

On the Construction of Śivasūtra-Alphabets

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अइउण्। ऋलृक्। एओङ्। ऐऔच्। हयवरट्।
लण्। अमङणनम्। झभञ्। घढधष्। जबगडदश्।
खफछठथचटतव्। कपय्। शषसर्। हल्।

Phonological Rules

modern notation

A is replaced by B if preceded by C and succeeded by D .

$$A \rightarrow B / C_D$$

example: final devoicing

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ consonantal} \\ - \text{ nasal} \\ + \text{ voiced} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ consonantal} \\ - \text{ nasal} \\ - \text{ voiced} \end{array} \right] / _ \#$$

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Pāṇini's linear Coding

A + genitive, B + nominative, C + ablative, D + locative.

example

- *sūtra* 6.1.77: *iko yaṇaci* (इको यणचि)
- analysis: [ik]_{gen}[yaṇ]_{nom}[ac]_{loc}
- modern notation: [iK] → [yN]/_ [aC]

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Pāṇini faced the problem of giving a **linear** representation of the **nonlinear** system of sound classes.

A similar problem occurs in . . .

Libraries



Warehouses and stores



Pāṇini's solution: Śivasūtras

1.	a	i	u			Ṇ	अइउण्। ऋलृक्।
2.				r	!	Ḷ	<i>a·i·uṅ ṛ·lṛk </i>
3.		e	o			Ṇ̄	एओङ्। ऐऔच्।
4.		ai	au			Ḹ	<i>e·oṅ ai·auc </i>
5.	h	y	v	r		Ṭ	हयवरट्। लण्।
6.					l	Ṇ̄	<i>hayavarat laṅ </i>
7.	ñ	m	ṅ	ṇ	n	Ṃ	ऋमङ्णनम्। झभञ्।
8.	jh	bh				Ṃ̄	<i>ṅamaṅṇanam jhabhañ </i>
9.			gh	ḍh	dh	Ṣ	घढधष्। जबगडदश्।
10.	j	b	g	ḍ	d	Ṣ̄	<i>ghadhadhaṣ jabagadadaś </i>
11.	kh	ph	ch	ṭh	th		<i>ghadhadhaṣ jabagadadaś </i>
			c	ṭ	t	V	खफछठथचटतव्।
12.	k	p				Y	<i>khaphachathathacaṭataṅ </i>
13.		ś	ṣ	s		R	कपय्। शषसर्। हल्।
14.	h					L	<i>kapay śaṣasar hal </i>

Pāṇini's solution: Śivasūtras

1.	a	i	u			Ṇ
2.				r	!	Ḳ
3.		e	o			Ṇ̇
4.		ai	au			Ḷ
5.	h	y	v	r		Ṭ
6.					l	Ṇ̇
7.	ñ	m	ṅ	ṇ	n	Ṃ
8.	jh	bh				Ṇ̇
9.			gh	ḍh	dh	Ṣ
10.	j	b	g	ḍ	d	Ṩ
11.	kh	ph	ch	ṭh	th	
			c	ṭ	t	V
12.	k	p				Y
13.		ś	ṣ	s		R
14.	h					L

अइउण्। ऋलृक्।

a·i·uṅ | ṛ·lṛ

एओङ्। ऐऔच्।

e·oṅ | ai·auc

हयवरट्। लण्।

hayavarṭ | laṅ

ऋमङणनम्। झभञ्।

ṛmaṅṇanam | jhabhañ

घढधष्। जबगडदश्।

ghaḍhadhaṣ | jabagaḍadaś

खफछठथचटतव्।

khaphachathathacaṭataṅ

कपय्। शषसर्। हल्।

kapay | śaṣasar | hal

Pāṇini's solution: Śivasūtras

1.	a	i	u			N
2.				r	!	K
3.		e	o			Ñ
4.		ai	au			C
5.	h	y	v	r		T
6.					l	N
7.	ñ	m	ṅ	ṇ	n	M
8.	jh	bh				Ñ
9.			gh	ḍh	dh	Ṣ
10.	j	b	g	ḍ	d	Ṣ̄
11.	kh	ph	ch	ṭh	th	
			c	ṭ	t	V
12.	k	p				Y
13.		ś	ṣ	s		R
14.	h					L

