JIHOČESKÁ UNIVERZITA V ČESKÝCH BUDĚJOVICÍCH

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA

ÚSTAV ANGLISTIKY

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

ONOMASIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH BAHUVRIHI COMPOUNDS

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Studijní obor: Učitelství pro střední školy se specializacemi: Anglický jazyk a literatura – Německý jazyk a literatura

Ročník: 3.

2024

I confirm that this thesis is my own work written using solely the sources and literature properly quoted and acknowledged as works cited.

České Budějovice, 29. 4. 2024

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Bc. Tomáš Miksa

Poděkování

Chtěl bych poděkovat vedoucímu mé diplomové práce, Mgr. Petru Kosovi, Ph.D., za odborné vedení a všechny cenné rady, které mi velice pomohly při psaní mé diplomové práce.

Anotace

Téma této diplomové práce je *Onomaziologická analýza anglických bahuvrihi kompozit*. V této diplomové práci je vysvětleno, co jsou bahuvrihi kompozita a také jsou popsány jejich hlavní rysy. Dále je vysvětleno, čím se zabývá jazykovědná nauka zvaná *onomaziologie*. V další části této diplomové práce jsou uvedeny konkrétní druhy rysů lidí či jiných entit, na které lze v angličtině poukázat s využitím bahuvrihi kompozit. Rovněž jsou uvedena morfologická schémata, podle kterých jsou bahuvrihi kompozita tvořena na základě toho, na který konkrétní druh rysu lidí či jiných entit mají poukazovat. Poté je výzkum zaměřen na způsoby, jakými bahuvrihi kompozita mohou být vytvořena tak, aby poukazovala na některý z uvedených druhů rysů lidí, případně jiných entit. Jakými způsoby lze v angličtině vytvářet bahuvrihi kompozita, aby poukazovala na kterýkoli z uvedených druhů rysů lidí či jiných entit, je ukázáno na konkrétních příkladech již existujících bahuvrihi kompozit.

Klíčová slova

bahuvrihi kompozitum, onomaziologie, morfologické schéma, konceptualizace, lingvistické kódování

Abstract

The topic of this thesis is *Onomasiological Analysis of English Bahuvrihi Compounds*. In this thesis it is explained what bahuvrihi compounds are, and their main properties are described. Subsequently, it is explained what the branch of linguistics known as *onomasiology* is concerned with. Furthermore, in this thesis it is observed to what concrete types of characteristics of human or non-human entities bahuvrihi compounds may draw attention. It is also observed what morphological schemas bahuvrihi compounds may follow, depending on the type of a characteristic of human or non-human entities to which they are meant to bring attention. Also, it is observed how bahuvrihi compounds may be created so that they would draw attention to those types of characteristics. Each of the manners in which bahuvrihi compounds may be created so that they would draw attention to any of the given types of characteristics is shown on concrete already existent bahuvrihi compounds.

Keywords

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

This thesis deals with an onomasiological analysis of English bahuvrihi compounds. In Chapter 2 it is explained what bahuvrihi compounds are and their main properties are enumerated. Subsequently, in Chapter 3, it is explained what onomasiology is and what the onomasiological approach to word-formation is.

In Chapter 4 it is explained how the list of bahuvrihi compounds which are analyzed in this thesis was obtained. It is said what group of bahuvrihi compounds was selected for an analysis and why specifically such a group of bahuvrihi compounds was selected, it is said in what corpus the bahuvrihi compounds were found, and it is also said what results which the corpus provided were not included in the list of bahuvrihi compounds that were afterward analyzed and for what reason they were not included in the list.

In Chapter 5 it is stated how the bahuvrihi compounds that were gathered from the corpus were analyzed, i.e. it is stated what the individual steps in the process of the bahuvrihi compounds' analysis were. It is also explained why they were analyzed in that manner, and thus it is said what the aims of this thesis are. Furthermore, in Chapter 5 it is observed what types of entities bahuvrihi compounds falling under the selected group may denote. It is also observed to what types of characteristics of an entity it is possible to draw attention by means of bahuvrihi compounds falling under the selected group. Nevertheless, Chapter 5 focuses especially on the schemas that are used as patterns for creating bahuvrihi compounds falling under the selected group. Moreover, focus is also laid on how specific the schemas are.

Aside from presenting schemas according to which bahuvrihi compounds falling under the selected group may be constructed, Chapter 5 focuses equally on the manners in what bahuvrihi compounds may draw attention to any of the types of characteristics of an entity. Thus, focus is laid on the conceptualization leading to selection of lexemes which instantiate the variables of a given schema.

2 Bahuvrihi compounds

As defined in *Merriam-Webster*, the term *bahuvrihi* denotes "a class of compound words whose meanings follow the formula '(one) having a *B* that is *A*' where *A* stands for the first constituent of the compound and *B* for the second".[1] To put it in other words, *bahuvrihi* is a name for a class of compound words which denote an entity, and which are comprised of two components. The first component is a word that denotes a specific feature of a part of the entity, while the second component is a word that denotes the specific part of the entity. Furthermore, it is also stated in *Merriam-Webster* that the term *bahuvrihi* may also be used to denote a compound word which comes under this class of compound words.[2]

Regarding the origin of the English term *bahuvrihi*, according to *Merriam-Webster*, the term entered the English language in the nineteenth century when it was borrowed from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit word in which the English word *bahuvrihi* has its origin is *bahuvrihi*, which literally means "having much rice" as *bahu* means "much" and *vrīhi* means "rice".[3]

In terms of compounds, there are two types to be distinguished, namely endocentric compounds and exocentric compounds. The former type includes compounds which are subordinate terms of their grammatical head. This means that an endocentric compound refers to an entity that is a specific type of the entity which the compound's grammatical head denotes. For instance, the expression *call-girl* is an endocentric compound because it is a subordinate term of *girl* as it denotes a specific type of a girl (Barcelona, 2008, p. 3).

Bahuvrihi compounds, however, belong to the latter type of compounds, i.e. exocentric compounds. An exocentric compound, in contrast with an endocentric compound, is not a subordinate term of its grammatical head since it may refer to an entity that is not merely a type of the entity which the grammatical head of the compound denotes. For instance, the lexeme *scarecrow* is an exocentric compound because it is not a subordinate term of *crow* as it does not denote any type of a crow but instead denotes

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[1] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[2] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[3] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

an entity whose purpose is to scare off crows. However, albeit the word *scarecrow* is an exocentric compound, it is not a bahuvrihi compound, but rather a *V + (object) N* exocentric compound, which is a type of exocentric compounds that do not fall under bahuvrihi compounds (Barcelona, 2008, p. 3-4).

What makes bahuvrihi compounds different from other exocentric compounds, such as *V + (object) N* exocentric compounds, is that they denote an entity through a mention of a typical physical or abstract property which the entity possesses, alternatively fails to possess. Owing to this characteristic of bahuvrihi compounds, it is oftentimes possible to paraphrase them by conceptually close possessive constructions. For instance, instead of using the bahuvrihi compound *fathead* it is possible to say about a person that they have a fat head (Barcelona, 2008, p. 4).

Another difference between bahuvrihi compounds and, for example, *V + (object) N* exocentric compounds in particular is that bahuvrihi compounds have the tendency to refer to humans, as opposed to non-human entities. However, this is not a rule, and there are many instances of bahuvrihi compounds that refer to non-human entities as well as many instances of different exocentric compounds that refer to humans (Barcelona, 2008, p. 5).

Regarding the characteristics which may be observed in prototypical bahuvrihi compounds, a list of such characteristics is presented below.

1. They are exocentric compounds which use one of their referents' characteristic properties to denote a category that is not explicitly mentioned within the compound (Barcelona, 2008, p. 5).
2. The characteristic property of a bahuvrihi compound's referent is presented as an entity. Therefore, for instance, *V + (object) N* exocentric compounds do not fall under bahuvrihi compounds (Barcelona, 2008, p. 5).
3. There is a possessive relation between the category which a bahuvrihi compound denotes and its characteristic property. For instance, this may be observed in *paleface* as it is an expression for a person who has a pale face. This is thus another reason why the above-mentioned *V + (object) N* exocentric compounds do not come under bahuvrihi compounds (Barcelona, 2008, p. 6).

4. They profile the entity to which they refer through a mention of the entity's characteristic property. It follows that they are nouns (Barcelona, 2008, p. 6).

The enumerated characteristics are the four most important characteristics of bahuvrihi compounds. Among other characteristics which most, but not all, bahuvrihi compounds exhibit is, for instance, that they are usually informal in style. Also, they most commonly are used in reference to humans, and in that case, they are often pejorative. Moreover, English bahuvrihi compounds most commonly consist either of an adjective and a noun, e.g. *fathead*, or of two nouns, e.g. *birdbrain* (Barcelona, 2008, p. 6-7).

3 Onomasiology

Since bahuvrihi compounds are in this thesis analyzed from the onomasiological perspective, it needs to be explained what onomasiology is. Onomasiology is a branch of linguistics which deals with concepts and with the words that serve to represent them. That is, onomasiology is concerned with the means by what concepts are communicated. It is concerned with the question of what word may be formed to represent a given concept.[4] Onomasiology may thus be contrasted with semasiology as the semasiological approach to the study of word-formation is to proceed in the opposite manner, i.e. from form to concept (Štekauer & Lieber, 2005, p. 207).

In terms of the manner in what words are formed, in line with Dokulil (1962) it may be said that, at the beginning, there is a concept in the extra-linguistic world which the speaker needs to denote. The speaker mentally processes the concept, and the result of the mental processing of the concept is subsequently paired with a model from the lexicon, after which the new word gets its final form.

The model may be either a word or a schema (Kos, in print, p. 3). In terms of schemas, there are two roles of schemas that may be observed, namely the *relational role* and the *generative role*. Within the former role, they are used for grouping lexemes together, which leads to providing the lexicon with a structure. Within the latter role, they are used as patterns for production of new lexemes (Kos & Rubio, accepted for publication, p. 9).

The process of creating a name for a concept may generally be divided into two major stages, namely the stage of *conceptualization* and the stage of *linguistic coding*. Within the stage of conceptualization, which is the initial stage, a set of all the features of a concept from the extra-linguistic world is considered (Kos, in print, p. 11-12).

