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Peeling the Onion: A Cultural Analysis of *Bahuvrihi* (Exocentric) Compounds in Punjabi

Saima Jamshaid*[1]   Prof. Dr. Raja Nasim Akhtar [2]

1. Ph. D Scholar, Department of English, Foundation University Rawalpindi Campus, Rawalpindi, Pakistan
2. Dean Faculty of Arts, Foundation University Rawalpindi Campus, Rawalpindi, Pakistan

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The study aims at the analysis of *bahuvrihi* (exocentric) compounds in Punjabi with special focus on how these compounds arrive at the meaning of 'having X'? In literature exocentric compounds could not grasp the attention of the linguists due to their unpredictable meaning and less productivity, so no theory or model is introduced yet for the analysis of these compounds. Looking at the whole scenario the study with the help of data collected in Punjabi- a New Indo-Aryan language claims that every exocentric compound is based on some cultural conceptualizations and carries a metaphoric meaning. The study with the help of cultural linguistics tries to answer the question how the exocentric compounds arrive at the interpretation 'having X'. The data analysis proves that arriving at the meaning of 'having X' in the compounds is not a mystery, if someone has the linguistic cultural background knowledge.

Introduction

Compounding is a word formation process where two or more lexical units are combined together to form a new word (Crystal, 2006: p. 129). The process is very common and productive across the languages of the world. Although compounds are classified by various researchers, but the classifications for the contrastive and characterlogical research the Sanskrit grammarians made a classification which is still widely used by linguists (Bauer 1983, 2006). With the ground breaking work of Marchand (1978) almost every single aspect of English compounds such as structural, morphological, syntactic, etc. have been touched upon. As far the classification of the compounds is concerned Bloomfield (1933)

made a distinction between the endocentric and the exocentric compounds. The endocentric compounds contain a semantic head that helps in arriving at the meaning, while the exocentric compounds lack a semantic head as the meaning cannot be derived from the combined lexical items (Kageyama, 2010).

Bauer (1983) states that in English the exocentric compounds are very less productive and are of *bahuvirihi* types (someone has X attribute, where X is a compound) like *egg head, cut throat* etc. Contrary to English the New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) are very productive in this phenomenon. In NIA languages the compounds being studied since Panini (5th Century BC), but due to lack of interest in the theoretical linguistics in these languages much knowledge could not be poured in the process of compounding.

Vasu (1894) states that Panini (5th Century BC) was the first person who introduced the term *bahuvrihi* in his *Astadhayi* and classified compounds into: *avyayıbhava, tatpurusa, bahuvrihi, and dvandva*. According to Panini, these compounds denote a new thing which is not predictable from the constituents taking part in its formation (pp. 22-24). The term *bahuvrihi* 'having much rice' is used to denote a thing which is unpredictable from the constituents; 'a prosperous man'. According to linguists (e.g. Whitney, 1879 & Bloom field, 1933) the *bahuvrihi's* are also known as possessive compounds 'having X'.

Bloomfield (1933) makes a distinction between the endocentric and exocentric on the basis of semantic head. In the compound *pick pocket* the head is the infinitive form of verb, but compound as a whole is a noun, so it is exocentric (p. 235). On the other hands, the compounds *redskin, egghead* are also exocentric as the object does not belong to the entity denoted by the head. These are object and quality possessive as the object carries the such-as-such quality (Bloomfield 1933: 236). Bauer et al. (2013) also consider the compounds such as *blockhead, hammerhead* as possessive exocentric or so called *bahuvrihi* compounds (p. 465). According to Scalise and Bisetto (2009) the term *bahuvrihi*is a generic term used for exocentric compounds (p. 36). The term *bahuvrihi* is used in two ways; as term for exocentric compounds and a subset of exocentric possessive compounds means 'havingX'.

