

On the inflection of OInd. *śiras-/śirṣāṇ-*, n. 'head'

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1. The word for 'head' in OInd. is known by its suppletive inflection : nom.-acc. sg. *śiras* (< **ḱr̥h₂-es* or **ḱr̥h₂-ós*), the other cases from *śirṣāṇ-*, a stem extended by -an- (< **ḱr̥h₂-s-én-*)¹⁾ : instr. sg. *śirṣṇā*, nom.-acc. pl. *śirṣāṇi* (RV VII¹, X¹⁺) ; *śirṣā* (RV I², VI¹, VIII¹, X¹). The formation of abl. sg. *śirṣatás* is to be traced to proto-IE : **ḱr̥h₂sṇ-tós*, gr. *κρᾶατος*. A secondary thematic stem appears in a supplemental hymn of the RV in nom. du. *śirṣé* (1.1). The instr. sg. *śirasā*, inflected as a -as- stem, occurs in RV-Khila I 9,4 ; 11,3 ; ŚBM (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa-Mādhyaṇḍina) XIV 2,2,50. The inflection in the -as- declension is known in the ŚBK (ŚB-Kāṇva). Pāṇini VI 1,60 points out that *śirṣāṇ-* is a Vedic form. In Epic and Classical Skt. only the inflections of the -as- and -a- stems are found.

The facts stated above are already described in AiG III 315f. It discusses also the formation of adj. *śirṣaṇyā-* (AiG II-2, 811 ; see n.8) and forms in compounds (in the prior member : II-1,56 ; in the final member : II-1,92 ; 115f.). But, the description about the transition of inflection is rather brief and there is some room to take up the problem once more. The description about compounds is required to be improved. This paper examines the forms and the compounds of *śiras-/śirṣāṇ-* found in the Saṁh. and Br. It will clarify the historical development of the word, which will offer some points of view to find out the strata of the Vedic literature.

1.1 The inflection in the Ṛg-Veda [RV]. This paradigm is the basic pattern for the

	nom.-acc.	instr.	dat.	abl.	abl.-gen.	loc.
sg.	<i>śiras</i> ²⁵	<i>śirṣṇā</i> ²³	<i>śirṣṇé</i> ¹	<i>śirṣatás</i> ¹	<i>śirṣṇás</i> ³	<i>śirṣāṇ</i> ² , <i>°āṇi</i> ²
pl.	<i>śirṣā</i> , <i>°āṇi</i>					<i>śirṣásu</i> ²

Vedic period except *śirṣā* with -ā in pl., which is peculiar to the RV²⁾. In RV IV

58,3 (a supplemental hymn) the nom. du. *śirṣé*¹ is found³⁾. This thematic stem derives from nom.-acc. pl. *śirṣā* (ṇi) and the prior member of the compounds (cf. abl. sg.

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śirṣatás), which fall into the same appearance with *-a-* stem (cf. AiG III 315). The RV-Khila has *śirasā* (I 9,4; 11,3) besides the regular instr. sg. *śirṣṇā* (V 22,8). The former reflects the advanced stage of language, cf. 1.10.

1.2 The Atharva-Veda [AV] and AVP [AV-Paippalāda]⁴⁾ have loc. sg. *śirṣé* (*-a-* stem. cf. 1.1) in AV VII 56,6 ~ AVP (-Or., -Kashm.) I 48,2; AV XIV 1,55 ~ AVP-Or. XVIII 5,8 ~ AVP-Kashm. XVIII 6,3 besides regular loc. sg. *śirṣāni* (there is no example of *śirṣān*). The nom. sg. *śirṣám* AV IV 34,1, is the single example in the Vedic texts⁵⁾. AVP (-Or., -Kashm.) V 15,9 shows acc. pl. *śirāmsi* as in the ŚBK (1.6)⁶⁾.

