「松下アジアスカラシップ」詳細

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98－001	現代インドにおけるサンスクリット語文化の研究 —バラモン階層に伝わる土着文法の調査—		
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研究テーマ（留学目的）の説明 （助成決定時のテーマ。文責は本人）

サンスクリット語は、紀元前15世紀頃にインドに侵入したインド・アーリアン人が創り上げた「ヴェーダ」に代表される宗教文化を表した言語であり、今日に至るヒンドゥー教社会におけるバラモン階層の権威を象徴する。紀元前5世紀には、北西インドに現れたパーニニが、サンスクリット語文法（パーニニ文法）を作り、爾後、今日に至るまでサンスクリット語の規範となっている。

しかし、いわゆる"サンスクリット語の発見"によって19世紀のヨーロッパに成立した印欧比較言語学は、印欧語の歴史的研究が目的であるから、サンスクリット語を重要なデータとして扱いながらも、パーニニに始まる土着文法を省みることはほとんどなかった。また、印欧比較言語学の流れから成立したインド学の分野では、土着文法は主にインド思想史の観点から研究されているが、文献学に立脚した古典学の枠を出ず、現代インドに存続する土着文法の伝統を認めながらも、少なくとも学術研究の対象にすることはない。

申請者は、本邦で文献学的インド学を修め、同方法論に則った土着文法学研究を志してインドへ渡ったが、その折、ラテン語同様に死語と言われて来たサンスクリット語を自由に操るパンディットと呼ばれる伝統的なバラモン学者に接する機会を得た.彼らは、パーニニに始まる土着文法　―彼らには「土着」ということばは適用されないが―を土着文法学という学的対象としてではなく、当該文法が成立した紀元前5世紀当時と同様に、合理性・網羅性・経済性という一個の経験科学と見做し、サンスクリット語をより体系的に記述することに従事していた。そこで申請者は、彼らの下で、主に旋律を伴った読誦による伝統的なサンスクリット文法の教育を受け、2年間（1994－1996）の留学を終えた。

ところで、現代インドの実状に目を向けてみると、資本主義流入による社会意識の変容に伴い、サンスクリット語を学ぼうとする若い世代が激減しているのはまだしも、バラモン出身のインド人学者さえも伝統的なサンスクリット語教育を完遂しなくなりつつあるという事実がある。存命のパンディットは70歳以上の世代に残るだけであり、彼ら亡き後、この伝統が消滅することは間違いない。この事情は、儒教に根差した漢文教育が江戸末期までは常識であったにも拘わらず、明治維新後には衰退した本邦の事情に比肩できよう。

従って、現代インドにおける社会意識の変容に伴う伝統文化の衰退を目前にして、ヒンドゥー教という宗教社会の中枢を2000年以上担ってきたサンスクリット語文法の伝統を記録し、後生に遺すことは急務の課題である。

Abstract of

"Theoretical Development of Sanskrit Grammar
— in the case of the Sādhanasamuddeśa in the Vākyapadīya —"

by

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Chapter I   Introduction

The Sādhanasamuddeśa (SS)("instruction of the means") which is the main scope of the present thesis is equivalent to the seventh section of the third chapter (Padakāṇḍa) in the Vākyapadīya (VP), *magnum opus* of Bhartṛhari (ca. AD 5-6C). VP is said to be a work of 'philosophy of language' endowed with enormous influence from the then various philosophical schools, while it is based upon the monistic scheme of the Vedānta and the Pāṇinian grammar as its metaphysical and linguistic backgrounds respectively.

Although Bhartṛhari is appreciated broadly as a pious grammarian succeeding the *trimuni* and exerting massive influence on the later grammarians, his actual contribution to the Pāṇinian grammar in the theoretical sphere has not been clarified. Therefore, the present thesis primarily deals with particular grammatical issues originating in the rules of Pāṇini and the discussions in the Mahābhāṣya (MBh). It tries to settle Bhartṛhari as a grammarian into the history of the Pāṇinian grammar school as far as these grammatical issues are concerned. Moreover, it deals with the doctrine of *śakti* ('power'), the philosophical background that emerges necessarily in the course of researching Bhartṛhari's linguistic discussions.

Three grammatical issues with respect to the *kāraka* theory and, more extensively, the *kriyā—kāraka* correlation are taken mainly from SS and partly Kriyāsamuddeśa to be discussed in the following three chapters respectively.

Chapter II *Nirvartya* and *vikārya* in the scope of the formal grammar

Bhartṛhari classifies the *īpsitatama* type of *karman* into three kinds; the *nirvartya*, the *vikārya* and the *prāpya*. The former two may be easily understood as 'to be produced' and 'to be modified' and can be traced back to *nirvartyamāna* ("being produced") and *vikriyamāṇa* ("being modified") in MBh *ad* A3.2.1 respectively as is evident from that each two are identified in the Kāśikāvṛtti (KV). However, critical evaluation of the later grammarians' views proves divergence between Bhartṛhari and all the other grammarians. It can be concluded that *nirvartya* is a grammatical category to be applied to the single accusative construction which covers both of *nirvartyamāna* and *vikriyamāṇa* proposed on account of semantic values of items, and *vikārya* is one to be applied to the word for the effect of a type of double accusative construction in a particular context under 'modification'.

