# The Forest Lion and the Bull: Morphosyntactic Annotation of the Panchatantra 

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#### Abstract

We present the first freely available dependency treebank of Sanskrit. It is based on text from Panchatantra, an ancient Indian collection of fables. The annotation scheme we chose is that of Universal Dependencies, a current de-facto standard for cross-linguistically comparable morphological and syntactic annotation. In the present paper, we discuss word segmentation issues, morphological inventory and certain interesting syntactic constructions in the light of the Universal Dependencies guidelines. We also present an initial parsing experiment.


## 1 Introduction

Universal Dependencies (UD) ${ }^{1}$ [8] is a project that defines a common annotation of part-of-speech tags, morphology and dependency syntax, applicable to many languages. It also takes care of collecting and releasing treebank data adhering to the UD standard. In terms of number of languages, UD has probably become the largest collection of freely available treebanks in the world: the latest release, UD 2.1 [7], contains 102 treebanks in 60 different languages (the first release in January 2015 consisted of 10 languages). The set already includes some classical languages of Europe (Ancient Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Church Slavonic), as well as five modern Indian languages: Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu. The present work is the first step towards extending UD with one of the oldest attested Indo-European languages, Sanskrit.

Sanskrit is the classical language of India and the liturgical language of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. It is also one of the official languages of India, despite the fact that it is rarely (if at all) used in everyday communication.

Sanskrit does not have a treebank of reasonable size so that data-driven approaches to parsing could be used. [4] mentions a Sanskrit treebank of around 3000 sentences (mostly modern short stories), reportedly developed under a Government of India sponsored project in 2008-2012. However, we have no knowledge about this corpus being publicly available. Our aim is to lay foundations of a corpus that will be available to everyone under a free license. The annotated

[^0]part is small at present, but we are extending it and, more importantly, the resource is open for everyone to contribute. The history of the UD project has shown that presence of a language, even if incomplete, motivates people to get involved.

One peculiarity of Sanskrit processing is the non-trivial word segmentation [5]. For a long time, oral transmission played a dominant role in preserving and spreading Sanskrit stories; if they were eventually written down, the writing system closely followed pronunciation. Unlike Chinese or Japanese, Sanskrit texts do have spaces between words-just not always. Word sequences that are pronounced together are written together, too. Some of them are long compounds and can be processed as single words, but in general it is not necessary that the words within a segment are syntactically or semantically related. Furthermore, a typical segment is not just a pure concatenation of words. Euphonic changes (called sandhi) take place on word boundaries and these transformations must be reversed before a word form can be isolated and morphologically analyzed.

## 2 Data

Our corpus is based on Pañcatantra, an ancient Indian collection of interrelated fables by Vishnu Sharma. ${ }^{2}$ The Sanskrit text is also available from Wikisource ${ }^{3}$ and from the Sanskrit Documents website; ${ }^{4}$ note however that the exact wording at these sources sometimes differs.

The Pañcatantra corpus amounts to 20K tokens with morphological annotation converted to the UD annotation style. A small part (the preface about creation of Pañcatantra, and the beginning of the first book called Mitrabheda) has been manually checked, syntactically annotated and released in UD; then the rest was parsed by a parser trained on the core portion, to facilitate manual annotation and growth of the treebank.

## 3 Preprocessing

We used Gérard Huet's Sanskrit Reader Companion ${ }^{5}$ [2,3] to obtain possible word segmentation and morphological features for each sentence. The segmenter provides multiple hypotheses where applicable (Figure 1); these were manually disambiguated. In some cases we even re-combined compounds that were separated in our input data but the segmentation did not make much sense (mostly proper names like Viṣ̣uśarmā $)$.

[^1]

Fig. 1. An example of multiple segmentation hypotheses, as provided by the Sanskrit Reader Companion. Colors correspond to different parts of speech. Morphological analysis is also available, although not visible in this screenshot. The input string contained 7 space-delimited tokens: atrāsti viṣnuśarmā nāma brāhmaṇah sakalaśástrapārañgataścātra samisadi labdhakīrtih. During manual disambiguation, we picked the segmentation that mostly corresponds to the top hypothesis, but we also re-combined several compounds and the result comprises 12 words: atra asti viṣnuśarmā nāma brāhmaṇah sakala śāstra pārañgata ca atra samisadi labdhakīrtih.

The lemma and morphological information (gender, number and case for nominals, and mood, tense and number for verbs) was obtained from the Sanskrit Reader together with the correct segmentation. One of the 17 universal part-of-speech tags defined in UD was also manually assigned to each word. Finally, the data was converted to the CoNLL-U file format. The format includes a mechanism to store the mapping between the surface tokens and their segmentation to syntactic words; it is thus possible to reconstruct the original text.