Following Grzega (2007, p. 6), there are two types of features to be distinguished, namely *global features* and *local features*. Global features are features which a concept has in common with other concepts that belong to an already existent category. The concept is thus put into that category. How specific the category is, depends on the speaker's experience with the extra-linguistic world. For example, the least specific

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[4] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

category into which a concept may be put is the category *thing* (Langacker, 1987/1991) for nouns.

Local features, on the other hand, are features which make the new concept different from all the other concepts belonging to that category. For various reasons, however, only a few features get selected for the following stage of linguistic coding (Kos & Rubio, accepted for publication, p. 12). Radden & Panther (2004, p. 8) illustrate this on the concept of the word *screwdriver*. There was the tool screwdriver. It was associated with a complex *Idealized Cognitive Model* (ICM), i.e. a set of all the features of a concept (Kos, in print, p. 5), and guided by factors such as economy, salience, and metonymy, only some parts of the concept's ICM got selected and named because the coding of those parts of ICM was enough to evoke the whole ICM of the concept through the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy.

The selected local features together with global features are used to form the *onomasiological structure*, which is a term for the result of mental processing of a concept, i.e. a term for the result of the conceptualization stage. The onomasiological structure is comprised of two parts. Those are the *onomasiological mark* and the *onomasiological base*. The former is the product of conceptualization of the local features, whereas the latter represents the category to which a concept has been assigned based on its global features (Kos & Rubio, accepted for publication, p. 13-14).

Regarding the onomasiological mark, as has been stated, not all the local features of a new concept get selected for the stage of linguistic coding, but rather only a few of them. Those which get selected may either be reflected in the onomasiological structure directly or they may undergo a more complex conceptualization and get communicated through a metaphor and/or further metonymy (Kos, in print, p. 12-13).

In terms of bahuvrihi compounds, an example of already existent bahuvrihi compounds in whose case the local features that were selected for the stage of linguistic coding got reflected in the onomasiological structure directly is *jazzhead* which denotes a jazz enthusiast.[5] An example of already existent bahuvrihi compounds in whose case the selected local features underwent a more complex conceptualization and got

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[5] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

communicated through a metaphor is *asshead* which denotes an unintelligent person as the intelligence of the person is compared to the intelligence of an ass, i.e. an animal that is supposedly unintelligent.[6] An example of already existent bahuvrihi compounds in whose case the selected local features got communicated through metonymy is *seamhead* which denotes a person who is an avid baseball fan, and which communicates the concept of being interested in baseball through a word for a part of a ball that is used in baseball, i.e. it communicates the concept of baseball through a metonymic chain TOOL FOR SPORT and PART OF A TOOL FOR A WHOLE TOOL.[7]

Among the reasons for a more complex conceptualization is, for instance, that metaphor and metonymy may both serve as means by which multiple features may be compressed into one concept. Another reason may be that some features cannot be linguistically coded in any other manner because of an absence of a matching lexeme in the lexicon (Kos, in print, p. 14).

Regarding the onomasiological base, in terms of bahuvrihi compounds, they, as has been stated in Chapter 2, refer to a whole entity through a mention of only a part of the entity, e.g. through a mention of the head of the entity, as in *jazzhead*. Therefore, bahuvrihi compounds communicate a specific concept, i.e. a concept of a specific entity, through metonymy since the whole concept is referred to through a mention of only a part of the concept's ICM. Thus, regarding the onomasiological base, in this part of bahuvrihi compounds' onomasiological structure metonymy, i.e. the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy, is used since the category of an entity is communicated through a mention of only a part of the entity.

Regarding the second stage of the process of creating a name for a concept, i.e. the stage of linguistic coding, within this stage the selected schema is unified with concrete lexemes that instantiate the schema's variables (Kos, in print, p. 11).

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[6] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[7] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

4 Data collection

The list of bahuvrihi compounds that were selected for an analysis was put together solely in accordance with data provided by the corpus *Araneum Anglicum Maius (Global English, 15.04) 1,20 G* which was found in *Český národní korpus*. From this point forward, the corpus is further referred to in this thesis as *A. A. Maius*.

The list of bahuvrihi compounds which were gathered from *A. A. Maius* comprises such bahuvrihi compounds whose second component is the noun *head*. The reason why specifically such bahuvrihi compounds were selected for an analysis is that there are several miscellaneous types of characteristics to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may bring attention. This also shows the diversity of motivations and schemas which lead to the same form.

Under the criterion of ending in *head*, *A. A. Maius* provided 1612 results. However, not all those results were comprised of hits on a word that would be a bahuvrihi compound. The results which were not comprised of hits on a bahuvrihi compound included, for instance, results which were comprised of hits on an affixal derivative, e.g. the verbs *behead* and *co-head*, or the noun *forehead*.

Aside from affixal derivatives, there were results that were comprised of hits on an endocentric compound. Among the endocentric compounds found in the corpus were, for instance, the compounds *arrowhead*, *axe-head*, and *screwhead*.

Other results which were not comprised of hits on a bahuvrihi compound were, for instance, results which were comprised of hits on a dephrasal compound, e.g. *hit-the-nail-on-the-head*, *iPhone-strapped-to-the-side-of-your-head*, or *rub-your-stomach-and-pat-your-head*.

In some cases, the result was even comprised of a hit on a website address, e.g. *http://www.facebook.com/tristanhead*, *http://www.freep.com/article/20110405/BUSINESS04/104050402/1318/SPORTS16/Whole-Foods-shopping-site-Detroit?odyssey=nav%7Chead*, or *http://www.nexopia.com/users/woodseqst/blog/31-9-new-kanyeisms-that-will-leave-you-scratching-your-head*.

Among the 1612 results there were also such results which were comprised of hits on a proper name, such as a name of a concrete place or a surname. Proper names that were found in the corpus included, for instance, *Fargo-Moorhead, Hollingshead,* and *Weatherhead.*

There was also a considerable number of results that were comprised of hits on a word which was found in the corpus also under another of the 1612 results, i.e. such words were found in the corpus under two or more different spellings. Firstly, there were results that were comprised of hits on an incorrectly written word, a word which was found also under another result in terms of which, however, the word was written correctly. For example, among the 1612 results there was a result on the correctly written word *steelhead* but also a separate result on *teelhead* which was found in the corpus as the word *steelhead* was written in text with space between the initial letter S and the rest of the word. Other cases included, for example, the bahuvrihi compound *blockhead* being found under the result *blockhead* but also under the result *blockehead* where the bahuvrihi compound was misspelled. Similarly, *fuckhead* was found under the result *fuckhead* but also under the result *fukhead.*

Secondly, some words were found in the corpus under two separate results because in some texts they were written with a hyphen between their components, whereas in other texts they were written without a hyphen between their components. Therefore, for example, the bahuvrihi compounds *meth-head, rev-head,* and *thick-head* were all found under two separate results only because in some texts they were written with a hyphen between their two components, whereas in other texts they were written without a hyphen between their two components.

Among the 1612 results, there were in fact only 147 results which were comprised of hits on a lexical form of a bahuvrihi compound. However, because one lexical form may belong to more than one word, there were several instances of a situation when multiple homographic bahuvrihi compounds were found in the corpus under a single result. For example, this was the case of the bahuvrihi compounds *hophead*, i.e. a person who is addicted to drugs, and *hophead*, i.e. a person who loves beer.[8] Therefore, it was necessary to go through not only all the 1612 results but also all the hits on each of the

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[8] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

results to find out how many bahuvrihi compounds there were to be found in the corpus. In total, there were 155 bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus.

5 Analysis

Once a list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* was put together, the next step to be taken was to analyze them. The aim was, firstly, to find out what schemas may serve as patterns according to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may be created, and to find out how specific the schemas are. Secondly, in terms of each of the schemas, the aim of this thesis was to describe the conceptualization leading to selection of lexemes which instantiate the variables of a given schema.

As those were the aims of this thesis, it was necessary, first of all, to go through all the gathered bahuvrihi compounds and sort them out into categories according to who or what it is that they denote. It has been discovered that they may denote either humans or non-human entities.

In terms of the bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans, it has been observed that there is not only one type of a human characteristic to what bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention. Therefore, bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans were grouped according to the type of a characteristic to what they bring attention. Ultimately, it has been observed that there are 8 different types of human characteristics to which bahuvrihi compound ending in *head* may draw attention. Those are low intelligence, the characteristic of having a specific interest, the characteristic of being addicted to something, the characteristic of being associated with a specific community, the characteristic of possessing a specific internal noncognitive characteristic, the characteristic of being an unlikable person, the characteristic of possessing a specific external characteristic, and the characteristic of having a specific role on a sports team.

In terms of the bahuvrihi compounds which refer to non-human entities, it has been observed that there are different types of non-human entities that bahuvrihi compounds may denote. It has been observed that bahuvrihi compounds may refer to animals, i.e. in the sense of "any living thing that is not a plant or a human" as defined in *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*, plants, or inanimate objects.[9] Therefore, bahuvrihi compounds that refer to non-human entities were divided into three groups, namely the

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[9] Available online at https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

group of bahuvrihi compounds that refer to animals, the group of bahuvrihi compounds that refer to plants, and the group of bahuvrihi compounds that refer to inanimate objects.

Nevertheless, it has further been observed that regardless of whether it is an animal, a plant, or an inanimate object that any bahuvrihi compound denotes, there is only one type of a characteristic to what bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* that refer to non-human entities may bring attention, namely a physical characteristic.

The research was further continued by determining what schemas bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may follow. That is, in terms of the bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans, it was necessary to go through all the eight groups that had been established with respect to what type of a characteristic the bahuvrihi compounds falling under them bring attention to, and to determine what schema a given group follows. In terms of the bahuvrihi compounds that refer to non-human entities, it was necessary to determine in line with what schema bahuvrihi compounds drawing attention to a physical characteristic of a non-human entity are constructed.