Since Panini (5th Century BC) the analysis of *bahuvrihi* compounds remain a puzzle for the linguists due to the unpredictability of the meaning 'having X'. In English *bahuvrihi's* are analyzed on the basis of similarities in attributes, shape or characteristics between the constituents and the meaning of the whole compound for example in the compound *redskin,* the first constituent is an adjective and acts as morphological modifier, while the second constituent is a noun and works as morphological head. Similarly, in the compound *ponytail*, both the constituents are nouns but the first constituent is the morphological modifier and the second noun is the morphological head. In both the compounds the second constituent provides the clue for the lexical category of the compound and the compounds as a whole are nouns. The compound *redskin* does not refer to a type of skin that is red, it denotes a person having redskin. Likewise *ponytail* does not mean a tail of a pony, but it means

to have a hairstyle that looks like the tail of a pony. Here the questioncan be asked how these compounds get the meaning of 'having X'.This very important question provides the basis for the present study and the researcher with the help of collected data in Punjabi a New Indo-Aryan language attempts to answer the question. The study is a very preliminary attempt as far the Punjabi *bahuvrihi*(exocentric) compounds are concerned. The study is a part of researcher's PhD dissertation and a big number of exocentric compounds is collected from various printed and non-printed resources. In this study only a few selected examples of *bahuvrihi*(exocentric) compounds are presented.

In the New Indo-Aryan languages especially in Punjabi the phenomenon of compounding is very productive and various types of compounds such as endocentric, exocentric (*bahuvrihi*) and copulative compounds are used most frequently. The data exhibit that in Punjabi the exocentric compounds are found with various structural patterns such as NN, AN, NA etc. The patterns 'having X' are very productive. The interesting thing is these compounds provide a metaphoric interpretation and are a commonplace among the speakers of Punjabi. These metaphoric expressions are used for a certain purpose. In *bahuvrihi* compounds an entity is denoted on the basis of one of the physical or abstract characteristics the entity possesses, but not mentioned explicitly in the compound (Barcelona, 2008: 210).

The study aims to introduce the exocentric compounds in Punjabi a new Indo-Aryan language. The main focus of the study is to investigate how the exocentric or the so called *bahuvrihi* compounds in Punjabi arrive at the meaning of 'having X'? To achieve the goal the study takes the help of cultural linguistics and claims that every exocentric compounds is culture based and carries a metaphorical interpretation. The native speaker on the basis of cultural knowledge not only forms novel compounds, but also arrives at the metaphorical interpretation of these novel compounds.

Before moving ahead it is very necessary to have a brief look on the Punjabi compounds. In Punjabi the exocentric compounds are two words formations withoutany inter fixes. A few examples having inter fixes working as genitive markers are borrowed from other languages such as Persian and Urdu for e.g. *kahr-ae-khudawandi,* 'wrath of God', *Adalt-ae-Uzma* 'high court'.

The study follows the following structure: A classification of Punjabi *bahuvrihi*(exocentric)compounds is given in section 2 in tabular form. Section 3 is based on a brief introduction of language and culture along with the role of concept and meaning in culture and language. Section 4 presents the analysis of the data selected. Section 5 is an overall discussion, whereas section 6 is the concluding part of the study.

Punjabi *Bahuvrihi* (exocentric) Compounds

The Punjabi compounds can be classified into the adjectives and nounlexical structural categories. Let us first start with the adjectival *bahuvrihis* as these are very productive in the language.

Adjective *Bahuvrihis*

Adjective + Noun

In Punjabi an adjective and a noun are combined together to form an adjectival *bahuvrrhi* for example *khulahutth* 'generous' as shown in the table 1 below. The compound is composed of the stem *khula* 'open' an adjective and a noun *hutth* 'hand'.

Table 1
Punjabi *bahuvrihi*A+NCompounds

S#	Constituent 1	Constituent 2	Compound	Metaphoric Meaning
1	*khulla* 'open'	*hutth* 'hand'	*khullahutth* 'open hand'	'a generous person'
2	*kali* 'black'	*kismat* 'luck'	*kali kismet* 'black luck'	'an ill-fated person'
3	*khush* 'happy'	*awaz* 'voice'	*khushawaz* 'happy voice'	'a sweet voiced person'
4	*vella* 'idle'	*panda* 'utensil'	*vela panada* 'idle utensil'	'a jobless person'
5	*nangi* 'bare'	*talwar* 'sword'	*nangitalwar* 'bare sword'	'a fearless person'