1.3 The mantra-portion of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās [YS^m] shows no irregularity. The prose-portion [YS^p] has two irregular thematic stems : acc. du. *śirṣe* (KS XXX 1 : 182,9^p ~ KpS XLVI 4 : 327,15^p) ; instr. pl. *śirṣais* (KS XX 5 : 23,13^p ~ KpS XXXII 7 : 177,13^p). The regular loc. sg. *śirṣān* is used throughout the YS^{m, p}, except *śirṣāni* in KpS XXX 4 : 164,21^p.

1.4 The single exception in the ŚBM is *śirasā* (XIV 2,2,50). The very part of ŚBM is assumed to be originated in the Kāṇva-school and this wording is the remnant of the Kāṇva-school (CALAND, Introduction to ŚBK, 105ff.). In the loc. sg. the form *śirṣān* is prevailing. In the newer stratum *śirṣāni* is occasionally met with : ŚBM IX 3,1,8; XI 4,1,6; 14. The historical instr. pl. *śirṣābhis* occurs, among the whole Veda, only in ŚBM VI 2,1,11; VII 5,2,3 (cf. *śirṣais* KS-KpS^p). Also the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa [TB] (sg. nom.-acc., abl.⁵, loc.⁸, pl. nom.-acc.²) and Kauṣītaki-B. [KB] (sg. nom.-acc.¹⁰, loc.⁶) have no irregularity.

1.5 The Jaiminiya-B. [JB] shows an irregular loc. sg. *śirṣṇi* (I 49 : 3)⁷⁾.

1.6 In the ŚBK all case-forms are formed from *-as-* stem :

	nom.-acc.	instr.	abl.	gen.	loc.		nom.-acc.
sg.	<i>śiras</i>	<i>śirasā</i>	<i>śirastás</i>	<i>śirasas</i>	<i>śirasi</i>	pl.	<i>śirāmsi</i>

The adj. *śirasyá-* is also peculiar⁸⁾.

Other than the ŚBK, only traditional grammar and lexicography offer examples of this formation, cf. esp. Vārtt. ad VI 1,61⁹⁾ (cf. AiG III 315). The Pañcaviṁśa-B. [PB] (sg. nom.-acc., instr.³, abl.-gen.¹, loc.⁴), Ṣaḍviṁśa-B. [ṢaḍB] (nom.-acc. sg.³, du.¹, pl.¹) and Gopatha-B. [GopB] (sg. nom.-acc.⁹, abl.⁴: except for a quotation) also belong to the group in which *śiras-* is inflected in the *-as-* declension (see also 2.3).

1.7 In the texts mentioned above, there is most consistency of using *śiras-/śirṣān-*

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in the standard inflection or only *śiras-* respectively. In the following cases, two types of the inflection are mixed in the same text.

1.8 The Aitareya-B. [AB] shows sg. nom.-acc. *śiras*¹¹, abl.-gen. *śirṣṇas* (IV 22²), loc. sg. *śirṣan* (I 17⁴; III 3²) :: *śirasi* (VII 2¹). Two different text layers are assumed behind this phenomenon (I-V :: VI-VIII, cf. WITZEL, Fs. EGGERMONT, 185f.).

1.9 The Tait.-Āraṇyaka [TĀ] has sg. nom.-acc. *śiras*, instr. *śirṣṇā* (V 10,3¹), abl. *śirṣatās* (V 4,7¹). In TĀ X 1,8 (=MNārUp) the instr. sg. *śirasā* (-as- stem) is found.

1.10 In Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra [BaudhŚS] XXV 29 : 262,14 the acc. pl. *śirāṃsi* of -as- stem is attested besides regular *śirṣāṇi* (VI 10, X 12). This is due to the younger origin of the Karmānta-Sūtra (XXIV-XXVI). There are two deviated forms in the main Sūtra : abl. sg. *śirastās* XV 29 : 234,8, nom. du. *śirasī* X 9 : 8,8. Only the -as- stem is used in the Baudh.-Śulbasūtra (= BaudhŚS XXX) : *śiras*³, *śirasas*⁸, *śirasi*³. The inconsistency pointed out in 1.8-10 probably reflects the transition from Vedic to Classical Skt. There are also texts in which two types of inflection appear side by side without showing any difference of textual layer :