The word forms and lemmas are encoded in the Devanagari script (UTF-8). Roman transliteration is also available in separate attributes.

## 4 Word Segmentation

The UD guidelines do not recommend splitting of compounds that are written as one orthographic word. Indeed, compounds in languages like German or Swedish are not split.

In contrast, the Sanskrit Reader shows each stem as a separate segment. Sometimes it marks the segment as a part of a compound (the yellow segments in Figure 1). This is possible because non-final parts of compounds lack the typical case-number suffixes. In some situations the compound part can be confused with a vocative form of a noun (see Table 1); fortunately, genuine vocatives are rather rare in the data and can be identified from the syntactic context.

|  | Sing | Dual | Plur |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom | simihah | simihau | simihāh |
| Voc | simha | simihau | simhāh |
| Acc | simiham | simihau | simihān |
| Ins | simihena | simhābhyām | simihaih |
| Dat | simihāya | simhābhyām | simihebhyah |
| Abl | simihāt | simhābhyām | simihebhyah |
| Gen | simihasya | simihayoh | simihānām |
| Loc | simihe | simihayoh | simihesu |

Table 1. Declension of the masculine noun सिंह / simiha "lion". The citation form, which is also used in non-final components of compounds, is identical to the singular vocative form.

There are examples of multi-word tokens that consist solely of nominal components but they do not constitute a single compound: they contain inflectional morphemes indicating internal structure. For instance, in स्नेहः सिंहगोवृषयोर्वने / snehah simhagovrṣayorvane "friendship of a lion and a bull in a forest" (Figure 2), we treat vane separately because it is the locative modifier "in the forest", and we analyze it as modifying snehaḥ "friendship". Simihagovrṣayoh (replacing final $-r$ by $-h$ when reversing the sandhi euphonic changes) is a compound noun meaning "lion-bull" and sharing the genitive suffix -yoh. (Interestingly, the suffix also specifies the dual number because the compound simhagovrṣa refers to two animals.) Simha does not have its own case morpheme, which is another indicator that simhagovrṣa should be treated as a compound.

Sometimes we allow compound splitting because one part of the compound enters syntactic relations with words outside the compound. Example: धर्मोपार्जितभूरिविभवो / dharmopārjitabhūrivibhavo "who possessed numerous virtues and wealth" (Figure 3). The first part, dharmopārjita, could be treated as a compound meaning "virtue-acquired". However, the following part is in coordination with just dharma "virtue", therefore we split even the compound to individual nodes. ${ }^{6}$

Occasionally we allow splitting of long compounds even if the external relations do not provide clues shown in the previous example. In तस्य वृषभौ सज्जीवक-

[^2]

Fig. 2. "Friendship of a lion and a bull in a forest"


Fig. 3. "Acquired virtues and a lot of money"

नन्दकनामानौ / tasya vrṣabhau sañj̄̄vakanandakanāmānau "his two bulls named Sanjivaka and Nandaka" (Figure 4), the third token is a compound since both sañj̄̄vaka and nandaka lack the -h suffix of the nominative.


Fig. 4. "His two bulls named Sanjivaka and Nandaka"

There is only one external relation connecting the compound; however, there is internal syntactic structure between the parts and, importantly, it involves other UD relations than just compound. Therefore we split the token into multiple syntactic words and show the structure. Being able to recognize the named entities "Sanjivaka" and "Nandaka" as independent nodes (and match them against other occurrences of either one in the corpus) is an additional bonus.


Fig. 5. Dependency tree of the sentence from Figure 1. Arthur Ryder's English translation: There is a Brahman here named Vishnusharman, with a reputation for competence in numerous sciences.

Finally, there are multi-word tokens consisting of non-nominals and differing from patterns that are typically considered compounds. The token sakalaśāstrapāraingataścātra in Figure 1 is an example. Its components are sakala śāstra pārañgata ca atra "whole science acquired and here"; they do not even form a contiguous subtree (see Figure 5).

## 5 Morphology

The corpus contains 16 out of 17 "universal" part-of-speech tags defined in UD; the missing tag is SYM for symbols. There are two types of particles: negative (न / na, नहि / nahi, मा / $m \bar{a}$ ) and interrogative for polar questions (किम् / kim). The only auxiliary verb is अस् / as "to be", and it is only used as copula.