Noun + Noun

In the language with the combination of two nouns an adjective *bahuvrihi* is also formed. The examples are illustrated in the table 2 given below:

Table 2
Punjabi *bahuvrihi* N+N Compounds

S#	Constituent 1	Constituent 2	Compound	Metaphoric meaning
1	*kanchi* 'scissors'	*jeeb* 'tongue'	*kanchijeeb* 'scissors tongue'	'sharp tongued'
2	*khot* 'donkey'	*kunna* 'eared'	*khotkunna* 'donkey eared'	'long eared'
3	*jo* 'barley'	*siira* 'headed'	*josiira* 'barley headed'	'small headed'

Numeral Noun + Adjective

An adjectival *bahuvrihi* is also formed by combining numeral noun with an adjective. A few examples are presented in the table 3 below:

Table 3
Punjabi *bahuvrihi*Numeral N + A Compounds

S#	Constituent 1	Constituent 2	Compound	Metaphoric Meaning
1	*do* 'two'	*dila* 'hearted'	*do dila* 'two hearted'	'confused'
2	*saat* 'seven'	*maya* 'monthed'	*saatmayaa* 'seven monthed'	'premature baby'
3	*do* 'two'	*siira* 'headed'	*do siira* 'two headed'	'big headed'

Pronoun + Noun

In the formation of adjectival *bahuvrihi's* the pronouns are also used. The examples are given in the table 4 below:

Table 4
Punjabi *bahuvrihi* Pro + Noun Compounds

S#	Constituent 1	Constituent 2	Compound	Metaphoric Meaning
1	*apnaa* 'self'	*khuun* 'blood'	*apnaakhuun* 'self-blood'	'relatives'
2	*ger* 'other'	*mazhab* 'religion'	*germazhab* 'other religion'	'non-Muslim'

Nouns

Punjabi exhibits a great number of *bahuvrihi* nouns, where the first constituent is an adjective and the second is a noun. In these compounds the subordinated and attributive both the types are included. In these formations one of the body part is used as a second constituent. These compounds are formed by combining Noun + Noun verbal, Adjective+ Noun nominal and Adjective + Noun verbal. So let's start with the Noun + Noun Verbal.

Noun + Noun Verbal

In these formations both the constituents are nouns as illustrated in the table below:

Table 5
Punjabi *bahuvrihi* Noun + Noun Verbal Compounds

S#	Constituent 1	Constituent 2	Compound	Metaphoric Meaning
1	*tota* 'parrot'	*naak* 'nose'	*totanaak* 'parrot nose'	'having a long bent nose'

| 2 | *dadoo* 'frog' | *muu* 'face' | *dadoomuu* 'frog face' | ' a flat faced person' |
| 3 | *khu* 'well' | *tidh* 'belly' | *khutidh* 'well belly' | 'an over eater' |

Adjective + Noun nominal

An adjective is used as the first constituent and a noun nominal as the second constituent.

Table 6
Punjabi *bahuvrihi* Adjective + Noun Nominal Compounds

S#	Constituent 1	Constituent 2	Compound	Metaphoric Meaning
1	*kala* 'black'	*botha* 'face'	*kalabotha* 'black face'	'an ugly person'
2	*bud* 'bad'	*zabaan* 'tongue'	*bud zabaan* 'bad tongue'	'a bad tempered person'

From the above given classification it can be summed up that in Punjabi the adjectival are very productive and can be formed with the help of nouns, adjectives and verbs. The *bahuvrihis* always denote an entity 'having X', where X is always an entity belonging to a noun category.

It is already discussed in the introduction section every exocentric compound is culture based and culture helps in arriving at the meaning in all types of compounds called *bahuvrihi* or exocentric. Now the question arises how this happens? To get the answer it is very compulsory to have a look on some key points relevant to language and culture.

Language and Culture

In various disciplines there is a long debate on language and culture. Both the terms are used interchangeably and cannot be apart. Hofstede (1994) opines culture is a mental programming which helps in making distinction between various members of a group (p. 5). Every society has its cultural specific activities and experiences which are reflected via language. These experiences are passed on from generation to generation(Palmer, 1996). While discussing the relationship between language and culture Wardhaugh (2002) opines that language works as a tool to establish the world view of the speakers and culture is reflected with the use of language, so these both cannot be studied separately and for appreciating one the knowledge of the other is compulsory (p. 220).