1.11 The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka [AitĀ] has sg. nom.-acc. *śiras*¹³, loc. *śirṣan* (I 5,2² ; II 1,4¹) :: gen. *śirasas* (II 1,4² : coexisting with *śirṣan*), loc. *śirasi* (III 1,2¹). In the Śāṅkhāyana-Ā. [ŚāṅkhĀ], there are sg. nom.-acc. *śiras*⁴, abl. *śirṣṇas* (II 2¹) :: loc. *śirasi* (II 2¹ : with *śirṣṇas* ; VII 4¹).

1.12 The Āpastamba-ŚS [ĀpŚS] shows sg. gen. *śirṣṇas* (VII 25,6) :: *śirasas* (XV 15,1, XVI 6,2, XVII 8,3), loc. *śirṣan* : *śirasi*, pl. nom.-acc. *śirāṃsi*. It is remarkable that the historical form *śirṣan* is always used with the verb *adhi-ni-dhā*¹⁰ ; otherwise *śirasi* is used. It seems to refer to a phenomenon in the transitional period to the secondary -as- inflection. The Kātyāyana-ŚS [KātyŚS] belongs to this group : sg. abl. *śirṣṇas*, loc. *śirṣṇi* :: sg. instr. *śirasā*, pl. nom.-acc. *śirāṃsi*, loc. *śiraḥsu*.

2.0 In the prior member of Compounds (cf. AiG II-1,56), *śirṣa(n)*^o is used regularly in the Vedic period: *śirṣakapālā-* 'skull' (AV, AVP, TS^p, ŚBM), *śirṣaroga-* 'disease of the head' (AVP), *śirṣakti-* 'head-ache' (AV, AVP. < *śirṣ+akti-*, cf. KUIPER, AcOr 17,22ff.; MAYRHOFER, EWAia s. v. *śiras-*), *śirṣaktimánt-* (TS^p). This formation is found also in the ŚS : *śirṣamāṃsa-* 'meat of head' BaudhŚS, *śirṣaktimant-* VaikhŚS¹¹), *śirṣaroga-bheṣaja-* PārGS. But the latter two belong to the vocabulary already at-

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tested in the Saṁhitā. *śiras*^o is allowed as the prior member in the Dvandva only : *śirogrīvam* 'head and neck' (MS^p, KS^p, AB). After the ŚS, we find Tatpuruṣa compounds (Tp.) having *śiras*^o : *śiraḥsthāna-* 'a chief place' (VaikhŚS, Vaikh-, ĀgnivGS), *śiro-bhāga-* 'the top' (VaikhGS). An adjectival Tp. is met with in the G S : *śiraḥsnāta-* 'who has bathed his head' (KauṣGS ~ ŚāṅkhGS). Compounds having *śiras*^o is very common in Classical Skt. (cf. AiG II-1,56. Examples in PW VII 192ff.).

2.1 In the final member of the Bahuvrīhi (Bv.) (cf. AiG II-1,92), °*śirṣāṇ-* (f. °*śirṣṇī-*) is used without exception in the RV : *saptāśirṣāṇam*, -*ṇīm* ; *sahasraśirṣā*, in the same manner AV, AVP, YS^{m, p}, ŚBM, TB, JB: *ékaśirṣāṇas* AV XIII 4,6, *kṛṣṇāśirṣā* MS IV 7,8^p, *śatāśirṣā*, -*āṇam* ŚBM IX, *anuṣṭupśirṣā*, -*āṇam* JB, AitĀ. This type remains in the Ār. and ŚS partly¹²⁾ : *vi-śirṣṇīm* (TĀ I^m, cited BaudhŚS XIX), *udak-śirṣṇīm* MānŚS. The word *viśirṣās* in JB II 304 is a result of the contamination of °*śirṣāṇ-* and °*śiras-* (AiG Nachtr. zu II-1,29). In the Vedic period compounds of °*śiras-* are rather sporadic anomalies: *prthū-śirās* AV V 17,13, *praticīna-śirās* ŚBM III 1,1,7, *nirūdhaśirasam* ŚBM X 5,5,8, *āpa-śirās* ŚBM XIV 2,2,48¹³⁾. After the Ār. and ŚS, °*śiras-/°śirṣā-* are prevailing : *aśiras-* (AitĀ, ŚāṅkhĀ :: RV *aśirṣāṇ-*) ; *pratyakśirasīm* BaudhŚS, *kṛṣṇaśirṣa-* VārŚS, °*śiras-* MānŚS.