anubandha

अइउण्। ऋलृक्।

a·i·uṅ | ṛ·lṛk |

एओङ्। ऐऔच्।

e·oṅ | ai·auc |

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कपय्। शषसर्। हल्।

kapay | śaṣasar | hal |

Pratyāhāras

1.		a	i	u			Ṇ
2.					r	!	Ḳ
3.			e	o			Ṇ̇
4.			ai	au			C
5.		h	y	v	r		Ṭ

Pratyāhāras

1.		a	i	u				Ṇ
2.					r	!		K
3.			e	o				Ṇ
4.			ai	au				C
5.		h	y	v	r			Ṭ

iK

Pratyāhāras

1.	a	i	u		Ṇ
2.				r	Ṁ
3.		e	o		Ṇ
4.		ai	au		Ṁ
5.	h	y	v	r	Ṁ

$iK = \langle i, u, r, ! \rangle$

Analysis of iko yañaci: [iK] → [yN]/_ [aC]

1.	a	i	u		Ṅ
2.				ṛ	ḷ
3.			e	o	Ṅ
4.			ai	au	C
5.	h	y	v	r	Ṭ
6.					ḷ
					Ṅ

- [iK] → [yN]/_ [aC]
- ⟨i, u, ṛ, ḷ⟩ → ⟨y, v, r, l⟩/_ ⟨a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au⟩

Analysis of iko yaṅaci: [iK] → [yN]/_ [aC]

1.	a	i	u		Ṅ
2.				ṛ	ḷ
3.		e	o		Ṅ
4.		ai	au		C
5.	h	y	v	r	Ṭ
6.					ḷ
					Ṅ

- [iK] → [yN]/_ [aC]
- ⟨i, u, ṛ, ḷ⟩ → ⟨y, v, r, l⟩/_ ⟨a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au⟩

General problem of S-sortability

Given a set of classes, order the elements of the classes (without duplications) in a linear order (in a list) such that each single class forms a continuous interval with respect to that order.

- The target orders are called **S-orders**
- A set of classes is **S-sortable** if it has an S-order

Note that every S-order becomes a *Śivasūtra*-alphabet (S-alphabet) by adding a marker (*anubandha*) behind each element.

Examples

S-sortable example

The set of classes:

$\{\{d, e\}, \{a, b\}, \{b, c, d, f, g, h, i\}, \{f, i\}, \{c, d, e, f, g, h, i\}, \{g, h\}\}$ is

S-sortable;

one of its S-orders is

abcghfide

non-S-sortable example

The set of classes:

$\{\{a, b\}, \{b, c\}, \{a, c\}\}$ is not S-sortable.

non-S-sortable example

The set of classes:

$\{\{d, e\}, \{a, b\}, \{b, c, d\}, \{b, c, d, f\}\}$ is not S-sortable.

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Examples

S-sortable example

The set of classes:

$\{\{d, e\}, \{a, b\}, \{b, c, d, f, g, h, i\}, \{f, i\}, \{c, d, e, f, g, h, i\}, \{g, h\}\}$ is

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abcde or *edcba*

Examples

S-sortable example

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non-S-sortable example

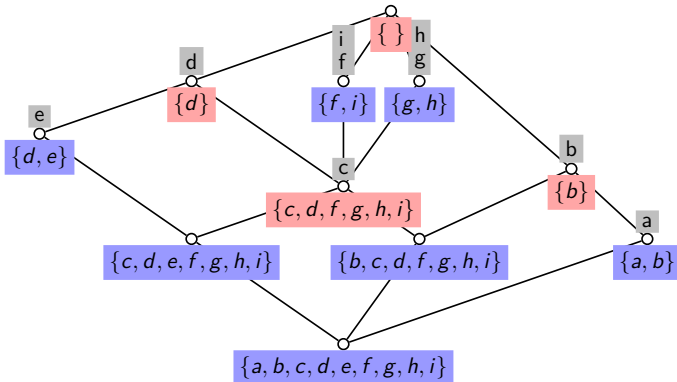
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abcde or *edcba*

