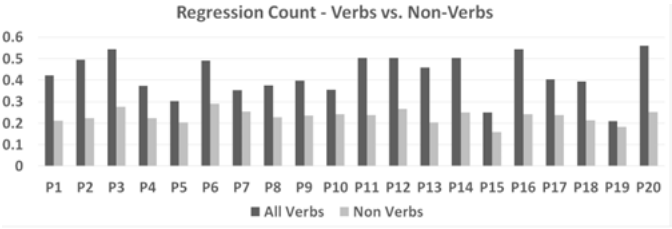

Figure 3

A Comparison of Regression Count on Verbs and Non-Verbs for all Datasets, and all participants

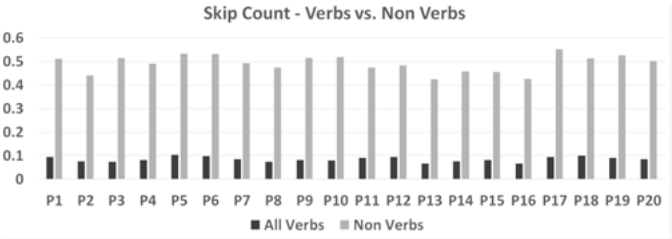

Figure 4

A Comparison of Skip Count on Verbs and Non-Verbs for all Datasets, and all participants

We also strengthen this view by analyzing the Type A vs. Type B vs. Type C documents and also consider the answers provided by the readers in Section 6.

5 Evaluation

We perform the evaluation of our work and calculate the inter-annotator agreement (IAA) for each participant with all the others, on the same dataset. We perform this for both the questions posed to the participants, separately. We also evaluate the answers provided by the participants to ensure that none of them were performing an inattentive reading of the documents. We show our evaluation in Tables 1, 2, and 3 for *Dataset 1, 2 and 3* respectively. Overall, the agreement of our participants ranges between **0.45** (Moderate Agreement) to **0.95** (Almost perfect Agreement) for Question 1. For Question 2, the agreement ranges from **0.5** (Moderate Agreement) to **0.95** (Almost perfect Agreement). **The Accuracy (Acc), as shown in the tables, ranges from 0.6 to 1**, which means that our participants were substantially accurate and were attentive during the experiment. The inter-annotator agreement points our the tentative outliers and helps us analyze the results of our experiment. We find that both the inter-annotator agreement and accuracy of our experiment are substantial.

We also perform statistical significance tests based on the standard t-test formulation assuming unequal variances for both variables, for all participants and display the p-values in Tables 4, 5, 6 for *Datasets 1, 2, and 3* respectively. For these datasets, we compare Verbs with all the other words for the features Regression Count (RC) and Skip Count (SC). We find out that a number of regressions performed by a user around verbs are much more than around other words. For these features, we also show the difference between the means of verbs and non-verbs (M_D), and the p-value (P). Our T-Test parameters were variable values, the hypothesized mean difference was set to zero, and the expected cut-off for the T-Test is 0.05. Our evaluations show that these values are statistically significant for most of the participants.

Inter-annotator agreement (IAA) and Accuracy (Acc) Scores

	Q1	Q2	
	IAA	IAA	Acc
P1	0.7	0.5	0.6
P2	0.8	0.9	0.95
P3	0.8	0.9	0.9
P4	0.95	0.95	0.95
P5	0.45	0.85	0.9
P6	0.9	0.55	0.6
P7	0.85	0.7	0.8

Table 1
Dataset 1

	Q1	Q2	
	IAA	IAA	Acc
P8	0.85	0.9	0.95
P9	0.75	0.6	0.75
P10	0.75	0.8	1
P11	0.65	0.75	0.85
P12	0.7	0.8	0.85
P13	0.85	0.95	1

Table 2
Dataset 2

	Q1	Q2	
	IAA	IAA	Acc
P14	0.8	0.8	0.75
P15	0.65	0.65	0.75
P16	0.85	0.9	0.95
P17	0.9	0.8	0.7
P18	0.75	0.85	0.85
P19	0.5	0.9	0.9
P20	0.8	0.7	0.8

Table 3
Dataset 3

Mean Difference and p-values from T-Test for Regression Count (RC) and Skip Count (SC)

	RC		SC	
	M_D	P	M_D	P
P1	0.159	0.000	0.061	0.038
P2	0.234	0.000	0.078	0.012
P3	0.250	0.000	0.180	0.000
P4	0.126	0.001	0.112	0.001
P5	0.062	0.050	0.029	0.194
P6	0.183	0.001	0.064	0.029
P7	0.091	0.029	0.089	0.005