2.2 YS^{m, p} and Br. have the thematic °*śirṣā-* as the final member of the Tp.¹⁴⁾ (cf. AiG II-1,118) : *mṛgaśirṣā-* TS^m, ŚBM, TB+, *paśuśirṣā-*, *puruṣaśirṣā-* YS^p, ŚBM+. °*śiras-* is prevailing after the ŚS (cf. AiG II-1,120) : *paśuśiras-* (Mān-, ĀpŚS etc.), *puruṣaśiras-* (Mān-, Āp-, KātyŚS etc.), *mṛgaśiras-* (ĀśŚS, PārGS). The form °*śirṣa-* remains partly: *puruṣaśirṣam* MānŚS VI 1,7,27 ; *mṛgaśirṣe* (loc. sg.) ĀpŚS V 3,6.

2.3 The ŚBK, PB, ṢaḍB and GopB, corresponding to their inflection in the simplex, use °*śiras-* as the final member of Tp. and Bv. against the other Vedic texts (cf. MINARD, Trois énigmes II, 311 ; AiG III 315f.). These texts replace °*śirṣāṇ-* by °*śiras-* also in such cases that the words are already used in the older literature : *triśiras-* (ŚBK, PB+ :: RV+ *triśirṣāṇ-*) ; *mṛgaśiras-* (ŚBK+ :: TS^m, ŚBM, TB+ *mṛgaśirṣā-*)¹⁵⁾. The forms °*śirṣāṇ-* (f. °*ṣṇī-*) are seen only in a quotation from the Saṁh. or idiomatic wording : *sahasraśirṣā* (*puruṣa*) (ṢaḍB IV 1,2 < RV X 90,1)¹⁶⁾. GopB II 6,14 *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī* (*prthivī*) follows MS I 2,4 : 13,4^m *áditir asy ubhayataḥśirṣṇī*.

1) Cf. MAYRHOFER, EWAia s. v. *śiras-*. About its situation in the IE languages and proto-IE : NUSSBAUM, Head and Horn in Indo-European, 1986 (a sketch in p.219). In Avestan only loc.