Visualize relations

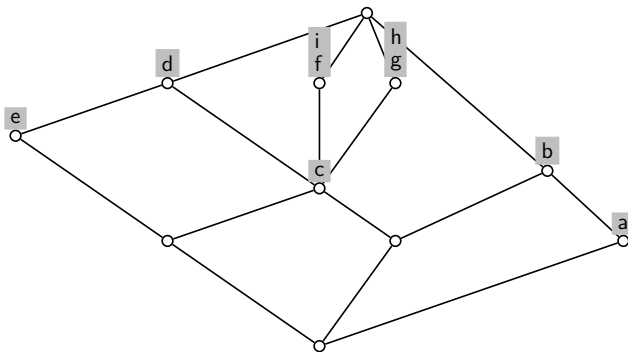
$\{\{d, e\}, \{a, b\}, \{b, c, d, f, g, h, i\}, \{f, i\}, \{c, d, e, f, g, h, i\}, \{g, h\}\}$



concept lattice

Visualize relations

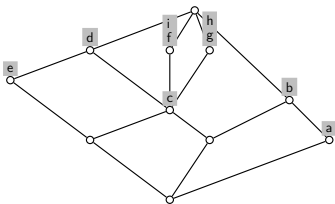
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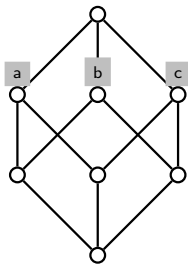
concept lattice

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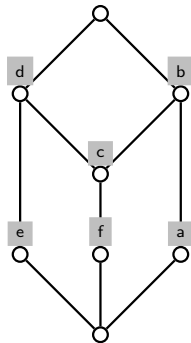
$\{\{d, e\}, \{a, b\}, \{b, c, d, f, g, h, i\}, \{f, i\},$
 $\{c, d, e, f, g, h, i\}, \{g, h\}\}$



$\{\{a, b\}, \{b, c\}, \{a, c\}\}$



$\{\{d, e\}, \{a, b\}, \{b, c, d\},$
 $\{b, c, d, f\}\}$

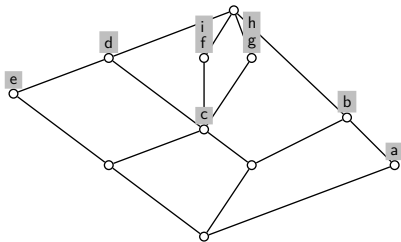


Main theorem of S-sortability

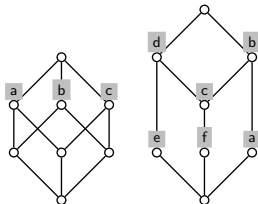
A set of classes is S-sortable without duplications if one of the following equivalent statements is true:

- 1 Its concept lattice is Hasse-planar and for any element a there is a node labeled a in the S-graph.
- 2 The concept lattice of the enlarged set of classes is Hasse-planar.
- 3 The Ferrers-graph of the enlarged set of classes is bipartite.

Example: S-sortable



Examples: not S-sortable

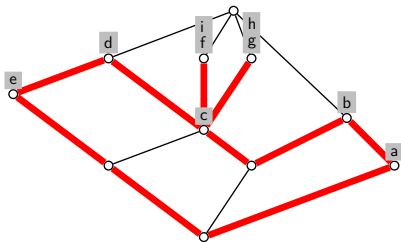


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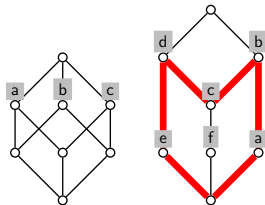
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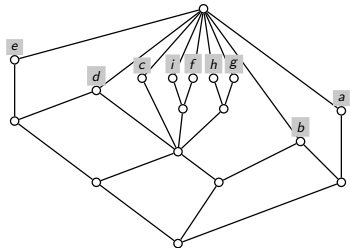
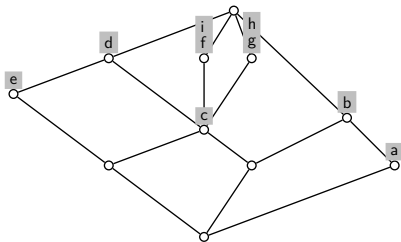


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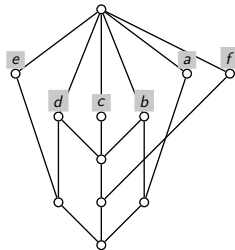
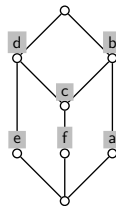


Main theorem of S-sortability

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Example: not S-sortable



Main theorem of S-sortability

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This condition can be checked algorithmically.