The cultural and linguistic interaction is studied by various disciplines such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and cultural linguistics. In the recent years the cultural linguistics is getting popularity among linguists as for the study of language and culture is concerned.

Cultural Linguistic

In the literature a new discipline cultural linguistics explores the relations between language and culture and the synchronous interaction between language and culture(Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2011, 2017). It aims at finding out the relations between language and culture and the way people present their world view. Culture aims at establishing a unified sense making process shared by all the people living in same socio-economical surrounding. It works as a manmade web where the human-beings are suspended and is understood by them. The major challenge is to find out how these webs are created and understood (Geertz, 1973).

Cultural Conceptualization

Sharifian, (2003) opines that every culture has its own conceptualizations based on the personal and shared knowledge of the speech community. Various emotions, feelings, rituals are conceptualized differently by the people belonging to different ethnic groups. The knowledge about these cultural conceptualizations is a good source of cultural understandings and lack of knowledge about these causes misunderstandings in the intercultural communications. With the help of these cultural conceptualizations people may use things metaphorically and make their communication sensationalized.

Language and Concepts

For understanding language and culture'srelation, it is very important to have knowledge about the concept; a logical and philological unit of language and culture. Concepts may or may not be verbalized and can be transmitted via one word. These are schematic representations preserved in the minds of the speech community, but it is not compulsory to be included in the language.

In the anthropocentric paradigm, a word does not carry a dictionary meaningonly. It has some relation with the concept too. Concept means a combined structure of words formed on the basis of personal and collective experiences of the speech community that helps in extending the word meaning. This is the reason that every culture has its own concepts based on some linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge and are expressed by words, compounds, idioms, phrases and sentences etc. Besides the verbal means these can be presented via nonverbal methods such as arts and rituals too.

Language and Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) emphasize the role played by the human experience. They talk about how with the use of metaphoric expressions the abstract concepts are arrived at. In the conceptualization the embodiment plays a key role, as concepts are originated from and are used through body and mind. The perceptual and sensory motors help in giving meaning to concepts. The directly embodied

concepts provide the basis for metaphoric projection and enable us to understand the meaning of abstract concepts.

According to cognitive linguists one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another in metaphors for e.g., love is understood in the journey domain as love is a journey. In metaphor the domain A is the target and B is the source domain. Conceptual metaphors are addressed very systematic as there is a correspondence between the source and the target domain via mapping process. Metaphors enable us to arrive at the abstract from a concrete without facing any problem. Otherwise, it would become very difficult for us to talk about the abstract entities such as emotions, feelings, desires, time etc. When we are able to conceptualize one abstract entity in the target domains, then these can be conceptualized in different domains such as human body, cooking and food, forces etc. In short, it can be said that metaphoric thinking is rooted in our everyday life.

In conceptualization of any experience and embodying it into language metaphors play an important role. Aristotle and other philosophers also agree with the insignificant role of metaphors in thought construction. Metaphors are conventionalized cognitive structures, as these are not peripheral, but are very compulsory for thinking and reasoning (Lakoff & Jhonson, 1980).

Metaphors play an important role in the process of human thinking and reasoning and serve as the bridge builders between language and thought. With the help of metaphors the already existing concepts, meanings and reasoning are reshaped. Due to this characteristic metaphors have profound implications for linguistics and a good source of conceptual and experiential processes helpful in structuring the world. Thus it concludes that all our experiences and symbolic interactions are not only embedded in our body as well as are imaginatively structured.

Cultural Knowledge and Meaning Making Process

Cultural knowledge plays a fundamental role in the meaning making process. The people living in a community share some specific conceptualizations about the world they live in, due to which they can easily understand and identify the things in the same manners. They can easily interpret the things and can easily arrive at the meaning what one says. So, it can be said that meaning making process not only means the understanding about the words, but it means to understand the behaviors, attitudes and other things too (Palmer, 1996).

The above given is a brief introduction about language and culture, now the study moves towards the main part the data analysis.