Table 4
Dataset 1

	ROC		SC	
	M_D	P	M_D	P
P8	0.141	0.001	0.129	0.000
P9	0.147	0.001	0.134	0.000
P10	0.112	0.005	0.143	0.000
P11	0.194	0.000	0.025	0.237
P12	0.163	0.003	0.012	0.364
P13	0.211	0.000	0.106	0.001

Table 5
Dataset 2

	ROC		SC	
	M_D	P	M_D	P
P14	0.188	0.000	0.058	0.053
P15	0.072	0.033	0.058	0.053
P16	0.244	0.001	0.077	0.015
P17	0.129	0.003	0.055	0.059
P18	0.120	0.030	-0.030	0.189
P19	0.021	0.247	0.044	0.106
P20	0.253	0.002	0.059	0.049

Table 6
Dataset 3

6 Discussion

We discussed the core features of our work *i.e.* Dwell-time Percentage, Regression Count, Skip Count, Run Count, and Fixation Count in Section 4. In this section, we would like to further analyze the result of work by exploring the answers provided by our participants. We break down our documents into the categories of *prose* and *poetry*. In Figures 5 and 6, we show the answer counts of our participants, when they find the documents absolutely non-meaningful, or lacking information *i.e.,* somewhat meaningful. For all participants, over document Types A, B, and C, we find that Type A (Original Data) is marked non-meaningful least number of times.

In case of a *prose* (Figure 5), Type B documents lack verbs. It can clearly be seen that our participants do not understand the documents most of the time, and mark them either as completely non-meaningful or lacking in information. We do not hint them to look for verbs as psycholinguistic principles do not allow an experiment to be biased in the participants' mind. Non-presence of verbs in Type B documents affects both syntax and the semantics of the documents and it can be seen that purely nominal sentences fail to convey the complete semantics of the sentence. In Type C for prose (Figure 5), we see that our participants are confused by the removal of *agent-denoting* words, but are still able to grasp the context, and hence their answers do not depict absolute meaninglessness of the documents. Even though verbs are retained in document type C, the removal of *agent* words leads to insufficient information.

For *poetry* (Figure 6), Type B documents have the presence of synonymous verbs, and Type C have verbs with very distant meanings and no correlation with the semantics of the original verb present. Hence, Type B documents are marked as lacking in information by our participants many times as compared to Type A documents. They do not mark even one of them as absolutely meaningless as a synonym of a verb is present and they are still able to grasp the context which bears a strong impact on the conclusion we draw. On a similar note, Type C documents that have verbs but with very distant meanings are marked lacking in information most number of times, as a correlation cannot be established between the expected sense of the original verb and the current verb present in the document.

We explore further and manually analyze the saccadic paths of our participants to find out that in document types A, B, and C, the *saccadic-regressions* vary as per our hypothesis. We present a sample in Figures 8,

9 and 10. For a randomly chosen single participant, who has above average IAA and good accuracy, we find that the amount of regression on document Type c increases in comparison to Type A since the document lacks a agent in some sentences. But, for Type B, we can observe that the regressions increase further when the verb is completely removed from the document.

As stated before, the definition that we have studied might not be valid in all cases. Our aim is to find out the cases in which it does. In the conclusion of this research, we can say that we have found one such case in which *Bhartṛhari*'s definition *Ākhyātaśabdaḥ* is valid and that is: *when the lexical complexity is minimized in the Sanskrit texts*, readers rely on the verbs in order to understand the complete meaning of the sentence, without which the sentence-meaning seems incomplete. Hence, we can conclude that **verbs play *the most* important role in the syntax and semantics of a sentence**, nonetheless, in most of the cases, they demand their complements (i.e. means of action) to represent the complete semantics of a sentence. We can also conclude that the *purely nominal sentences in Sanskrit are less meaningful* than the corresponding original sentences.

Similarly, we would also like to present Figures 12 (Run Count) and 13 (Fixation Count) which further strengthen our discussion. We can see in both the figures that a number of times a verb has been read is always more than the number of times other words have been read.

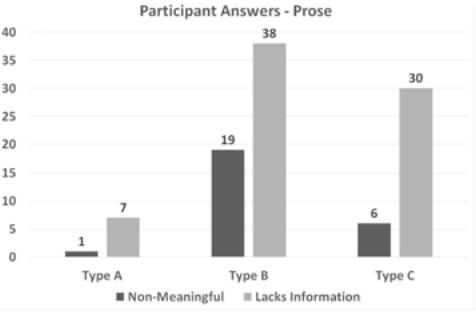

Figure 5
For Prose

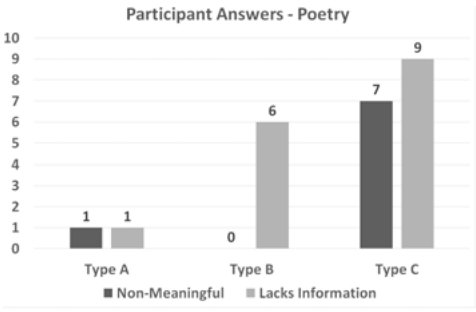

Figure 6
For Poetry

Figure 7
Meaninglessness of documents as reported by Participants on different document sets