While determining what schemas bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may follow, it was observed that some bahuvrihi compounds follow a schema where the component *head* is fixed. This means that in bahuvrihi compounds which are created for the purpose of drawing attention to any of certain types of characteristics the position of the second component is filled with *head* because a pattern has already been established in accordance with which new bahuvrihi compounds that draw attention to that specific type of a characteristic do so by selecting the lexical unit *head* as their second component.

However, as has been observed, there are also some types of characteristics to which attention is brought by means of bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed in line with a schema where *head* is not fixed. This means that in terms of such types of characteristics, the bahuvrihi compounds which bring attention to any of them do not have to use the lexical unit *head* as their second component. The bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus which bring attention to them, and which do use *head* as their second component, only happen to use *head* as their second component.

As evidence that to any of the above-mentioned types of characteristics attention is brought by bahuvrihi compounds which follow a schema where the component *head* is

fixed serves the fact that words for different (body) parts are not used when creating a new bahuvrihi compound that is meant to draw attention to the given type of a characteristic.

As evidence that to any of the above-mentioned types of characteristics attention is brought by bahuvrihi compounds which follow a schema where the component *head* is not fixed serves the fact that words for different (body) parts may also be used when creating a new bahuvrihi compound that is meant to draw attention to the given type of a characteristic. In terms of the types of characteristics to which attention is brought by bahuvrihi compounds whose second component does not have to be *head*, examples of multiple already existent bahuvrihi compounds were provided in whose case a word for a different part of a human or non-human entity got selected as their second component.

As has been stated, it has been observed that there are 8 types of human characteristics to which bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention. Among the 8 types of characteristics there is, however, one type of a characteristic to which, as has been discovered, attention may be brought either by bahuvrihi compounds following a schema where *head* is fixed or by bahuvrihi compounds following a schema where *head* is not fixed, depending on the manner in what a given bahuvrihi compound is meant to draw attention to that type of a characteristic. That type of a characteristic is the characteristic of being associated with a specific community. There are thus 9 schemas that may serve as patterns for creating a bahuvrihi compound denoting humans.

In addition to those 9 schemas, there is 1 schema according to which bahuvrihi compounds denoting non-human entities may be created. Therefore, in this thesis a total of 10 different schemas has been observed. In connection with each of the schemas it was explained what the structure of bahuvrihi compounds that follow them is. Every time, it was explained in such a manner that the bahuvrihi compounds' structure was presented in line with the manner in what Jackendoff & Audring (2020a, p. 13) introduce the structure of the word *piggish*.

5.1 Morphological schemas

5.1.1 Schemas for bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans

In terms of bahuvrihi compounds which end in *head*, and which refer to humans, there are two types of schemas for such bahuvrihi compounds to be distinguished. Firstly, there are schemas where the component *head* is fixed. Secondly, there are schemas where the component *head* is not fixed.

a) Schemas where the component *head* is fixed

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting an unintelligent person

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS UNINTELLIGENT IN RESPECT TO $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N N/Adj_X N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/\ldots_X hed_Y/_Z$

In bahuvrihi compounds which follow this schema, the position of the first component is filled either with a noun which is used as a figure of speech that is meant to communicate the concept of low intelligence or with an adjective which either explicitly communicates the characteristic of low intelligence or communicates a characteristic that is typically associated with low intelligence. Based on the list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius*, it is more common to fill the position of the first component with a noun than with an adjective as the list of bahuvrihi compounds denoting an unintelligent person that were found in the corpus includes 28 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun but only 10 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective.

Those 28 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun are *airhead, asshead, banana-head, blockhead, bonehead, bubblehead, bullethead, conehead, dough-head, dunderhead, gooberhead, jughead, knobhead, knothead, knucklehead, lughead, lunkhead, meatballhead, meathead, muddlehead, mullethead, mush-head, muttonhead, noodlehead, numptyhead, pinhead, potato-head,* and *saphead.*

Those 10 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective are *chucklehead, dumbhead, emptyhead, fathead, numbhead, sillyhead, squarehead, stupidhead, thickhead,* and *woodenhead.*

In terms of the noun *head,* it is, strictly speaking, not an absolutely fixed part of bahuvrihi compounds which bring attention to low intelligence of a person. In fact, a word for a different body part may be used as the second component of a bahuvrihi compound denoting an unintelligent person as well, such as *brain,* as in *birdbrain.*[10] Alternatively, the *skull* may also be used, as in *numbskull.*[11]

However, the number of bahuvrihi compounds denoting an unintelligent person which use *head* as the second component is high. In fact, among bahuvrihi compounds denoting an unintelligent person *head* is used more frequently than any other name of a human body part. For comparison, there were 38 bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which draw attention to low intelligence of a person, and which do so by having *head* as their second component. However, there were only 9 bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which draw attention to low intelligence of a person by having *brain* as their second component, including the above-mentioned bahuvrihi compound *birdbrain.* Furthermore, there were only 2 bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which draw attention to low intelligence of a person by having *skull* as their second component, including the above-mentioned bahuvrihi compound *numbskull.*

With respect to the high productivity of the bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* which denote an unintelligent person, and with respect to their vast superiority in numbers compared to bahuvrihi compounds which denote an unintelligent person but end in a name for a different body part, it can be seen that even though the position of the second component may be filled with a name for a different human body part, it usually is not. Whenever a new bahuvrihi compound for an unintelligent person needs to be created, *head* already stands out as a prime candidate for the position of the second component and thus it is by far most likely to be picked. Therefore, *head* may be considered a part of a schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting unintelligent people.

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[10] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[11] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person with a specific interest

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS INTERESTED IN (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adv$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

This schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds in which the position of the first component is usually filled with a noun. The noun is either an expression for a thing in which the bahuvrihi compound's referent is interested or it is a noun for something that is inherently associated with the thing in which the bahuvrihi compound's referent is interested. However, the first component does not always have to be a noun. It may also be an adverb that is associated with the concrete interest of the bahuvrihi compound's referent, such as an adverb that fans of a concrete person frequently use, as discussed in Section 5.2.1.2. Nevertheless, based on the list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius*, in bahuvrihi compounds that follow this schema the position of the first component is almost always filled with a noun as there were 27 bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus whose first component is a noun but only 1 bahuvrihi compound whose first component is an adverb.

Those 27 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun are *beathead, cheesehead* (a fan of the Green Bay Packers), *chickenhead, chilihead, crypto-head, Deadhead* (a fan of the Grateful Dead), *egghead, gearhead, hophead* (a beer enthusiast), *jazzhead, malt-head, math-head, metalhead, motorhead, musclehead, musichead, nethead, parrothead, pepperhead, petrolhead* (a car enthusiast), *petrolhead* (a person interested in motorsports), *rev-head, rotorhead, seamhead, sneakerhead, tech-head,* and *veg-head*. The only bahuvrihi compound found in the corpus whose first component is an adverb is *dittohead* (a fan of Rush Limbaugh).

Regarding the position of the second component, it is always *head*. The word *head* has already been used many times to create a bahuvrihi compound denoting a person with a specific interest. In the corpus there were 28 bahuvrihi compounds found that use *head* as their second component. On the other hand, no name for another body part is ever used

in a situation when a new bahuvrihi compound denoting a person with a specific interest needs to be created.

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person with a specific addiction

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS ADDICTED TO (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /...$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

In bahuvrihi compounds that follow this schema the position of the first component is filled with a noun. The noun is usually a colloquial expression for the object of addiction of the bahuvrihi compound's referent. Most commonly, the object of addiction is a specific drug. There were 17 bahuvrihi compounds in total found in *A. A. Maius* which denote a person with a specific addiction, all of which use a noun as their first component. Those are *acidhead, basehead, coffeehead, cokehead, crackhead, dopehead, dusthead, hemphead, hophead* (a drug addict), *juicehead, meth-head, pillhead, pisshead, pothead, skaghead, teahead,* and *wirehead*.

In terms of the second component, it is always *head* since it is the only word for a body part that is used whenever a new bahuvrihi compound for a person with an addiction to something needs to be created, and it has already been used many times for such a purpose. As has been stated, there were 17 bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person with a specific addiction found in the corpus which use *head* as their second component.

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person associated with a specific community

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS ASSOCIATED WITH (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /...$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

This schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is always a noun. The noun is a word for something that is connected with people who are part of the community with which the bahuvrihi compound's referent is associated. There were only two bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* that denote a person who is associated with a specific community, both of which, however, use a noun as their first component. Those are *cheesehead* (a Wisconsinite) and *jihad-head*.

In terms of the position of the second component, it always belongs to the noun *head* because it is the only lexeme that is ever used when a new bahuvrihi compound for a person who is associated with a specific community needs to be created.

b) Schemas where the component *head* is not fixed

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person with a specific internal noncognitive characteristic

Semantics: [PERSON WHO HAS THE INTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC OF $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N N/Adj/V/Adv_X N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/\ldots_X \ldots_Y/_Z$

The position of the first component of the bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed in line with this schema is most frequently filled with an adjective or with a noun. However, it may also be filled with a verb or with an adverb. Based on the list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius*, in terms of bahuvrihi compounds following this schema, it is most common to fill the position of the first component with an adjective as there were 4 bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus whose first component is an adjective, 3 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun, 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a verb and only 1 bahuvrihi compound whose first component is an adverb.

Those 4 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective are *bighead* (a conceited person), *hothead, sleepyhead,* and *sorehead.* Those 3 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun are *greedhead, meaniehead,* and *nuthead.* Those 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a verb are *blunderhead* and *rattlehead.*

The only bahuvrihi compound whose first component is an adverb is *dittohead* (a person who mindlessly agrees with ideas of a concrete person).