Main theorem of S-sortability

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Getting back to Pāṇini's problem



a·i·uṅ | ṛ·ḷk | e·oñ | ai·auc | hayavarat |
laṅ | ñamaṅaṅanam | jhabhañ | ghaḍhadhaṣ | jabagaḍadaś |
khaphachathathacaṭataṭav | kapay | śaṣasar | hal |

Q: Are the Śivasūtras minimal (with respect to length)?

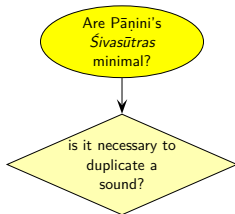
What does minimal mean?

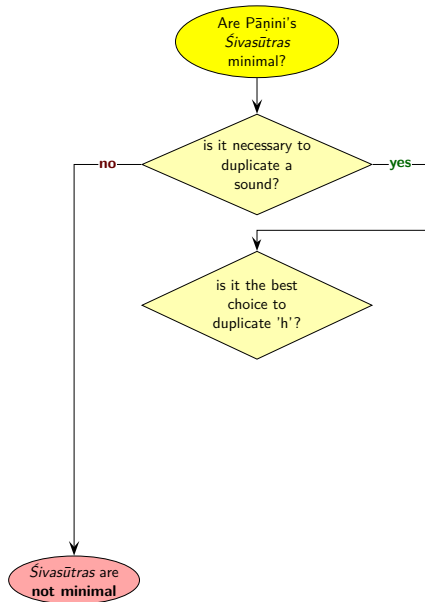
a·i·uṅ | ṛ·ḷk | e·oṅ | ai·auc | hayavaraṭ |
laṅ | ṅamaṅaṅanam | jhabhañ | ghaḍhadhaṣ | jabagaḍadaś |
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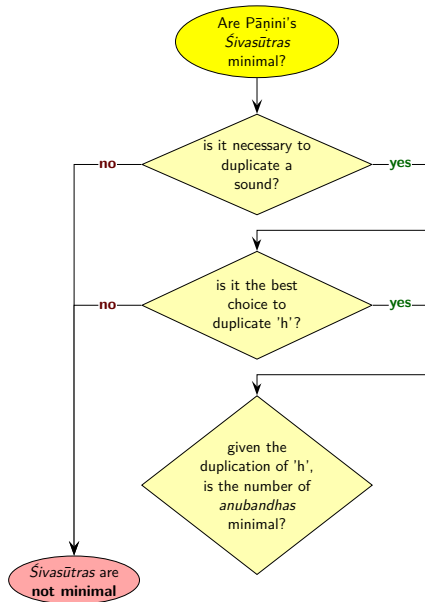
The Śivasūtras are **minimal** if it is **impossible** rearrange the Sanskrit sounds in a new list with *anubandhas* such that

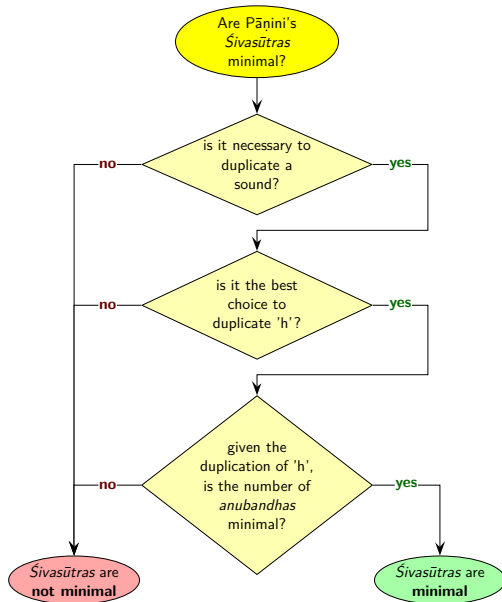
- ① each *pratyāhāra* forms an interval ending before an *anubandha*,
 - ② no sound occurs twice
- or** one sound occurs twice but less *anubandhas* are needed.
- ⇒ duplicating a sound is worse than adding *anubandhas*

Are Pāṇini's
Śivasūtras
minimal?





