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研究課題名(英文)A Sanskrit-Tocharian Dictionary Project

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研究成果の概要(和文):本研究はトカラ語のレキシコンを解明することを目的とし、特に梵文アビダルマ文献 や他の仏教文献がどのようにトカラ語に訳されたのかという問題を扱った。今までにトカラ語のアビダルマ文献 を対象とした研究は主に仏教学的な観点から行われており、トカラ語の言語現象に着目した研究はまだ少なく、 トカラ語の語彙や表現の理解は不十分もしくは不正確である場合が多い。梵文などのパラレルを比定することに よって、またトカラ語アビダルマ文献における梵文の影響を常に念頭におくことによって、本研究はトカラ語の レキシコンの解明に貢献した。また、いくつかの重要なトカラ語写本を初めて詳細な分析を行い、完全な形で翻 訳することに成功した。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This project has identified new parallels and provided the first complete translation of a number of important Buddhist texts. In addition to contributing to Tocharian studies and Indo-European linguistics, the results of this project will also make these texts more accessible to Buddhologists.

研究成果の概要(英文): This research project focused on shedding light on the Tocharian lexicon and the translation into Tocharian of Sanskrit Abhidharma and other Buddhist literature. While there have been a number of important studies on Tocharian Abhidharma texts from the standpoint of Buddhology, a detailed analysis from the standpoint of Tocharian is still lacking for many texts. This lack of analysis has contributed to an insufficient or inaccurate understanding of many Tocharian words and phrases. By identifying new parallels in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan, and by remaining highly sensitive to the influence of Sanskrit phraseology on Tocharian texts of this genre, this project has greatly contributed to a better understanding of the Tocharian lexicon. A number of important manuscripts have been fully analyzed and translated for the first time.

研究分野: Tocharian and Indo-European linguistics

キーワード: Tocharian Sanskrit linguistics historical linguistics Indo-European Buddhist Studies

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1.研究開始当初の背景

Tocharian is a branch of the Indo-European language family consisting of the two closely related languages Tocharian A (also called East Tocharian or Agnean) and Tocharian B (also called West Tocharian or Kuchean). The language is preserved in documents from around the 5th to 11th centuries found in the oases north of the Taklamakan desert. Most of the manuscripts are arrangements or translations of Buddhist literature, although secular documents such as caravan passes, letters, and temple accounts are also found. The documentary evidence of Tocharian is unfortunately fragmentary and limited when compared to other ancient Indo-European languages such as Greek and Sanskrit. The meaning of particular words and phrases in Tocharian texts is often not exactly clear and has to be determined on the basis of context, comparison with parallel Buddhist texts in languages such as Sanskrit or Chinese, or through consideration of cognates from other Indo-European languages. For this reason, the meanings found in Tocharian dictionaries and glossaries compiled by scholars are often highly provisional. In addition, the Tocharian speakers had a good familiarity with Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and other Indic languages. Many of the manuscripts are bilingual in that they contain quotes from Sanskrit followed by glosses and commentary in Tocharian. Sanskrit texts have exerted a considerable influence on not only the vocabulary but also the phrasing and style of Tocharian texts. In some cases, the meaning of a particular word or phrase in Tocharian is only understandable by inferring the corresponding word or phrase in Sanskrit. A better understanding of the Tocharian lexicon through the identification of parallels or by inferring the influence of Buddhist phraseology and stylistics is a persistent task in Tocharian studies.

2.研究の目的

The goal of this research project is to shed light on the Tocharian lexicon and the translation into Tocharian of Sanskrit Abhidharma and other Buddhist literature and technical vocabulary. While there have been a number of important studies on Tocharian Abhidharma texts from the standpoint of Buddhology, a detailed linguistic analysis from the standpoint of Tocharian is still lacking for many texts. This lack of analysis has contributed to an insufficient or inaccurate understanding of many Tocharian words and phrases. By clarifying these texts and presenting for the first time a complete translation and analysis of a number of important manuscripts, it is hoped that this project will contribute not only to Tocharian and Indo-European linguistics but also to the field of Buddhist Studies.

3.研究の方法

This project took up a number of Tocharian Abhidharma texts and other Buddhist literature and employed a methodology that is informed by both philological linguistic research and Buddhology. By identifying new parallels in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan, and by remaining highly sensitive to the influence of Sanskrit phraseology on Tocharian texts of this genre, this project has contributed to a better understanding of the Tocharian lexicon. A number of important manuscripts have been fully analyzed and translated for the first time.

4.研究成果

In addition to identifying manuscript B 543 as a fragment of the *Tridandisūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama* (Catt 2021) and conducting a comprehensive study on the usages and semantics of the verb B *au-n-*, A *o-n-* (Catt 2022), I collaborated with Athanaric Huard (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris) and Yuima Inaba (Kyoto Koka Women's University) to produce three detailed studies in a series titled "Tocharian Abhidharma Texts". This series has turned into an ongoing project, and the fifth installment is already in preparation. While the first installment of our series was published in 2020, the publication of the following two papers has been delayed due to covid and other complications. These papers have been accepted by the *Journal Asiatique* and are currently awaiting publication. I provide a brief summary of our findings from these papers in the paragraphs below.