In terms of the second component, as has been stated, this thesis focuses only on bahuvrihi compounds that end in *head*. Nevertheless, regarding bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to one of the internal noncognitive characteristics of their referents, the position of the second component may be filled with a name for a different body part. This is evidenced, for instance, by the bahuvrihi compound *smartmouth*, which is an expression for "a witty or sarcastic person" as defined in *Collins Online Dictionary*.[12] Alternatively, the word for a body part may also be *brain*, as in *featherbrain* which denotes a frivolous person.[13] Or the word may be, for instance, *heart*, as in *faintheart*, which is an expression for "a timorous or irresolute person" as defined in *Merriam-Webster*.[14]

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting an unlikable person

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS UNLIKABLE IN RESPECT TO $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N \text{ N/Adj}_X \text{ N}_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/\dots_X \dots_Y/_Z$

This schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds which are meant to communicate the speaker's opinion of a person that the person is unlikable, and which are basically used primarily as terms of abuse. For that reason, the position of the first component is filled either with an expression which is vulgar and/or which denotes something that could be viewed as ugly. Nonetheless, it is almost always filled with a noun as there were 16 bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* found in *A. A. Maius* that denote an unlikable person and 15 of them use a noun as its first component. The only

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[12] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[13] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[14] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

bahuvrihi compound which was found in the corpus, and which does not use a noun as its first component, is *stinky-head* that uses an adjective as its first component.

Those 15 bahuvrihi compounds which were found in the corpus, and which use a noun as their first component, are *bogie-head, bumhead, butthead, dickhead, dirthead, doody-head, dorkhead, duffhead, farthead, fuckhead, peckerhead, poopoohead, poopyhead, shithead,* and *smeghead.*

In terms of the position of the second component of bahuvrihi compounds which denote an unlikable person, it is commonly filled with the noun *head,* as evidenced by the 16 bahuvrihi compounds enumerated above. However, the component *head* is not a fixed part of those bahuvrihi compounds' schema as evidenced by the existence of bahuvrihi compounds whose second component is a word for a different body part. For instance, the noun *face* is commonly used as well. In fact, there were 10 bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which denote an unlikable person, and which use the noun *face* as their second component, e.g. *shitface.*[15] Another body part that may be used when creating a bahuvrihi compound denoting an unlikable person is *brain.* There were 4 bahuvrihi compounds in total found in the corpus which denote an unlikable person, and which use *brain* as their second component, e.g. *pissbrain.*[16] Alternatively, the word for a human body part may be even *nose,* as in *fucknose.*[17]

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person with a specific external characteristic

Semantics: [PERSON WHO HAS THE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC OF $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N N/Adj_X N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/\ldots_X \ldots_Y/_Z$

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[15] Last checked on April 25, 2024.
[16] Last checked on April 25, 2024.
[17] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

The position of the first component of bahuvrihi compounds which follow this schema is always filled either with a noun or with an adjective. In the former case, such a noun may be used which communicates the characteristic that is observed in the person to whom the bahuvrihi compound refers by being a metaphor. In the latter case, however, such an adjective is used which communicates the observed characteristic directly, i.e. the adjective is not used as a metaphor.

Based on the list of bahuvrihi compounds that were gathered from *A. A. Maius*, the position of the first component of bahuvrihi compounds whose purpose is to bring attention to an external characteristic of a person is more commonly filled with an adjective than with a noun. The list of bahuvrihi compounds bringing attention to an external characteristic of their referents includes 3 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective but only 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun.

Those 3 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective are *baldhead*, *curly-head*, and *redhead*. Those 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun are *fuzzhead* and *towhead*.

In terms of the position of the second component, it does not necessarily have to be filled specifically with *head*. There were only 5 bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* found in the corpus. There are, however, bahuvrihi compounds which use a name for a different body part as their second component. There are several different body parts, a name for which may be used. For example, a word for a human face may be used, as in *dollface* which denotes "a person having a face with a smooth prettiness and childish expression suggestive of a doll" as defined in *Merriam-Webster*.[18] It is also possible to use a word for a human neck, as in *pencilneck* which denotes a person who has a very thin neck.[19] Alternatively, it is also possible to use, for instance, a word for a back, as in *humpback* which denotes a person who has a hump on their back.[20]

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[18] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[19] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[20] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person associated with a specific community

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS ASSOCIATED WITH (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…x …y/z

Bahuvrihi compounds which are constructed in line with this schema almost exclusively have a negative connotation. They use either a noun or an adjective as their first component. Most commonly, however, they use a noun as there were 9 bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which follow this schema and 8 of them uses a noun as their first component, while only 1 of them uses an adjective as its first component.

The list of the 8 bahuvrihi compounds which use a noun as their first component includes the bahuvrihi compounds *dothead, handkerchief-head, jarhead, raghead, skinhead, snakehead* (a member of a Chinese criminal network that smuggles Chinese citizens to the USA), *towelhead,* and *zipperhead.* The only bahuvrihi compound found in the corpus which uses an adjective as its first component is *Flathead.*

Irrespective of whether the first component of the bahuvrihi compounds that follow this schema is a noun or an adjective, in either case the bahuvrihi compounds which follow this schema draw attention to an association of their referents with a specific community by drawing attention to an external characteristic that is typical of people who are members of that community.

Regarding the second component of the bahuvrihi compounds which follow this schema, it may be specifically *head* but it may also be a word for a different body part. For example, the word *lip* may be used, as in *bootlip,* which is an offensive expression for a person of black skin color.[21] It is also possible to use the word *eye*, as in *slant-eye*, which is an offensive expression for a person of Asian ancestry.[22] Or the word may be,

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[21] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[22] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

for instance, *skin*, as in *redskin*, which is an offensive term for a Native American.[23]

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a rugby player with a specific role on their team

Semantics: [RUGBY PLAYER WHOSE BODY PART HAS THE CHARACTERISTIC OF (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

Bahuvrihi compounds which follow this schema are closely connected to those bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to an association of their referents with a specific community. In the case of these bahuvrihi compounds, their referents belong to a sports team, on which they have a specific role. However, unlike a vast majority of bahuvrihi compounds which denote a person who is associated with a specific community, these bahuvrihi compounds do not have a negative connotation.

In bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed according to this schema, the position of the first component is filled with an adjective which communicates an actual external characteristic of one of the rugby player's body parts, while a word for that body part is used as the second component. The list of such bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius* includes only 2 bahuvrihi compounds, namely *loosehead* and *tighthead*.

As has been stated, bahuvrihi compounds that denote a person with a specific external characteristic, as well as bahuvrihi compounds that denote a person associated with a specific community by means of a reference to a specific external characteristic of the members of that community, do not have to use *head* as their second component. Therefore, bahuvrihi compounds that denote a person who fulfills the role of a concrete player on a rugby team do not have to use *head* as their second component either.

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[23] Available online at https://dictionary.cambridge.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

5.1.2 Schema for bahuvrihi compounds that refer to non-human entities

Schema for bahuvrihi compounds denoting a non-human entity with a specific physical characteristic

Semantics: [NON-HUMAN ENTITY WHOSE PART (Y_Y) HAS THE CHARACTERISTIC (X_X)]z

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]z

Phonology: /...x ...y/z

This schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds which refer to non-human entities. Such entities include animals, i.e. in the sense that has been stated in Section 5, plants, and inanimate objects. There were 28 bahuvrihi compounds denoting a non-human entity found in *A. A. Maius*. Among those 28 bahuvrihi compounds gathered from the corpus there are 22 bahuvrihi compounds which denote an animal, 4 bahuvrihi compounds which denote a plant and 2 bahuvrihi compounds which denote an inanimate object.

The position of the first component may be filled either with a noun or with an adjective. In the former case, such a noun may be selected which either communicates the physical characteristic of the non-human entity through a metaphor or which communicates the physical characteristic of the non-human entity directly, i.e. through no metaphor. In the latter case, such an adjective may be used which communicates the physical characteristic of the non-human entity directly, i.e. through no metaphor.

Based on the list of the 28 bahuvrihi compounds denoting a non-human entity that were found in the corpus, the position of the first component is most often filled with a noun since 19 of the 28 bahuvrihi compounds that were found in the corpus use a noun as their first component, while only 9 of them use an adjective as their first component.

To be more specific, in the case of the bahuvrihi compounds denoting animals, 14 of the 22 bahuvrihi compounds that were found in the corpus use a noun as their first component, while 8 bahuvrihi compounds use an adjective as their first component. Those 14 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun are *bonnethead, bowhead,*

bristlehead, bufflehead, bullhead (a catfish of the genus Ameiurus), *bullhead* (a sculpin of the genus Cottus), *copperhead, hammerhead, lancehead, lionhead, sheephead, sheepshead, snakehead* (a fish of the family Channidae), and *steelhead*. Those 8 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective are *bighead* (a carp species), *bluehead, blunthead, gilthead, greenhead* (a green-eyed horsefly), *greenhead* (a male mallard), *hardhead*, and *yellowhead*.

In the case of the bahuvrihi compounds denoting plants, 3 of the 4 bahuvrihi compounds that were found in the corpus use a noun as their first component, while only 1 bahuvrihi compound uses an adjective. Those 3 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun are *butterhead, dragonhead,* and *turtlehead*. The 1 bahuvrihi compound that uses an adjective as its first component is *crisphead*.

In the case of the bahuvrihi compounds denoting inanimate objects, both bahuvrihi compounds which were found in the corpus use a noun as their first component. Those are the bahuvrihi compounds *bobblehead* and *figurehead*.

The position of the second component of the bahuvrihi compounds following this schema is filled with a noun denoting a (body) part of the non-human entity. However, it does not have to be specifically *head*. That the noun *head* is not a fixed part of the schema of the 28 above-mentioned bahuvrihi compounds is evidenced by the existence of bahuvrihi compounds which denote animals, plants, or inanimate objects but whose second component is a (body) part that is not *head*.

In the case of animals, the body part may be the animals' tail, as in *redtail*, which is a hawk that lives in North America.[24] It may also be the animals' fin, as in *yellowfin*, which is a type of tuna that has yellow fins.[25] Or it may also be, for instance, the animals' nose, as in *bottlenose*, which is a genus of dolphins whose snout has the shape of a bottle.[26]

In the case of plants, the part may be the plants' root, as in *bitterroot*, i.e. a plant of the purslane family which grows in North America.[27] It may also be the plants' leaf, as

[24] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[25] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[26] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[27] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

in *heartleaf*, i.e. an expression for several wild gingers that have cordate leaves.[28] Or it may also be, for instance, the plants' seed, as in *moonseed*, i.e. a twining plant that grows in eastern North America.[29]

In terms of inanimate objects, the part may be the object's back, as in *greenback*, an expression for a US banknote.[30] A word for the object's back is also used, for instance, in *hatchback* which denotes a type of a car.[31] Alternatively, the part may also be, for instance, the object's neck, as in *longneck*, an expression for a type of a bottle.[32]

In total, there are thus 10 schemas that may serve as patterns according to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may be constructed, namely 9 schemas that serve as patterns for creating bahuvrihi compounds denoting humans and 1 schema that serves as a pattern for creating bahuvrihi compounds denoting non-human entities.