We use 16 universal features: gender, number, case, degree, polarity, prontype, numtype, possessivity, reflexivity, person, politeness, verbform, mood, aspect, tense and voice. There are three genders, three numbers and eight cases (see Table 1). Besides finite verbs, there are also participles, converbs ("absolutives") and infinitives; especially the various participial forms are used frequently and do not require a finite auxiliary to accompany them. Sanskrit finite verbs can form up to six moods: indicative, conditional, optative, imperative, injunctive and benedictive. UD has defined feature values for the first four but not for injunctive and benedictive, which are specific to Sanskrit. The benedictive is extremely rare; it does not occur in our data, so we do not have to propose its annotation now.

The injunctive may have an imperative or subjunctive meaning; in particular, it is used for negative commands. There are several possibilities how to annotate the injunctive in UD:

- Define a Sanskrit-specific value Mood=Inj.
- Use Mood=Imp for both imperative and injunctive. Distinguish them by a Sanskrit-specific feature ImpType=Imp and ImpType=Inj, respectively.
- Use Mood=Jus (jussive), already defined in UD, whose meaning is also commandlike, and it is also used (in Arabic) for negative commands, i.e., prohibitions.
- Use another existing UD mood with partially similar meaning, such as desiderative (Mood=Des), necessitative (Mood=Nec) or subjunctive (Mood=Sub).

We try to avoid proliferation of language-specific features and we lean against the first two options. We decided to conflate the Sanskrit injunctive with jussive. There is only one instance in the current data, and it is indeed a negative command: भद्र मैवं वोचः / bhadra maivamं vocah "Dear fellow, do not speak this way." The second word, मैवं / maivam, is a contraction of मा एवम् / mā evam, where $m \bar{a}$ is a negative/prohibitive particle and evam means "this way".

The present and future tenses are tagged Tense=Pres and Tense=Fut, respectively. The perfect tense is tagged using the aspect feature (Aspect=Perf) but for the imperfect UD has two possibilities, Aspect=Imp and Tense=Imp (that is because both of them are needed in some languages); we use Tense here and we leave Aspect empty. The aorist is encoded simply as Tense=Past. Different types of participles are also distinguished by the Tense and Voice features.

## 6 Syntax

To estimate inter-annotator agreement and to identify phenomena for which more detailed guidelines have to be developed, an initial portion of the dataset was annotated by two annotators and then a single annotator decided the conflicts. The two annotators agreed on $86 \%$ UPOS tags, $79 \%$ unlabeled head references, and $67 \%$ relations with labels. For short and simple sentences, the shallow Sanskrit parser ${ }^{7}[4]$ was of some help, but unfortunately it cannot parse the more complex sentences.

Being an Indo-European language, Sanskrit does not introduce phenomena that the current UD framework could not deal with. Yet we present a few examples to illustrate how certain less obvious situations are solved.

The verb अस्ति asti (lemma अस् as) is equivalent to है hai in Hindi and to is in English. It may function as copula; in accord with the UD guidelines, copulas are attached as functional modifiers of the non-verbal predicate. Example: क: अर्थः पुत्रेण जातेन यः न विद्वान्र न भक्तिमान् अस्ति / kah arthah putreṇa jātena yah na vidvānna na bhaktimān asti "What use having a son who is neither smart nor obedient." Here the adjective vidvānna "smart" is the root of the relative clause and the verb asti is attached to it using the relation cop (Figure 6).

In contrast, the same verb in existential or locative meaning takes the root position: अत्रास्ति विष्णुशर्मा नाम ब्राह्मणः / atrāsti viṣnuśarmā nāma brāhmaṇah "There is a Brahman here named Vishnusharman."

Infinitives are attached to the verbs that control them via the relation xcomp, which is used in UD whenever a complement clause inherits its subject from a superordinate clause. Example: एतस्मिन्नन्तरे ते वानराः यथेच्छया क्रीडितुम् आरब्धम् / etasminnantare te vānarāh. yathecchayā krīditum ārabdham lit. in-this-moment the monkeys as-with-desire to-play began, "At the moment the monkeys began

[^3]

Fig. 6. Ryder's English translation: "Or why beget a son who proves a dunce and disobedient?"


Fig. 7. Ryder's English translation: "There the monkeys began their playful frolics."
their playful frolics." The infinitive kriditum is attached to the past participle $\bar{a} r a b d h a m$ as its controlled complement, xcomp (Figure 7).