Data Analysis

Example 1: *nangi*'bare' + *talwar*'sword' = 'a fearless person'

The compound *nangitalwar* 'bare sword' is used for the abstract concept of impetuousness. Morphologically, the compound is the combination of two constituents; an adjective and a noun. The first constituent *nangi* 'bare' is a singular feminine adjective and works as morphological modifier. On the other hand, the second constituent*talwar*'s word' is a singular feminine noun and plays the role of morphological head. In the literal sense the compound means 'a bare sword' and seems endocentric, but it is exocentric as it gives the meaning 'an impetuous person' which is unpredictable from the meaning of the constituents. Here the question arises how the compound arrives at this metaphorical meaning? For getting the answer it is necessary to look at the cultural conceptualization of the constituents taking part in the compound. As per the culturally shared knowledge *talwar* 'sword' is an iron weapon that is used in the war field or for killing the enemies. It has a sharp blade, so it is always kept in a case. When it is used in the battle field it cares for no one and pays harm who so ever comes in the range of its blade. On the other hand, a fearless person also does not get afraid of anything and faces the danger courageously. While fighting he does not care for his life and fights fearlessly without noticing who is coming in his way. Culturally, such a person is called *nangitalwar*. Now the question arises how the person gets this X; *nangitalwar*? Apparently, looking at the compound and its meaning there seems no logical link between the compound and its meaning. To answer this question let's have a look on the attributes/characteristics of the compound's constituents and the person. One of the characteristics of a bare sword is that it gives harm and is dangerous, likewise a fearless person also carries the attributes of being dangerous and harmful. Thus,the similarity in the characteristic of being dangerous provides a shift of meaning from literal to metaphorical'having X'. The sword, an artefact, a fighting weapon is metaphorically used for denoting a daring person. It means that adaring person carries the qualities of a sword. This whole shift from literal meaning towards metaphorical meaning 'having X' is based on the cultural knowledge and conceptualizations of the speech community about the constituents conjoined to form the compound. Thus, the cultural conceptualization helps us to move from an abstract concept to the concrete realization and brings the change in the interpretation of a compound. This points to the conclusion that the cultural knowledge plays a crucial role in allowing metaphorical extension of a given combination of lexical items which primarily refer to highlight the salient features of the constituents in the compound. Here a question might be asked about the selection of the constituents leaving aside the other options like *nangakhanjer* 'bare dagger',*nangichurri* 'bare knife' etc. The answer to this question is very simple that it is culture and cultural knowledge that decides which item to select and on what basis.

Example 2. *tota*'parrot' + *naak*'nose' = 'a person having a long bent nose'

For the concrete realization of the abstract concept of ugliness or deformedness the compound *totanaak* is used. Morphologically, two nouns are conjoined to form the compound. Both the constituents are singular masculine. The first constituent plays the role of morphological modifier and the second performs

the functions of morphological head. The literal meaning of the compound is parrot nose and the compound seems endocentric, whereas it is exocentric as it gives the meaning 'a person having a long bent nose'. The puzzle is to investigate how the meaning in the compound shifts from literal to metaphorical? This puzzle can be resolved by looking at how the compound and constituents are conceptualized in the culture. Culturally the compound is used for presenting a person having a long bent nose. It is tradition in Punjabi that human-beings are presented via animals/birds. It is culturally acknowledged that *tota* 'parrot' has a long bent nose. On the other hand, the person who has a long bent nose is metaphorically called *totanaak*. It is interesting to find how the person gets this X? Let's solve the puzzle by lookingat the body features of the human-being and the bird. If we look at the shape of the nose of *tota* 'parrot' and the person they resemble in their shape. This resemblance provides the basis for the compound formation as well as for having a shift from the literal towards the metaphoric interpretation 'having X'. Here the role of cultural knowledge cannot be neglected as the whole shift is based on the culturally shared knowledge of the speech community about the body features of the bird. Thus, it concludes that for arriving at the metaphorical interpretation cultural knowledge plays a vital role.