Among the 9 schemas that are followed by bahuvrihi compounds denoting humans there are 4 schemas where *head* is a fixed component and 5 schemas where *head* is not a fixed component. In terms of the 1 schema that is followed by bahuvrihi compounds denoting non-human entities, the noun *head* is not a fixed part of the schema. All bahuvrihi compounds denoting non-human entities are thus constructed in line with a schema where *head* is not a fixed component, while bahuvrihi compounds denoting humans may be constructed either in line with a schema where *head* is a fixed component or in line with a schema where *head* is not a fixed component.

As has been stated, in terms of the schemas that are followed by bahuvrihi compounds denoting humans, there are 5 schemas where *head* is not fixed and only 4 schemas where *head* is fixed. However, based on the list of bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus, even though there are more schemas where *head* is not fixed, bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* are more commonly constructed in line with one of the schemas where *head* is a fixed component. Among a total of 127 bahuvrihi compounds denoting humans which were gathered from *A. A. Maius* there are 85

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[28] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[29] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[30] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[31] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[32] Available online at https://dictionary.cambridge.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

bahuvrihi compounds that follow one of the schemas where *head* is a fixed component. Additionally, if all the bahuvrihi compounds gathered from the corpus are considered, not only those that denote humans, the bahuvrihi compounds where *head* is a fixed component are still in the majority since there were only 70 bahuvrihi compounds in total found in the corpus which follow a schema where *head* is not a fixed component.

In terms of what part of speech may the first component of bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* be, there is no part of speech that would be part of each of the schemas according to which bahuvrihi compounds that end in the noun *head* may be constructed. The parts of speech that are part of at least any schema according to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may be constructed include nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. Among the 10 above-mentioned schemas there are 9 schemas that are followed by bahuvrihi compounds which may use a noun as their first component, 7 schemas that are followed by bahuvrihi compounds which may use an adjective as their first component, 2 schemas that are followed by bahuvrihi compounds which may use an adverb as their first component, and only 1 schema that is followed by bahuvrihi compounds which may use a verb as their first component.

The first component of bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* is most frequently a noun, namely because this part of speech is part of more schemas than any other part of speech but also because 121 of the 155 bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* that were gathered from *A. A. Maius* use a noun as their first component.

Among the other 34 bahuvrihi compounds there are 30 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adjective, 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a verb, and 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is an adverb.

5.2 Conceptualization

In this stage of the bahuvrihi compounds' analysis, focus has been laid on the manner in what bahuvrihi compounds may be created to draw attention to the types of characteristics of human or non-human entities that were enumerated in Section 5. In terms of each of the types of characteristics, it was observed whether bahuvrihi compounds are created in such a manner that they would draw attention to the given type of a characteristic through a figure of speech or whether bahuvrihi compounds are created in such a manner that they would draw attention to the given type of a characteristic directly, i.e. through no figure of speech. Alternatively, it was observed whether both manners are possible.

The figures of speech that bahuvrihi compounds commonly use for the purpose of bringing attention to a specific characteristic of an entity are metonymy and metaphor. The latter is in some cases used as a so-called *conceptual metaphor* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Furthermore, in connection with each of the types of characteristics to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may bring attention, concrete examples of bahuvrihi compounds were selected and analyzed. It was explained how those concrete bahuvrihi compounds came to existence and how they communicate the concept that they are meant to communicate.

Additionally, it has been observed that several bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius* are in fact not English in origin. Their origin can be traced to a word that had existed in a foreign language from which they had been either fully or at least partially calqued into English. Examples of such English bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans as well as examples of such English bahuvrihi compounds that refer to non-human entities were selected, and their origin was explained.

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans

Ordinarily, bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans tend to have a negative connotation (Barcelona, 2008, p. 7). There are several possibilities regarding the types of human characteristics to what bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention. As has been stated in Section 5, based on the data provided by *A. A. Maius*, among the characteristics

to what bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may draw attention are low intelligence, the characteristic of having a specific interest, the characteristic of being addicted to something, the characteristic of possessing a specific internal noncognitive characteristic, the characteristic of being an unlikable person, the characteristic of possessing a specific external characteristic, the characteristic of being associated with a specific community, and the characteristic of having a specific role on a sports team.

5.2.1.1 Low intelligence

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS UNINTELLIGENT IN RESPECT TO $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N \text{ N/Adj}_X \text{ N}_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/...{_X} \text{ hed}_Y/_Z$

As the list of bahuvrihi compounds gathered from *A. A. Maius* shows, there is no human characteristic to what bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* bring attention as commonly as to low intelligence. According to the data gathered from the corpus, the concept of low intelligence may be conveyed in several manners.

Firstly, there is the possibility of communicating the concept of low intelligence directly, i.e. by filling the position of the first component with an adjective which explicitly says about a person that they are unintelligent. Bahuvrihi compounds which directly communicate the speaker's opinion of a person that the person is unintelligent include the following two expressions.

dumbhead

The bahuvrihi compound *dumbhead* comprises the lexemes *dumb* and *head*. In this bahuvrihi compound, the concept of lacking intelligence is conveyed through the former component which is the adjective *dumb* as in a synonym for *unintelligent*.[33] Therefore, in *dumbhead* the concept of low intelligence is communicated directly since the person to whom the bahuvrihi compound is meant to refer is "dumb".

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[33] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

In terms of morphosyntax, as the component *dumb* is an adjective, the bahuvrihi compound thus follows the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

stupidhead

The bahuvrihi compound *stupidhead* is comprised of the adjective *stupid* and of the noun *head*. Same as *dumbhead*, this bahuvrihi compound proves that bahuvrihi compounds may communicate the concept of low intelligence directly, i.e. through a word that explicitly says about a person that their intelligence is low, since one of its components is a synonym for *unintelligent*, i.e. the component *stupid*.[34]

As its first component is an adjective, the precise morphosyntactic pattern that *stupidhead* follows is thus $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

Secondly, and more commonly, bahuvrihi compounds may communicate the concept of low intelligence indirectly, i.e. through a figure of speech. Most commonly, the concept of low intelligence is thus communicated through an allusion to a characteristic with which low intelligence is commonly associated. Such characteristics include an absence of the brain, small cerebral size, an uncommon shape of the head, mental slowness, and rigidity.

Concrete examples of bahuvrihi compounds for each of the five possibilities of what bahuvrihi compounds drawing attention to their referents' low intelligence may allude to are presented below.

a) **Absence of the brain**

airhead

This bahuvrihi compound is made up of the nominal components *air* and *head*. In terms of the reason why the concept of lacking intelligence is in this bahuvrihi compound expressed through the lexeme *air* joined to the lexeme *head*, the head of this bahuvrihi compound's referent is insinuated to be filled with nothing but air. [35] That is, through this bahuvrihi compound it is insinuated that the referent is so unintelligent as though there

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[34] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[35] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

was nothing but empty space inside their head, i.e. as though there was no brain inside and there was thus no intelligence to be observed in that person.

Since the component *air* is the noun *air*, the precise morphosyntactic pattern of this bahuvrihi compound is therefore [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$.

bubblehead

The bahuvrihi compound *bubblehead* was formed by compounding the noun *bubble* with the noun *head*. The reason why the noun *bubble* is used in this bahuvrihi compound to convey the meaning of lacking intelligence is that it is meant to serve as a metaphor since bubbles represent something, inside of which there is nothing but empty space.[36] Therefore, the bahuvrihi compound *bubblehead* is used to imply that the head of its referent is like a bubble - an object with nothing on the inside. That means that bubbleheaded people, same as above-mentioned airheaded people, are thought of as so unintelligent as if there was a vacuum inside their head in place of a brain, i.e. as if such people were lacking any source of intelligence.

Since the component *bubble* is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern which *bubblehead* follows is thus the same as that which *airhead* follows, namely [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$.

b) **Small cerebral size**

gooberhead

The two words which were coupled together as components of the bahuvrihi compound *gooberhead* are *goober* and *head*. The word *goober* that was used to construct this bahuvrihi compound is a noun that is in the Southern United States used as a synonym for *peanut*.[37] In this bahuvrihi compound the concept of low intelligence is communicated by likening the size of its referent's head to the size of a peanut, by which it is suggested that the minute brain of the bahuvrihi compound's referent is not expected to work efficiently. The noun *goober* is therefore used in *gooberhead* as a metaphor.

Moreover, since this bahuvrihi compound primarily insinuates that it is its referent's brain that is minute, not the referent's entire head, this bahuvrihi compound

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[36] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[37] Available online at https://slangdefine.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

thus communicates the concept of low intelligence through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy.

Since the first component of this bahuvrihi compound is a noun, this bahuvrihi compound's morphosyntactic pattern is therefore $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

pinhead

Pinhead is a bahuvrihi compound which is comprised of two nominal components - *pin* and *head*. Same as *gooberhead*, the bahuvrihi compound *pinhead* communicates the concept of lacking intelligence by implying that the size of its referent's head is extremely small. To imply that, *pinhead* also uses a metaphor. In this concrete case it is the noun *pin* that is used as a metaphor and the head of the bahuvrihi compound's referent is thus implied to be as small as a pin.[38] By implying that the person's head is extremely small, it is thus implied that their brain must be extremely small as well and that the person must be unintelligent.

Same as in the case of *gooberhead*, it is primarily the brain of this bahuvrihi compound's referent that is implied to be extremely small. Ergo, same as *gooberhead*, *pinhead* communicates the concept of lacking intelligence through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy.