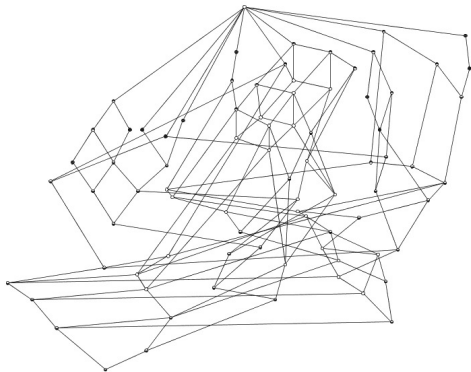




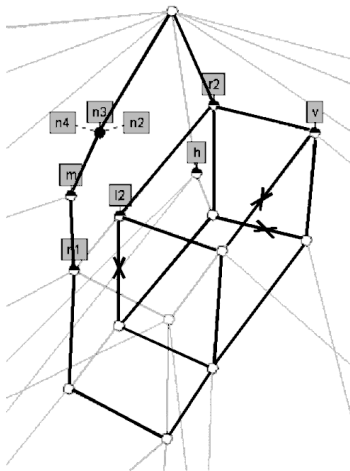
Is it necessary to duplicate a sound?

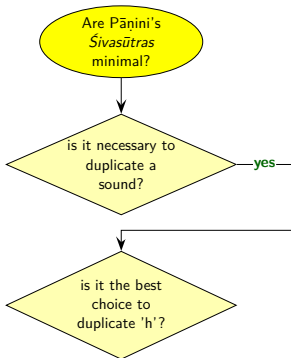
Main theorem on S-sortability (part 1a)

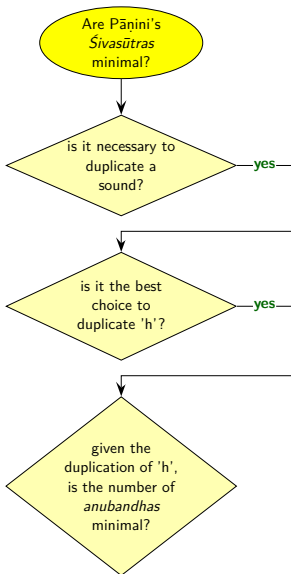
If a set of classes is S-sortable, then its concept lattice is Hasse-planar.



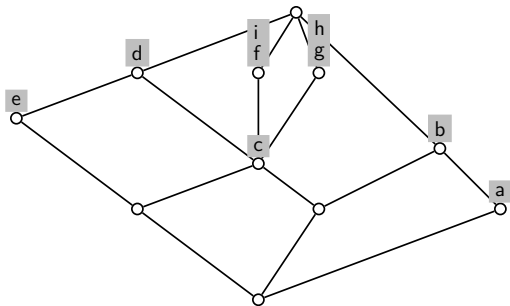
concept lattice of Pāṇini's *pratyāhāras*







S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers

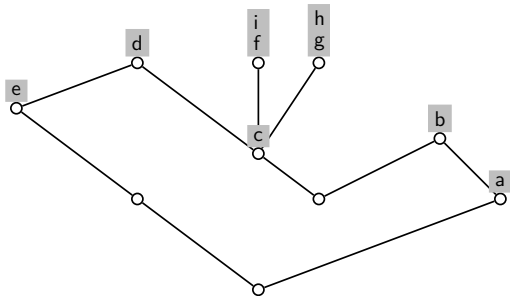


procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a labeled node is reached, add the labels in arbitrary order to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers

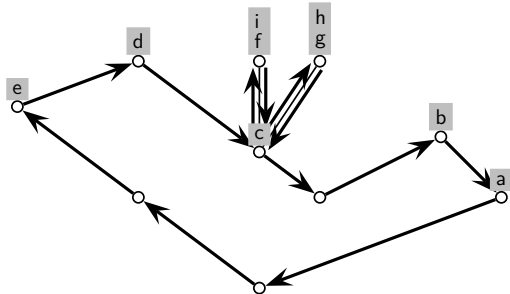


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- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a labeled node is reached, add the labels in arbitrary order to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers

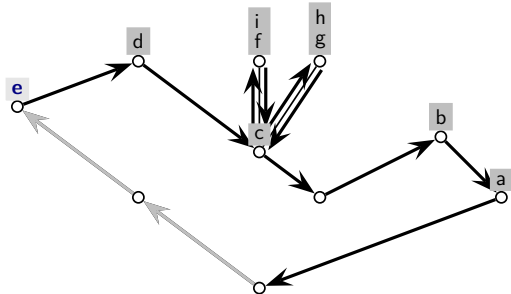


procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a **walk** through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers