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sg. *sarahu* (Yt. 10,40) from *sarah-* (= *śīras-*) is attested (cf. ŚBK → 1.6). 2) The ms. of the KpS reads *śīrṣā* for *śīrṣāṇi* XXX 6 : 166,4^p. 3) Theoretically **śīrṣāṇī* is to be expected. Attested forms are *śīrṣé* of *-a-* stem and *śīrasī* of *-as-* stem (ṢaḍB, BaudhŚS). 4) *śīrṣṇam*, *śīram* given by Ved. W. Conc. under AVP are non-existent. AVP-Kashm. XI 2,5 is, instead of *alavatī ara śīrṣṇam*, to be read **ālavatī ruruśīrṣṇī* '(an arrow,) poisonous, having head of Ruru-deer (s horn)', cf. AVP-Or. (Ed. BHATTACHARYA) *alavatī ruruśīrṣṇī*, RV VI 75,15a *ālāktā yā ruruśīrṣṇī* 'Dem giftbestrichenen, dessen Kopf ein Hirsch (horn)' (GE). AVP XIX 34,16 (-Or., -Kashm.) *yūyam tu parṇinam śīram* is to be corrected to **śaram* 'but you do repel the winged arrow...', cf. AVP II 70,5 (Ed. ZEHNDER, AVP Buch2,1999) *yuyuta parṇinam śaram* 'wehrt den gefiederten Pfeil ab'. 5) *śīrṣam* given by Ved. W. Conc., AVP-Kashm. I 45,2 (Kashm. ms. : *juṣaśīrṣasāte*^o; Ed. BARRES, R.VIRA : *juṣe śīrṣam mā te*^o), is to be read with ZEHNDER, Paipp. -Samhitā. Kāṇḍa 1, 1993, 79f. : *juhūśīrṣam* 'mit einem Kopf wie ein Opferlöffel' (Bv.). 6) Kashm. ms. reads *sartastas* in AVP XII 3,10 (no corresponding in AVP-Or.). Both **śīrastas* (BARRET, R. VIRA) and **śīrṣatas* are possible. 7) Further KātyŚS VII 9,4; VaikhŚS I 1 : 21 (~ Kāth. Saṃk. 21 : 7); XII 19 : 16. 8) Derivatives in *-ya-* of suppletive stems are made from the stem forming oblique cases (cf. AiG II-2, 811). From RV to Classical Skt. *śīrṣanyā-* is used. 9) It is noteworthy that *śīrṣanya-* is attested in KātyŚS V 4,15. 10) ĀpŚS I 4,15; VIII 6,23; XIII 17,2; XVIII 15,5; XX 20,2. BaudhŚS shows the same construction in I 2 : 3,7; V 7 : 131,1; 7; VIII 16 : 257,11. 11) VaikhŚS I 1 : 21 *yac chīrṣṇi manthati śīrṣaktimān yajamāno bhavati* 'If one stirs up fire on the head [of *araṇi*], Yajamāna becomes having headache' ~KāthSaṃk. 21 : 7f. *yac chīrṣṇi manthati śīrorogaṇa yajamāno pramiyate* '...Yajamāna perishes by a disease of the head'. The compound *śīroroga-* is attested here in the KāthSaṃk. for the first time. 12) AiG II-1,92 : "Abgesehen von den altertümlichen Fällen ... scheint nach dem RV. *-śīras-* in den starken, *-śīrṣan-* in den schwachen Kasus und im Fem. üblich zu sein". But this view is unsatisfactory. The new word *kṛṣṇāśīrṣā* MS IV 7,8 : 103,7^p shows **śīrṣaṇ-* in the strong case, and *pratyakśīrasīm* BaudhŚS II 9 : 48,15, HirPitṛmSū I 5 : 1 has **śīras-* in the feminine. The choice between **śīrṣaṇ-* and **śīras-* depends on the historical development of the inflection of *śīras-/śīrṣāṇ-*, and not on the stem-degree. 13) It can be regarded as the remnant of Kāṇva-school's wording (1.6). The BĀU shows in the both recensions the Kāṇva-like *prāk-śīrās* (BĀUM VI 3,13 = BĀUK VI 3,6). 14) A Bv. having **śīrṣa-* as final member is to be regarded as isolated. The Vedic language offers no example other than *dāśa-śīrṣa-* 'ten-headed' in AV IV 6,1; AVP (-Or., -Kashm) III 17,2; IX 3,2. It is not "Sommer-Kompositum" judging from its accent. The reason why the Tp. shows **śīrṣ-á-* as its final member remains as a problem. 15) The vṛddhi-form *mārgaśīrṣa-* (JB III 386+) is used as a name of month (cf. Pāṇini IV 3,37) in the later period. *mṛgáśīras* AV XIX 7,2 is the form like ŚBK with anomalous accent as Tp. (cf. AiG II-1, 266). 16) In the MNārU *sahasraśīrṣam* is attested. Vedic texts have no example of *sahasraśīras-*. Its earlier examples are in MBhār. (cr. ed.) V 101,6; Rāmāyaṇa (cr. ed.) IV 39,46; 40,8 etc.

⟨Key words⟩ *śīras-*, *śīrṣāṇ-*, *śīrṣá-*, head, Noun-Inflection, Vedic.

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