As the bahuvrihi compound's first component is the noun *pin*, the morphosyntactic pattern in line with which *pinhead* is constructed is thus $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

c) Uncommon shape of the head

Sometimes, the concept of low intelligence may be conveyed also through an insinuation that the head of a person has an uncommon shape. Since head is the body part where the brain is, and which may thus be thought of as the body part where the center of human intelligence is, the idea of an uncommon head may thus evoke the idea of an uncommon level of intelligence. The level of intelligence of a person may, however, be uncommon in two manners. It may be uncommon in such a manner that it is uncommonly low or in such a manner that it is uncommonly high. Therefore, on the one hand, words which insinuate that a person has an uncommon shape of the head may be used to denote

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[38] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

a person who is unintelligent. On the other hand, such words may be used to denote a person who is highly intelligent. This may be observed, for instance, in the homographic as well as homophonous adjectives *pointy-headed*, i.e. in the sense of unintelligent, and *pointy-headed*, i.e. in the sense of highly intelligent and interested in activities that require mental effort.[39]

The list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which insinuate that their referents have an uncommon shape of the head, and which use such an insinuation to communicate a concept of intelligence that is low, includes the following expressions.

conehead

The two components of *conehead* are *cone*, i.e. in the sense of a specific geometric shape, and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound thus draws attention to its referent's intelligence through an insinuation that the head of its referent is uncommon, namely because it has an uncommon shape – a conical shape.[40] Such an insinuation is meant to evoke the idea that the level of intelligence of the bahuvrihi compound's referent must be uncommon as well, and in the case of this bahuvrihi compound an uncommon level of intelligence means low intelligence.

As the component *cone* is a noun, this bahuvrihi compound is therefore constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

squarehead

Squarehead comprises the adjective *square*, i.e. in the sense of being square-shaped, and the noun *head*. This bahuvrihi compound draws attention to the intelligence of its referent through an insinuation that its referent's head is square-shaped.[41] Same as in the case of *conehead*, an insinuation that the person's head has an uncommon shape is meant to evoke that the person is characterized by an uncommon level of intelligence, namely a low level of intelligence.

Since the first component of *squarehead* is an adjective, the bahuvrihi compound thus follows the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N Adj_X N_Y]_Z$.

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[39] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[40] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[41] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

d) Mental slowness

Bahuvrihi compounds that are meant to communicate the concept of low intelligence may be created in such a manner that the concept of low intelligence gets communicated through a conceptual metaphor. For example, they may communicate the concept of low intelligence through the conceptual metaphor LOW INTELLIGENCE IS SLOWNESS. That is, slowness is a characteristic to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may allude when they are meant to draw attention to low intelligence of a person. To be more specific, since the characteristic to which bahuvrihi compounds using the conceptual metaphor LOW INTELLIGENCE IS SLOWNESS draw attention is a certain level of intelligence, the type of slowness to what such bahuvrihi compounds allude is thus mental slowness.

The list of bahuvrihi compounds gathered from *A. A. Maius* that allude to mental slowness includes the following two examples.

saphead

The two components of which this bahuvrihi compound is comprised are the nouns *sap* and *head*.[42] In the case of this bahuvrihi compound the concept of low intelligence is conveyed by comparing the speed of its referent's cognitive functioning to the speed at what sap flows from a tree. As sap is a fluid that flows very slowly, the cognitive functioning of the bahuvrihi compound's referent is thus implied to be very slow as well, wherefore their intelligence must be low.

As its first component is the noun *sap*, this bahuvrihi compound is thus constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N\ N_X\ N_Y]_Z$.

thickhead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the adjective *thick* and of the noun *head*.[43] It communicates its referent's characteristic of being unintelligent by suggesting that their head is thick. The characteristic of thickness is commonly associated with slowness. This

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[42] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[43] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

bahuvrihi compound thus alludes to the slowness of its referent, namely slowness of its referent's mental activity. Therefore, it ultimately suggests that the person is unintelligent.

As has been stated, this bahuvrihi compound's former component is an adjective. Ergo, unlike *saphead*, *thickhead* is constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

e) Rigidity

Bahuvrihi compounds which are meant to communicate the concept of low intelligence may also be created in such a manner that the concept of low intelligence gets communicated through the conceptual metaphor LOW INTELLIGENCE IS RIGIDITY. That is, rigidity is a characteristic to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may allude when they are meant to communicate low intelligence of their referents since it is a characteristic that is commonly associated with the mind of unintelligent people.

Examples of bahuvrihi compounds gathered from the corpus that allude to rigidity include the following expressions.

blockhead

This bahuvrihi compound denoting a person who lacks intelligence is a result of coupling the nouns *block* and *head* into a single compound.[44] The lexeme *block* is used as a metaphor. It is used as the bahuvrihi compound's first component since blocks are pieces of an inflexible material, and they may thus represent the characteristic of rigidity, which is a characteristic that is not connected exclusively with tangible objects but also with the mind of unintelligent people.

As has been stated, this bahuvrihi compound's component *block* is the noun *block*. Therefore, the morphosyntactic pattern in line with which this concrete bahuvrihi compound is constructed is $[_N \text{N}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

bonehead

The two components of this bahuvrihi compound are the nouns *bone*, i.e. in the sense of a part of the skeleton of vertebrates, and *head*.[45] Same as *blockhead*, this

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[44] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[45] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

bahuvrihi compound alludes to the rigidity of its referent's mind. However, the metaphor which is used in *bonehead* is based on a circumstance that rigidity, i.e. any type of rigidity, is characteristic of the bahuvrihi compound's referent as well as of a bone.

The component *bone* being a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern that *bonehead* follows is therefore the same as that of *blockhead*, namely $[_N\ N_X\ N_Y]_Z$.

Aside from communicating the concept of low intelligence through an allusion to a characteristic with which low intelligence is commonly associated, it is also possible to communicate the concept of low intelligence by comparing a person to an animal, that is, in terms of intelligence. Usually, a concrete animal, one which is widely thought of as unintelligent, is selected, as in the following two bahuvrihi compounds.

asshead

The two lexemes of which the bahuvrihi compound *asshead* is comprised are *ass* and *head*. The former component is the noun *ass* which is a synonymous expression for *donkey*.[46]

Donkeys are among animals to which people frequently attribute the characteristic of low intelligence, even though, as a matter of fact, these quadrupeds might not be as unintelligent as many people might think.[47] Nevertheless, irrespective of whether donkeys are intelligent or unintelligent, what is important is that at that point in time when this bahuvrihi compound started to be used there was a considerable number of people across the English-speaking countries who thought of donkeys as unintelligent. A word denoting a donkey, such as *ass*, was thus a suitable candidate for the position of the first component of a bahuvrihi compound denoting an unintelligent person since it could serve as a metaphor.

Owing to the component *ass* being a noun, this bahuvrihi compound is therefore constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N\ N_X\ N_Y]_Z$.

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[46] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[47] Available online at https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S1558787819300309.

mullethead

The two lexemes which comprise this bahuvrihi compound are *mullet* and *head*.[48] As has been stated, the bahuvrihi compound *asshead* was created owing to a widespread belief that donkeys are unintelligent animals. Similarly, the bahuvrihi compound *mullethead* was created owing to a belief that mullets are unintelligent animals.

Regarding the reason why a word for the sea fish became a part of a bahuvrihi compound denoting an unintelligent person, it does not matter whether it is true that mullets are unintelligent. What is important is that at that point in time when *mullethead* began to be used, mullets must have been among the animals which people from English-speaking countries commonly considered unintelligent. Therefore, comparing the head of the bahuvrihi compound's referent to the head of a mullet, which essentially meant comparing their intelligence, presented a viable option in terms of how to communicate the opinion that the person was unintelligent. Same as *asshead, mullethead* therefore communicates its referent's characteristic of low intelligence through a metaphor.

Since the component *mullet* is a noun, the precise morphosyntactic pattern that *mullethead* follows is therefore [$_N$ N$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$.

5.2.1.2 Interest

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS INTERESTED IN (X$_X$)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adv$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

Bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to one of their referent's interests may be divided into two groups. Firstly, there is a group of such bahuvrihi compounds which communicate the specific interest of their referents without using any figure of speech. They rather communicate what the specific interest of their referents is directly, i.e. the interest of their referents is explicitly mentioned within such bahuvrihi compounds themselves.

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[48] Available online at https://www.thefreedictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

Secondly, there is a group of such bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to the specific interest of their referents indirectly, i.e. the first component of such bahuvrihi compounds underwent more complex conceptualization, and as a result the interest of such bahuvrihi compounds' referents is communicated through a figure of speech, such as a metaphor or a metonymy.

Among the bahuvrihi compounds gathered from *A. A. Maius* there were several examples of bahuvrihi compounds belonging to either group. Selected examples are analyzed below.

a) Specific interest is not communicated through any figure of speech

chilihead

The words of which this bahuvrihi compound is comprised are the nouns *chili*, i.e. in the sense of a chili pepper, and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound refers to a person who takes pleasure in consumption of chili peppers.[49]

Since a noun denoting the concept of a chili pepper fulfills the role of the bahuvrihi compound's first component, which means that it is within *chilihead* itself explicitly mentioned what the interest of the bahuvrihi compound's referent is, the concept of being interested in chilies was therefore conceptualized and linguistically coded in such a manner that it is communicated through no figure of speech.

In terms of morphosyntax, as the first component of *chilihead* is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern that this concrete bahuvrihi compound follows is thus $[_N \ N_X \ N_Y]_Z$.

sneakerhead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the words *sneaker* and *head*, the former being the noun *sneaker* as in a specific type of shoe. This bahuvrihi compound is a slang expression for a person who is interested in collecting and trading sneakers, and who typically is even well versed in the history of this type of footwear.[50]

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[49] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[50] Available online at https://www.dictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

This bahuvrihi compound is therefore another example of bahuvrihi compounds that draw attention to their referents' specific interest by explicitly mentioning the object in which their referents are interested. This means that *sneakerhead* does not communicate the concept of its referent's specific interest through any figure of speech.