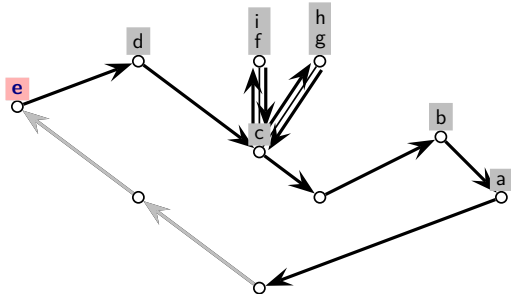


procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



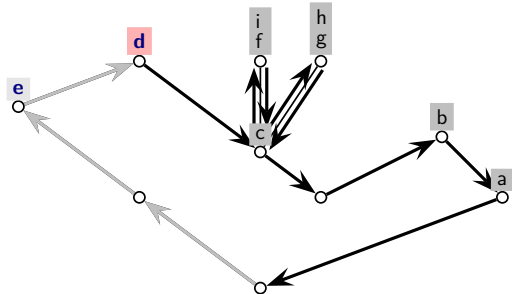
e

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
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- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



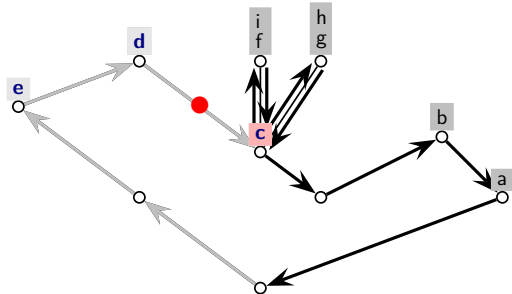
ed

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
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S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



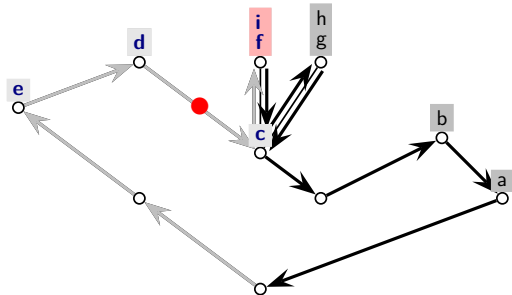
edM_1c

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
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- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



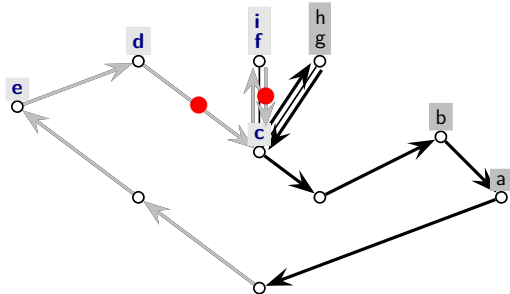
edM_1cfi

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
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- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