Occasionally it is not clear whether a sequence of clauses should be analyzed as coordination or subordination. We preferred the syntactic over semantic criteria. Thus the sentence The king listened and then spoke is analyzed as coordination, while in Having listened, the king spoke, the first clause is attached as advcl (adverbial clause), modifying the predicate of the second clause (spoke). Non-finite verb forms co-occurring with finites are indicators of subordination. The latter strategy is rather prevailing in Sanskrit (see Figure 8 for a corpus example). Their English translation would typically use coordinate clauses but we annotate surface syntax in Sanskrit, where the first clause is subordinate. This is perfectly in the spirit of UD, which strives to preserve cross-linguistically parallel morphology and syntax, while it highlights cross-language differences when the meaning is parallel but its surface coding is not.

As in other Indo-Aryan languages, Sanskrit employs relative-correlative constructions where the relative pronoun (typically beginning in $y$-) introduces a subordinate clause, which can be analyzed as modifying a corresponding correlative / demonstrative pronoun (typically beginning in $t$-) in the matrix clause. See Figure 9 for an example.

Some sentences are devoid of any verb, this happens mostly in ślokas (verse). Example: यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः / yasyārthāstasya mitrāṇi yas$y \bar{a} r t h a \bar{s} t a s y a ~ b \bar{a} n d h a v a ̄ h ~ l i t . ~ w h o s e ~ w e a l t h ~ h i s ~ f r i e n d s ~ w h o s e ~ w e a l t h ~ h i s ~ f a m i l y, ~$


Fig. 8. "When the king had listened to this, he summoned Vishnusharman and said..." In the English translation, clause 1 is subordinate while clauses 2 and 3 are coordinate. In Sanskrit however, both clauses 1 and 2 are subordinate.


Fig. 9. A relative-correlative construction: "When it rains, peacocks dance."


Fig. 10. Verbless example: "One who has wealth has friends; one who has wealth has family."
meaning "One who has money, has friends; one who has money, has family." We analyze this sentence as two coordinate clauses, each comprising an embedded relative clause. The phrase yasya arthah "whose wealth" is an adnominal clause (acl) modifying the demonstrative pronoun tasya. Both yasya and tasya are genitive forms, expressing possession (Figure 10).

## 7 Parsing Experiment

We have performed preliminary parsing experiments with two parsers, the Malt Parser (stack-lazy algorithm) [6], and UDPipe 1.2 (default settings) [9]. Since the corpus is so small, one has to train the parsers in a 10 -fold cross-validation style; our average unlabeled attachment score reaches $61 \%$ and labeled attachment score is $51 \%$ (parsing only; this figure does not include the accuracy of word segmentation, as it is measured on gold-standard segmentation.) It is difficult to compare these numbers to previously reported work in Sanskrit parsing. [1] notes that "test data for Sanskrit syntax are not available;" his unsupervised parser is restricted to projective trees. [4] reports LAS $=63 \%$ and $\mathrm{UAS}=80 \%$ on her test data ( 1316 sentences that are not publicly available and thus the results are not directly comparable to ours). However, we did compare our results with delexicalized parsers [10] trained on 2000 sentences from various groups of languages; the best-performing delexicalized parser was trained on Slavic languages and achieved UAS $=54.67 \%$, resp. LAS $=38.99 \%$, which is significantly lower than the lexicalized parser trained on the treebank presented in this paper. We therefore conclude that even very small data, obtained in a cheap and fast way, can provide a better parsing model than unsupervised and semi-supervised methods.

## 8 Conclusions

We presented a new seed treebank for Sanskrit, a classical language of India. To our knowledge this is the first syntactically annotated data set for this language that is publicly available. Thanks to the annotation standard of Universal Dependencies, the morphological and syntactic annotation is easily understandable and comparable to existing corpora in many other languages, and existing tools can be easily employed to process the corpus and utilize the annotation. While the corpus is currently small, it can be used to train a statistical parser. Moreover, the underlying text is rather large, providing a good base for future growth of the treebank.

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ http://universaldependencies.org/

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ More precisely, we draw upon the Sanskrit part of a bilingual edition by Jwala Prasad Mishra from 1910, our text starts at page 2 (http://archive.org/stream/ PanchatantraSanskritHindi-JpMishra1910/).
    ${ }^{3}$ https://sa.wikisource.org/s/12x
    ${ }^{4}$ http://sanskritdocuments.org/all_sa/panchatantra1_unic.html
    ${ }^{5}$ http://sanskrit.inria.fr/DICO/reader.fr.html

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ From the semantic point of view, dharma is a patient of upārjita, hence it would also seem plausible to analyze dharma as an object.

[^3]:    ${ }^{7}$ http://sanskrit.uohyd.ac.in/scl/SHMT/index.html