Moreover, as has been stated, the component *sneaker* is a noun, and so this bahuvrihi compound is another example of bahuvrihi compounds whose morphosyntactic pattern corresponds to the pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

b) Specific interest is communicated through a figure of speech

Bahuvrihi compounds whose intended purpose is to communicate the concept of a specific interest may be constructed in such a manner that the interest of the bahuvrihi compound's referent gets communicated through a metaphor. The list of bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius*, and which use a metaphor to communicate a specific interest of their referent, includes the following examples.

chickenhead

The two words of which this bahuvrihi compound is comprised are *chicken* and *head*. It is an expression for a person who frequently performs fellatio. The component *chicken* is the noun *chicken* that refers to a type of bird. The reason why fellators and fellatrices are likened to a chicken is that while performing the act the movement of their head reminds of a chicken bobbing its head.[51]

Owing to the component *chicken* being a noun, the precise morphosyntactic pattern which *chickenhead* follows is $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

egghead

The two components of this bahuvrihi compound are *egg* and *head*. It denotes a person who is overly interested in studying. The component *egg* is the noun *egg*. The reason why the lexeme *egg* is used as the bahuvrihi compound's first component is that eggs possess one characteristic which is frequently associated also with intelligent people and thus also with intellectuals as intellectuals are typically associated with high

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[51] Available online at https://7esl.com/chicken-head/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

intelligence. The characteristic is bareness, which in the case of intelligent people, including intellectuals, is bareness of their head, i.e. their baldness.[52]

Intelligent people do not have to be bald, and bald people may be even unintelligent. Nonetheless, bald people tend to be associated with high intelligence, which has been proven, for instance, in a worldwide study with approximately 20 000 respondents that was conducted by a psychologist of Saarland University named Ronald Henss.[53]

Since the lexeme *egg* was selected as the bahuvrihi compound's first component due to a characteristic which eggs have in common with the popular image of intellectuals, it is therefore used as a metaphor. However, since eggs do not have that characteristic in common with intellectuals, but merely with a popular image of intellectuals, this bahuvrihi compound thus communicates the concept of a passion for studying not only through a metaphor but also through the POPULAR IMAGE OF A PERSON FOR THE PERSON metonymy.

In terms of morphosyntax, since the component *egg* is a noun, *egghead* is thus constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

Furthermore, bahuvrihi compounds which are meant to draw attention to a specific interest of their referents through a figure of speech may also communicate the interest through a metonymy alone, i.e. they do not have to communicate the interest through any metaphor. Such bahuvrihi compounds include, for instance, the following bahuvrihi compounds.

petrolhead (a car enthusiast)

The two words that comprise this bahuvrihi compound are the nouns *petrol* as in a liquid that is used as a fuel for cars and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound is used as an expression for a person who is interested in cars.[54]

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[52] Available online at https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[53] Available online at https://www.uni-saarland.de/universitaet/aktuell/pressestelle/publikationen/campus-extra/2009/november/wenns-den-herren-an-haupthaar-mangelt.html.
[54] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

As has been mentioned, the word *petrol* that is used as this bahuvrihi compound's first component is a word that denotes a liquid which is used as a fuel for cars. Therefore, *petrolhead* communicates the concept of being interested in cars through the FUEL FOR VEHICLE metonymy.

Since the component *petrol* is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern in line with which the bahuvrihi compound *petrolhead* is constructed is therefore $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

seamhead

The two components of this bahuvrihi compound are *seam* and *head*. It is an expression for an avid fan of baseball. The component *seam* is the noun *seam* which in this case refers specifically to the distinctive seam on baseballs.[55] The bahuvrihi compound *seamhead* thus communicates what its referent's specific interest is through a metonymic chain TOOL FOR SPORT and PART OF A TOOL FOR A WHOLE TOOL since it does not use a word for the game of baseball as its first component, but instead it uses a word for something that is part of a tool which is used in the game of baseball.

Since this bahuvrihi compound's former component is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern in line with which *seamhead* is constructed is $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

Additionally, bahuvrihi compounds are also created to communicate the concept of being interested in either a specific person, such as a celebrity, or a specific group of people, such as a sports team. In the case of these bahuvrihi compounds, the first component is a word for something that is characteristic of the fans of that specific person or group of people. Among already existent such bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius* are the following examples.

dittohead (a fan of Rush Limbaugh)

The two words of which this bahuvrihi compound is comprised are *ditto* and *head*. It refers to a fan of the American radio commentator Rush Limbaugh. It was coined by people who listened to Rush Limbaugh's radio show and phoned in to express their

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[55] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

agreement by uttering "Ditto!".[56] It follows that in this bahuvrihi compound, the concept of being a fan of Rush Limbaugh is communicated through a word which Rush Limbaugh's fans customarily used, i.e. the concept of being a fan of Rush Limbaugh is communicated through the CUSTOMARY COMMENT FOR FAN metonymy (more specifically CUSTOMARY COMMENT FOR RUSH LIMBAUGH'S FAN metonymy).

Since this bahuvrihi compound's component *ditto* is the adverb *ditto*, *dittohead* thus differs from a vast majority of bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to their referents' interest in the respect that it is not constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$, but rather in line with the pattern $[_N Adv_X N_Y]_Z$.

parrothead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the components *parrot* and *head*. It denotes a fan of the American musician named Jimmy Buffett. The component *parrot* is the noun *parrot*, namely because in 1985 Jimmy Buffett held a concert at the Timberwolf Amphitheater in Cincinnati, Ohio where he noticed that many of his fans were wearing a parrot hat.[57] *Parrothead* thus communicates the concept of being a fan of Jimmy Buffett through a metonymic chain PIECE OF CLOTHING FOR FAN (more specifically PIECE OF CLOTHING FOR JIMMY BUFFETT'S FAN) and PART OF A PIECE OF CLOTHING FOR A WHOLE PIECE OF CLOTHING since it uses such a word as its first component which denotes an animal that was represented on a hat that some of Buffett's fans were wearing during a concert he held.

The former component being the noun *parrot*, the precise morphosyntactic pattern that *parrothead* follows is thus $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

5.2.1.3 Addiction

Semantics: $[PERSON\ WHO\ IS\ ADDICTED\ TO\ (X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/..._X hed_Y/_Z$

Bahuvrihi compounds which denote a person with a specific addiction communicate the concrete addiction almost exclusively by filling the position of their first component with a word that denotes the object of the person's addiction. The word that is used is usually short, most commonly monosyllabic.

As has been stated in Section 5.1.1, the list of bahuvrihi compounds gathered from *A. A. Maius* which draw attention to an addiction of their referents includes 17 bahuvrihi compounds. Among those 17 bahuvrihi compounds, there are 16 bahuvrihi compounds which use a word for the object of their referents' addiction as their first component, and among those 16 bahuvrihi compounds there are only two bahuvrihi compounds which use a word for the object of their referents' addiction that consists of more than one syllable. Those are *acidhead* and *coffeehead*, both using a disyllabic word.

Because there is a tendency to use short lexemes as the first component of bahuvrihi compounds denoting people with an addiction, and because these bahuvrihi compounds tend to be pejorative, the chosen lexeme for the object of addiction is thus usually a colloquial expression for it. Furthermore, whenever the lexeme is a word for the object of addiction it is always a noun. For that reason such bahuvrihi compounds always follow the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \ N_X \ N_Y]_Z$.

As has been stated, the selected word for the specific object of addiction is usually a colloquial expression for it. The list of bahuvrihi compounds that were found in *A. A. Maius* and whose first component is a colloquial expression for their referents' object of addiction includes the following bahuvrihi compounds.

cokehead

This bahuvrihi compound comprises the lexemes *coke* and *head*. It is used in reference to a person who is addicted to cocaine.[58] The reason why *coke* was selected as this bahuvrihi compound's first component is that it is the noun *coke* as in a shortened and altered form of the noun *cocaine*.[59] Therefore, this bahuvrihi compound is a result of the concept of addiction to cocaine having been conceptualized and linguistically coded

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[58] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[59] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

in such a manner that the specific drug to which the bahuvrihi compound's referent is addicted is explicitly mentioned within the bahuvrihi compound itself, namely by a colloquial expression for it.

skaghead

The bahuvrihi compound *skaghead* was created by putting the lexemes *skag* and *head* together. It is a slang expression for a heroin addict.[60] The former component is the noun *skag* which is a colloquial expression for heroin.[61] Therefore, same as *cokehead*, the bahuvrihi compound *skaghead* was created in line with the bahuvrihi compounds' tendency of being created in such a manner that the object of addiction of a person gets explicitly mentioned within the bahuvrihi compound itself.

The list of bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius* and whose first component is a neutral expression for their referents' object of addiction includes the following bahuvrihi compounds.

coffeehead

The bahuvrihi compound *coffeehead* uses the words *coffee* and *head* as its first and its second component, respectively. It is a slang expression for a person who is addicted to coffee.[62] It follows that, same as *cokehead, skaghead,* or any other bahuvrihi compound whose concept of addiction to a specific object was conceptualized and linguistically coded in such a manner that the object of addiction got explicitly mentioned within the bahuvrihi compound itself, *coffeehead* was also constructed in a manner that its referent's object of addiction is explicitly mentioned within the bahuvrihi compound itself. However, *coffeehead,* i.e. its component *coffee,* does not communicate the object to what the person is addicted through any of the colloquial words that exist for it, such as *joe* or *java*. Instead, it communicates the object of addiction through a neutral word for it, namely *coffee*.[63]

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[60] Available online at https://slangdefine.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[61] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[62] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[63] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

hemphead

Hemphead consists of the nouns *hemp* and *head*. It was found in *A. A. Maius* in the sense of a person who is addicted to marijuana.[64] Therefore, same as *coffeehead*, *hemphead* differs from most bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to an addiction of a person in the respect that although a word for its referent's object of addiction, i.e. *hemp*, is mentioned within the bahuvrihi compound itself, the word is not a colloquial expression for the object of addiction, but rather a neutral one.[65]

As has been mentioned, among the 17 bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person with a specific addiction that were found in the corpus, there was only one whose first component is not a word for the object of its referent's addiction. That bahuvrihi compound is *wirehead*.

wirehead

Wirehead is a bahuvrihi compound which was created by compounding the nouns *wire* and *head*. It is a science fiction slang expression for a person who is addicted to stimulation of their brain with electric current.[66] Therefore, in this bahuvrihi compound the word that is used as the first component is not a word for stimulation of the person's brain. The word that is used instead is a word for a thread which carries electric current, i.e. a thread which makes it possible to stimulate one's own brain with electric current. It follows that this bahuvrihi compound communicates the concept of addiction to stimulation of one's own brain with electric current through the TOOL FOR EFFECT metonymy.