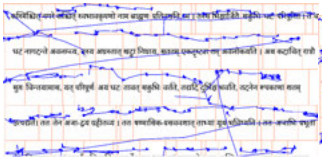

Figure 8
Regressions on Type-A

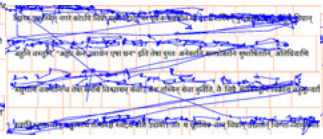

Figure 9
Regressions on Type-B

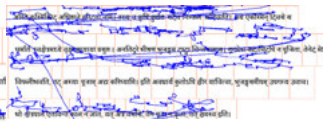

Figure 10
Regressions on Type-C

Figure 11
Regression sample from a participant

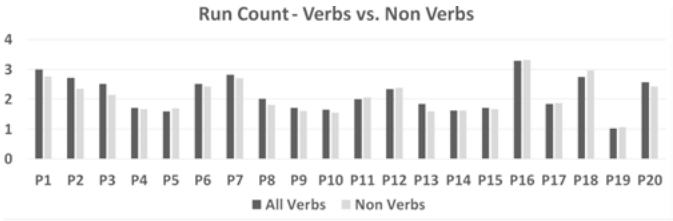

Figure 12
A Comparison of Run Count on Verbs and Non-Verbs for all Datasets, and all participants

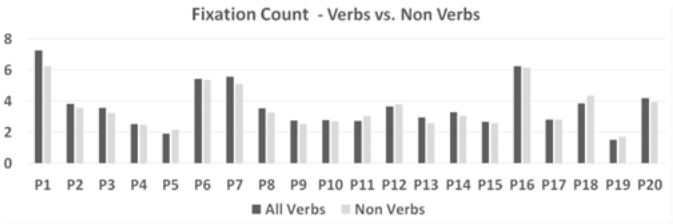

Figure 13
A Comparison of Fixation Count on Verbs and Non-Verbs for all Datasets, and all participants

Limitations

The data selected for our experiment does not vary in its nature. We only use stories in prose, and the poetry is also borrowed from the same text. We would like to clearly state that we know this is a limitation of our work. It will be more insightful to conduct similar experiments on different kinds of texts. For the same experiment on 'verbs', data can also be modified in many other ways. Moreover, a spoken word, when accompanied by gesture and facial expression and when given a special intonation, can convey much more than the written word. This experiment it limited to the written sentences only and it tests the comprehension only from the reader's point of view.

7 Conclusion & Future Work

We present a fresh view to study *Bhartṛhari*'s *Vākyapadīya*, especially the definitions given by him on the syntactic and the semantic level. We pick sentence definition one viz. *Ākhyātaśabdaḥ*, that the "verb" can also be considered as a sentence. We discuss his work in brief and perform an experiment to study this definition from a cognitive point of view. We employ the eye-tracking technique and follow the methodology of silent-reading of Sanskrit paragraphs to perform the above-mentioned experiment in order to have a better understanding of the definition. We aim to extend our work under the purview of Cognitive NLP and use it to resolve computational problems. With our work, we open a new vista for studying sentence definitions in the cognitive point of view by following an investigational technique.

Our results show that humans tend to read verbs more than they read other words and they are deemed most important. We assert that verbs play a prominent role in the syntax and semantics of a sentence, nonetheless, in most of the cases, they demand their complements to represent the complete semantics of a sentence. It is proved that a human being, cognitively, searches for a verb in a sentence, without which the unity of a sentence tends to be incomplete. Purely nominal sentences in the Sanskrit language are less meaningful than the original sentences. We show the statistical significance of our results and evaluate them using the standard T-test formulation. We also discuss the manual analysis of saccadic paths and answers given by our participants to verify our results. We are aware that, the method followed

by us is one way of justifying *Bhartṛhari* and there could be other ways that can strengthen the same results.

In the future, we aim to conduct more experiments on different kinds of texts in the Sanskrit language which have different sentence-construction styles. For the same experiment on 'verbs', data can also be modified in other ways such as- changing the place of the verb in the sentence, removing the sentence boundary markers, replacing the conjunctions, negatives, discourse markers, etc. We also aim to verify other sentence definitions using eye-tracking. We would like to employ other tools such as EEG and work in multi-lingual settings to further delve deeper into the cognition of a human mind so that we can understand the definition in a better perspective. We would also like to study the comprehension among the native speakers vs. bilingual so that we can study whether the definitions by *Bhartṛhari* are generic in nature. We hope to gain more insights into the field of Cognitive NLP with the help of our work.

Acknowledgements

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