Example 3: *kala* 'black' + *botha* 'face' = 'an ugly person'

The compound *kalabotha* ' black face' is used for the abstract concept of ugliness. Two constituents; an adjective and a noun help in the formation of the compound. *kala* 'black' is a singular masculine adjective and works as morphological modifier, while *botha* ' face' is a singular masculine noun and plays the role of morphological head. In the literal sense the compound means 'black face' and seems endocentric, but it is exocentric as it gives an unpredictable meaning 'an ugly person'. The so far analysis provides the information about the morphological formation of the compound and the main question how the compound arrives at this metaphorical meaning needs to be addressed. Here we need to take help from the cultural conceptualization of the constituents, so let's begin with the adjective *kala* 'black' first. Like the other languages of the world colours carry an important place and are conceptualized in different ways in Punjabi. Culturally, black colour is conceptualized for ugliness and white colour is considered as a symbol of beauty, so a person having black complexion is metaphorically called *kalabotha*. Now the question arises how the person gets this X; *kalabotha*? Apparently, looking at the compound and its meaning there seems no logical link between the compound and its meaning. To answer the question the complexion of the ugly person and the conceptualization of the black colour are brought into consideration. Culturally, a person having black complexion is not liked and is considered an ugly person, so the shift in the meaning is the result of the determined cultural conceptualization about the colour and the person gets the interpretation of 'having X'. Thus, the cultural conceptualization helps us to move from an abstract concept to the concrete realization and brings the change in the semantics. This point to the conclusion that the cultural knowledge plays a crucial role in allowing metaphorical extension of a

given combination of lexical items which primarily refer to highlight the salient features of the constituents in the compound. The selection of the constituents is again questionable as the other options like *chittabotha* 'white face' *pilabotha* 'yellow face' etc., are not brought under consideration. The answer to this question is that the culture selects and rejects the constituents to form compounds.

Example 4:*sarya*'burnt' + *dil*' heart' = 'to have feelings of jealousy'

Culturally, the compound *saryadil* 'burnt heart' is used for the concrete realization of the abstract concept of jealousy. In the formation of the compound an adjective and a noun are combined together. *Sarya* is singular masculine adjective and *dil* is singular masculine noun. The adjective is the morphological modifier and the noun is the morphological head. The compound in literal sense means 'burnt heart' and apparently seems endocentric. This is not true as the compound gives the meaning 'to have feelings of jealousy'. Now the issue is how this happens and the compound gets the meaning of 'having X'. This issue can be resolved with the help of looking at the culturally determined role of the constituents and the culturally shared knowledge. Culturally, *dil* 'heart' is conceptualized as a store house of all the feelings; good, bad, hatred, jealousy, love etc. When someone thing burns it gives heat and the temperature rises, same is the case with aperson who feels jealous. In the state of jealousy he feels his heart is burning and his blood pressure also rises. Thus, the similarity in the rising of the temperature of a burning thing and a person feeling jealous provide the basis to form the compound. The native speaker having the cultural knowledge about the burning process can easily arrive at the metaphorical meaning of the compound and can easily understand how the person has the 'X'. This leads towards the conclusion that for arriving at 'having X' in exocentric compounds the cultural knowledge plays a key role.

Discussion

The data discussed above sheds light that *bahuvrihi* exocentric compound in Punjabi are very productive and have different structural patterns. These compounds are two words formations and are formed by conjoiningconstituents taken from different semantic domains such as animals/birds, colours and body parts etc. In Punjabi these compounds are mostly used to refer to human-beings via animals, birds etc. on the basis of similarities in their attributes. The data also exhibit that every compound is culturally embedded and every constituent in the compound carries some specific cultural conceptualization. Culture plays an important role in the formation of such compounds and with the help of cultural knowledge it is very easy to arrive at the metaphoric meaning of these compounds.

Conclusion

The purpose of the study was two folds; firstly, to talk about the morphological formation of *bahuvrihi* exocentric compounds in Punjabi and secondly,how these compounds arrive at the meaning of 'havingX'? The study with the help of cultural linguistics gave satisfactory answer to the raised questions. The

data analysis proves that culture plays a key role not only in the formation of compounds, but also in defining how the meaning in the compounds shifts from literal meaning towards metaphoric interpretation. The study hopes that with the help of cultural knowledge these compounds can be analyzed in any language of the world and it can easily be understood how these compounds arrive at the meaning of 'having X'.

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