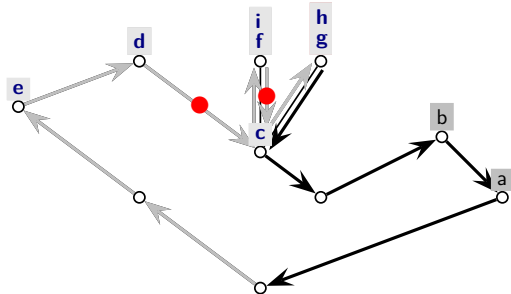
edM_1cfiM_2

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



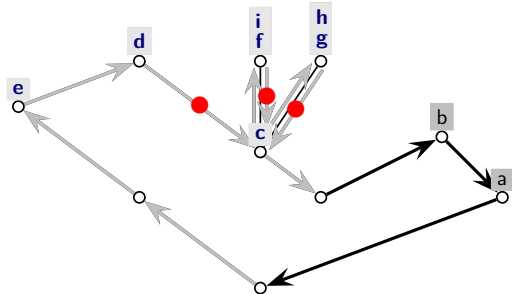
edM_1cfiM_2gh

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



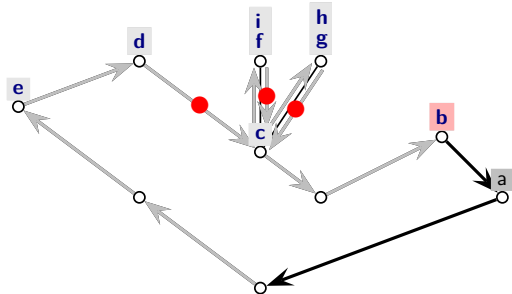
$edM_1cfiM_2ghM_3$

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



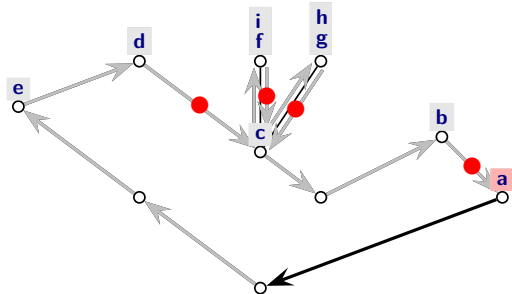
$edM_1cfiM_2ghM_3b$

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



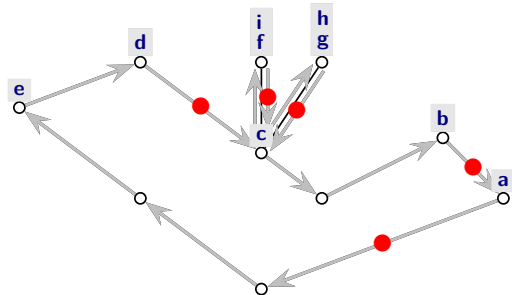
$edM_1cfiM_2ghM_3bM_4a$

procedure

Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
- While moving downwards along an edge add a new marker to the sequence unless its last element is already a marker.
- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

S-alphabets with a minimal number of markers



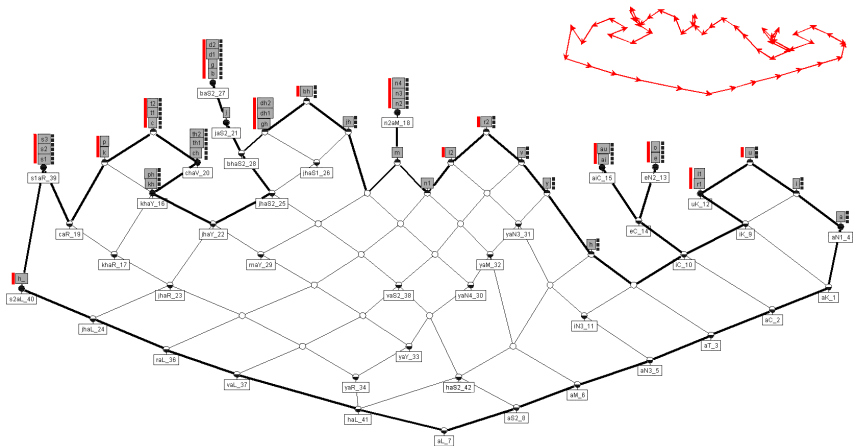
$edM_1cfiM_2ghM_3bM_4aM_5$

procedure

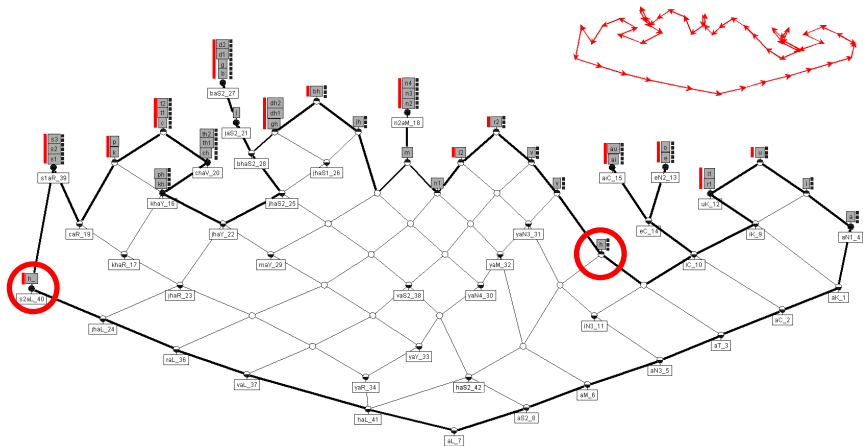
Start with the empty sequence and choose a walk through the S-graph:

- While moving upwards do nothing.
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- If a sound is reached, add the sound to the sequence, unless it has been added before.