Chapter III *Karmakartari* in the scope of the general formulation of the *kāraka* theory

In order to justify the literal meaning of the word *kāraka* ("doer"), Kātyāyana proposes a crude idea that an action denoted by a verb is actually a complex action where every substratum serves as *kartṛ* ("doer") to its own sub-action. Bhartṛhari develops it into the general formulation of the *kāraka* theory; an action has the double syntactic structure: a syntactic network around the main action under the control of the main agent and the agentive syntactic units of subordinate actions, both of which have common substrata.

For example, the fire that serves as *karaṇa* to the main action 'softening' serves simultaneously as *kartṛ* to its sub-action 'burning'. Each of

the syntactic structure is realized as *agninā pacati* and *agniḥ pacati* respectively. By applying the same procedure to *karman*, the *karmakartari* construction is automatically derived; *odanaṃ pacati* and *odanaḥ pacyate* (*svayam eva*) [←*odanaḥ pacati].

Therefore, the general formulation of the *kāraka* theory, from which the *karmakartari* construction is necessarily derived, is said to be a height of theorization procured in the Pāṇinian grammar school. At the same time, the varied verbalization of an event like *sthālī/ sthālyā/ sthālyāṃ pacati* is identified with the realization of the multiple *śakti* because of the common subjective determinants: 'speaker's intention'(*vivakṣā*) and 'mind'(*buddhi*).

Chapter IV   *Siddhakriyā* in the scope of the *sādhya — sādhana* structure

Contrasted with the meaning of a verb like *pacati*, that of an action noun like *pāka*- is depicted as "... embodied as an existent entity"(...*mūrtaṃ sattvabhūtam*) in the Nirukta, "like a substance"(*dravyavat*) in MBh and "having ceased temporal sequence"(*upasaṃhṛtakrama*) by Kaiyaṭa. One may contextually connect such characterizations of an action noun with *siddha* (lit. "accomplished") proposed by Bhartṛhari, contrasted with *sādhya* ("to be accomplished") which expresses the semantic value of an action denoted by a verbal root: 'a process from the beginning to the end with temporal sequence aiming at a particular result'.

However, the concept of *siddha* indicates the functional aspect of abstraction as is specified by Bhartṛhari as "delimited"(*paricchinna*); action noun conceptualizes the meaning of a verbal root *as it is, i.e.* without any semantic specification by abstraction. As is clear from that Bhartṛhari speaks of *sādhya* and *siddha* not in a verb and an action noun respectively but the verbal root and the *kṛt*-suffix in an action noun, an action noun denotes an action 'to be accomplished'(*sādhya*) as it is by abstraction to be characterized as 'delimited'(*paricchinna*), *i.e. siddha* and serves as *sādhana* to another

3

action. This understading of action noun leads, as is actually discussed by Bhartṛhari, to the complex syntactic structure around an action noun like *odanasya pākaṃ karoti* and is reflected in the formulation by the later grammarians: *sādhya=kriyānatarākāṅkṣānutthāpakatāva-cchedakarūpatvaṃ kārakānvayitāvacchedakarūpavattvaṃ* *ca* and *siddha=kriyānatarākāṅ-kṣotthāpakatāvacchedakarūpatvaṃ kārakānanvayitāvacchedakarūpavattvaṃ.*

Chapter V   Conclusion

It has been clarified that Bhartṛhari is faithful to Pāṇini's grammar as an empirical science. And it is remarkable that his conservatism to Pāṇini characterizes his philosophy of language.

The doctrine of *śakti*, due to which the universe is to be rationalized, is basically postulated on the metaphysical level as far as it is said to ultimately belong to the supreme being *brahman*. However, by incorporating the subjective determinant or, to say in the traditional terminology, *vivakṣā* into this doctrine, it descends to a theory that can deal with actual verbal phenomenon. In other words, the grammar that primarily aims at the objective fixation of verbal expression (*abhidhāna*) is correlated through the *śakti* theory with the dynamism of the verbal activity (*vyavahāra*) comprising speaker's intention to express (*vivakṣā*), actual expression (*abhidhāna*) and hearer's apprehension (*pratīti*). Thus, retaining its nature as the science, the system of grammar comes to deserve to be a precise model of the metaphysical doctrine that justifies the varied realization of the universe. Therefore, to Bhartṛhari, the pursuit of precision of the system of grammar is said to be the verification of his metaphysics on the phenomenological level.