The first installment in our series is a philological study of the Tocharian manuscript B 197. Kudara (1974) first identified this manuscript as a commentary on the *Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraņa*, a fifth-century Sarvāstivādin abhidharma manual. Since Kudara's groundbreaking study and translation, essentially no research had been conducted on this text until Catt (2016), which uncovered a new verb form that allowed for a better understanding of the first lines of the manuscript. In this new study, we present a rigorous full transcription and translation of the text along with detailed commentary and two in-depth lexical studies. In particular, we demonstrate that the phrase *yumāne nesalñe* is to be understood as a gloss for Skt. *anubhava* 'experience, perception', confirming an observation about the meaning of the root *yu*-made by Peyrot (2013). We also identify the previously unclear form *käkse* in the manuscript as a scribal error for **wakse*, an adjective meaning 'cool'. This allows us to connect the form with Tocharian A *wpäs*, a hapax, and the Tocharian B verb *wäks*-, in addition to further cognates in other Indo-European languages.

The study will also be of interest to Buddhologists for the light it sheds on Tocharian abhidharma texts and their relation to other Buddhist texts of this genre.

The second installment in our series presents the first full translation of A 384–386, a Tocharian A commentary on the *Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraṇa*, along with detailed notes on linguistic, philological, and Buddhological issues. Among the many new proposals and issues discussed are *masal-yamtsune* 'causality' as a partial calque of Skt. *pratyaya*; *tkāllune* 'elucidation,' translation of Skt. *vicāra*, from the root $tk\ddot{a}l^{a}$ - 'illuminate;' *yulā* as an adverb used to calque the Sanskrit preverb *ava*; the meaning of the root $r\ddot{a}tk$ - ~ *ritk*- 'raise, arouse;' the sophisticated discussion of *vitarka* and *vicāra* in connection with theories of cognition in the Tocharian commentary; and the discrepancies among the Tocharian/Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions of this section of the *Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraṇa*.

The third installment in our series presents the first full English translation of B 199, a Tocharian B commentary on the *Abhidharmadīpa*, along with detailed notes on linguistic, philological, and Buddhological issues. The passage preserved in this manuscript concerns the 80,000 divisions of the Dharma (*dharmaskandha*), a term referring to the various discourses of the Buddha, and the related problem of the intrinsic nature of the Buddha's teaching (*buddhavacana*). After providing an overview of recent research on manuscripts of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, we discuss the concept of the divisions of the Dharma itself and offer some insights into the different ways in which this concept surfaces in the Buddhist literature. The main body of the article treats the linguistic and paleographic features of the Tocharian manuscript and provides a transcription, translation, and notes on the text. In addition to restoring the missing portions of the manuscript, we discuss issues such as copyist errors, the unique allative plural ending in *-aiş*, gender agreement, and methods of adapting Sanskrit loans into Tocharian. An appendix provides relevant passages from the *Abhidharmadīpa*.

Below I summarize the findings from my comprehensive study on the usages and semantics of the verb B au-n-, A o-n- (Catt 2022). The verbs Tocharian B au-n-, A o-n- show an interesting bifurcation in meaning according to voice. Middle forms typically appear with an infinitive and mean 'begin (to do something)' while active forms appear without an infinitive and mean-according to previous scholarship--'hit, strike, wound, attack, etc.'. In this paper, I conduct a comprehensive survey of the occurrences of this root while paying careful attention to the contexts in which they are used and conclude that the active forms in fact mean 'penetrate, pierce' with a metaphorical extension to 'penetrate (intellectually)' in some passages. An important piece of evidence for positing this meaning is the occurrence of aunu (past participle of B au-n-) as a gloss for Skt. pratividdha- 'penetrated (intellectually)' at B 542 b7. Previous approaches attempt to connect B au-n-, A o-n- with other Indo-European roots with a range of meanings such as 'seize, grasp, reach, attain, touch, strike' and generally try to derive the meaning of the Tocharian middle forms from the active forms. More recently, Hackstein [2020] posits PIE $h_{2}euh_{1}$ -'run/rush towards (in order to help or to attack)' as underlying B au-n-, A o-n- and argues that the Tocharian forms synchronically exhibit the semantics of a motion verb. I argue that these solutions are unlikely since they have as their starting point an inaccurate or overly vague notion of the meaning of the active forms. Finally, for the semantic development from 'penetrate, pierce' to 'begin', I point out that the action of penetrating can be conceived of as the action of entering or opening up, providing a natural link for a development to 'begin'. Germanic forms such as OHG in-ginnan, in which a verb meaning 'cut open, open up' comes to be used in the sense of 'begin' provide a parallel for the proposed semantic development.

5.主な発表論文等

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〔雑誌論文〕 計6件(うち査読付論文 6件/うち国際共著 5件/うちオープンアクセス 3件)	
1.著者名	4.巻
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1.著者名	4.巻
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Audin Arvan Vatt, Athanaric Huaru, Turina Hidba	011.1
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〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6.研究組織

氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考

7.科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

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8.本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

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