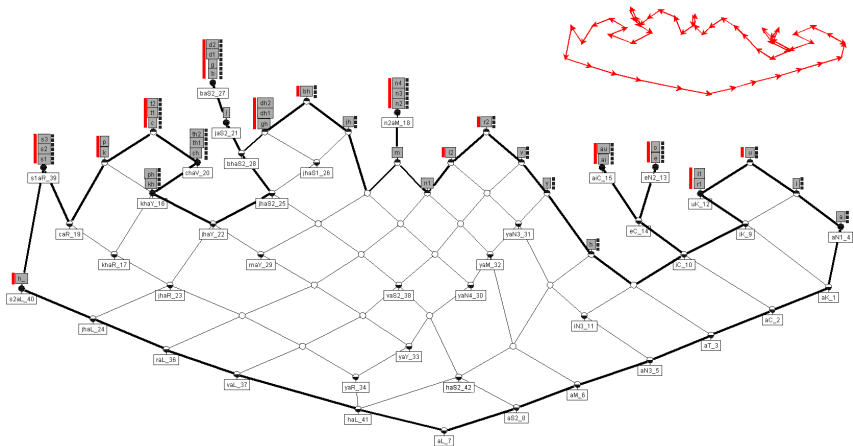
Concept lattice of Pāṇini's *pratyāhāras* with duplicated *h*



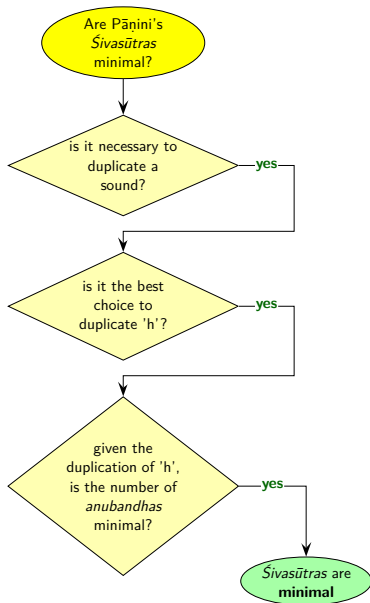
Concept lattice of Pāṇini's *pratyāhāras* with duplicated *h*



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With the Śivasūtras Pāṇini has chosen one out of nearly 12 million minimal S-alphabets!



Open problems

What explains the actual structure of the *Śivasūtras*?

- **principle of homorganic continuity** (Staal, 1962)
- **principle of historic continuity** (Cardona, 1969)
- **principle of economy and logic of the special case and the general case** (Kiparsky 1991) or **Pāṇini's razor** (Kiparsky 2007)

The presented approach cannot give an answer to this question

The story is much more intricate

- We have **neither** shown that Pāṇini's technique for the representation of sound classes is optimal
- **nor** that he has used his technique in an optimal way.

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Literature

-  Kiparsky, P. (1991), Economy and the construction of the Śivasūtras. In: M. M. Deshpande & S. Bhate (eds.), *Pāṇinian Studies*, Michigan: Ann Arbor.
-  Petersen, W. (2008), Zur Minimalität von Pāṇinis Śivasūtras – Eine Untersuchung mit Mitteln der Formalen Begriffsanalyse. PhD thesis, university of Düsseldorf.
-  Petersen, W. (2009), On the Construction of Sivasutra-Alphabets. In: A. Kulkarni and G. Huet (eds.): *Sanskrit Computational Linguistics*. LNCS 5406, Springer.
-  Staal, F. (1962), A Method of Linguistic Description. *Language* **38**, 1-10.

Origin of Pictures

- libraries (left):
<http://www.meduniwien.ac.at/medizinischepsychologie/bibliothek.htm>
- libraries (middle): <http://www.math-nat.de/aktuelles/allgemein.htm>
- libraries (right):
<http://www.geschichte.mpg.de/deutsch/bibliothek.html>
- warehouses:
http://www.metrogroup.de/servlet/PB/menu/1114920_l1/index.html
- stores: <http://www.einkaufsparadies-schmidt.de/01bilder01/>