Furthermore, *wirehead* differs from all the bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* that draw attention to an addiction of a person to something in the respect that it does not use a word for the specific object of its referent's addiction. In fact, *wirehead* does not draw attention to addiction to any object at all. It draws attention to an addiction of a person to a specific activity.

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[64] Last checked on April 25, 2024.
[65] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[66] Available online at https://www.thefreedictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

Nevertheless, *wirehead* does not differ from all the bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus which draw attention to an addiction of a person to something in the respect that it also uses a noun as its first component. Thus, this bahuvrihi compound is also constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

5.2.1.4 Internal noncognitive characteristic

Semantics: [PERSON WHO HAS THE INTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC OF $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N N/Adj/V/Adv_X N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/...X ...Y/Z$

Bahuvrihi compounds are also created for the purpose of drawing attention to an internal noncognitive characteristic of a person. There are two manners in what bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention to an internal noncognitive characteristic.

Firstly, there is the manner of bringing attention to the characteristic by selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which directly communicates what the characteristic is. This means that such bahuvrihi compounds do not communicate an internal noncognitive characteristic of their referents through any figure of speech, such as a metonymy or a metaphor. In such bahuvrihi compounds the specific characteristic of their referents is explicitly mentioned within the bahuvrihi compounds themselves.

Secondly, there is the manner of bringing attention to the characteristic by selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which is meant as a figure of speech that indirectly communicates what the characteristic of the bahuvrihi compound's referent is.

Among the bahuvrihi compounds which were found in the corpus there were several bahuvrihi compounds exemplifying either manner. Selected examples are analyzed below.

a) Characteristic is not communicated through any figure of speech

greedhead

Greedhead comprises the lexemes *greed* and *head*. It denotes a greedy person. This bahuvrihi compound's former component is the noun *greed*.[67] The word *greed* was used since in terms of words which could have been selected as the first component of a bahuvrihi compound denoting a greedy person, this noun presented a suitable option as greed is ultimately what characterizes such a person the most. Because a word for the concept of greed was selected as the first component of *greedhead,* this bahuvrihi compound thus communicates what its referent's internal characteristic is explicitly, i.e. it does not communicate it through a metaphor, metonymy, or any other figure of speech.

Owing to the component *greed* being a noun, the precise morphosyntactic pattern which *greedhead* follows is $[_N\ N_X\ N_Y]_Z$.

sorehead

This bahuvrihi compound is comprised of the words *sore* and *head*. As defined in *Merriam-Webster*, it is an expression for "a person easily angered or disgruntled".[68] Therefore, the noncognitive characteristic to which *sorehead* draws attention is that this bahuvrihi compound's referent does not require a strong provocation to get "sore". The emotional state in which this bahuvrihi compound's referent often gets is thus explicitly mentioned within *sorehead* itself, namely in its adjectival component *sore*. This bahuvrihi compound thus does not communicate what its referent's typical trait is through any metaphor, metonymy, or any other figure of speech.

Unlike *greedhead, sorehead* has the position of its first component filled with an adjective, therefore it is constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N\ Adj_X\ N_Y]_Z$.

b) Characteristic is communicated through a figure of speech

bighead (a conceited person)

The two components of the bahuvrihi compound *bighead* are the adjective *big* and the noun *head*. It is an expression for a person who thinks that they are more important

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[67] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[68] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

than they really are.[69] In this bahuvrihi compound, the adjective *big* is not used in its literal sense since the head of the bahuvrihi compound's referent may not be big in terms of size. In this bahuvrihi compound, the adjective *big* rather refers to the person's characteristic of being self-important. The characteristic of being self-important was thus conceptualized as *big* through the conceptual metaphor IMPORTANCE IS BIGNESS.

Because the component *big* is the adjective *big*, this bahuvrihi compound thus follows the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

hothead

The two lexemes of which the bahuvrihi compound *hothead* is comprised are *hot* and *head*. As defined in *Cambridge Dictionary*, this expression is used in reference to "someone who gets angry too quickly and reacts without thinking carefully first".[70]

The component *hot* is the adjective *hot* which, however, is not used in its literal sense, but rather as a figure of speech, namely because this bahuvrihi compound does not draw attention to the temperature of its referent's head. It rather draws attention to one of its referent's internal characteristics. The adjective *hot* is used in this bahuvrihi compound because whenever a person gets angry, their heart rate, blood pressure and body temperature increase, and they thus feel hot (Lamia, 2011).[71] Moreover, whenever a person gets angry, they are prone to making rash decisions (Nemko, 2020).[72]

Since the role of this bahuvrihi compound's first component is fulfilled by an adjective, *hothead* therefore follows the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

5.2.1.5 Unlikability of a person

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS UNLIKABLE IN RESPECT TO (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N \text{N/Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

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[69] Available online at https://dictionary.cambridge.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[70] Available online at https://dictionary.cambridge.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[71] Available online at https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/intense-emotions-and-strong-feelings/201108/maybe-you-should-be-angry.
[72] Available online at https://www.psychologytoday.com/intl/blog/how-do-life/202001/the-case-anger.

Another purpose for which bahuvrihi compounds may be created is to let their referents know that they are unlikable people. For that purpose, words that get selected as the first component of such bahuvrihi compounds are vulgar and/or denote something that may be viewed as ugly. Most commonly, such a word is selected which is either an expression for bodily waste, particularly for feces, or an expression for human private parts.

Examples of already existent such bahuvrihi compounds that were found in the corpus include the following expressions.

dickhead

The two components of this bahuvrihi compound are *dick* and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound communicates its referent's characteristic of being an unlikable person by having such a word as its first component that is an offensive expression for a male reproductive organ, i.e. the noun *dick*.[73]

By using a word for a reproductive organ, a link to sexual activities is established. On the one hand, sex is a natural activity. On the other hand, it is a private act. For that reason, sex as well as sex organs are taboo subjects.[74] Taboo subjects tend not to be openly discussed because people might get offended by such discussions.[75]

It follows that since the goal had been to create a bahuvrihi compound which would have communicated its referent's characteristic of being unlikable, the noun *dick* had presented a suitable option in terms of what the bahuvrihi compound's first component could have been. By having the noun *dick* as its component, the bahuvrihi compound alludes to a taboo subject. In addition to that, since *dick*, as mentioned above, is even an offensive word for the selected reproductive organ, the resulting bahuvrihi compound *dickhead* therefore communicates the speaker's aversion to the bahuvrihi compound's referent all the more clearly.

As has been stated, the first component of this bahuvrihi compound is a noun. Therefore, *dickhead* is constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \ N_X \ N_Y]_Z$.

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[73] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[74] Available online at https://www.dictionary.com/e/euphemisms-sex-organs/.
[75] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

shithead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the lexemes *shit* and *head.* The former component is the noun *shit* as in a vulgar expression for excrement.[76] The reason why an expression for excrement was selected as one of the bahuvrihi compound's components is that excrement is something that elicits disgust (Karasu, 2024), i.e. a feeling of strong dislike.[77] This bahuvrihi compound thus communicates the concept of an unlikable person through a metaphor that is based on a circumstance that both excrement and the bahuvrihi compound's referent trigger the same emotion in the speaker, namely disgust.

As has been mentioned, the first component of *shithead* is a noun. It follows that the precise morphosyntactic pattern which this bahuvrihi compound follows is $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

5.2.1.6 External characteristic

Semantics: [PERSON WHO HAS THE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC OF $(X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N N/Adj_X N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/...X ...Y/Z$

Bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* are created also for the purpose of drawing attention to a specific external characteristic of a person. They may communicate the concept of a specific external characteristic either without using any metaphor or through a metaphor. In the case of those bahuvrihi compounds that communicate the concept of a specific external characteristic through a metaphor, the metaphor is based on a circumstance that the object which the metaphorically used word represents possesses a characteristic that the bahuvrihi compound's referent possesses as well.

The list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which draw attention to their referents possessing a specific external characteristic, and which do not

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[76] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

[77] Available online at https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-gravity-of-weight/202401/disgust-an-emotion-most-vile.

communicate the external characteristic through any metaphor, includes the following examples.

baldhead

The lexemes which comprise this bahuvrihi compound are *bald* and *head*, the former being the adjective *bald* as in hairless. This bahuvrihi compound refers to a person whose head is bald.[78]

Since an adjective which denotes the characteristic of having no hair is used as the bahuvrihi compound's first component, *baldhead* therefore communicates what the external characteristic of its referent is directly, i.e. it does not communicate it through any metaphor. Nevertheless, *baldhead* does communicate the concept of a bald person through more than one figure of speech. Apart from the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy when *baldhead* denotes the whole person even though it draws attention to a characteristic which pertains to only a specific part of the person's body, this bahuvrihi compound communicates the concept of a bald person also through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy. The latter type of a metonymy may be observed in *baldhead* since the bahuvrihi compound uses a word for its referent's head even though the specific characteristic of that person does not in fact pertain to the whole head of that person, but rather to only a part of it, namely to the part where hair grows.

In terms of morphosyntax, since the component *bald* is an adjective, the morphosyntactic pattern that *baldhead* follows is thus $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

redhead

Redhead consists of the words *red* and *head*, the former being the adjective *red* which denotes a specific color. This bahuvrihi compound is used in reference to a person who has red hair.[79]

Since *redhead* communicates the hair color of its referent through a component which is a word for that concrete color, this bahuvrihi compound thus uses no metaphor. Nonetheless, same as *baldhead*, *redhead* communicates its concept through double

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[78] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[79] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

metonymy. Aside from the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy that may be observed in *redhead* as the bahuvrihi compound uses a word for a human body part to refer to a whole person, the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy may be observed in *redhead* as well. The WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy may be observed in *redhead* since this bahuvrihi compound does not draw attention to the color of its referent's head, but only to the color of its referent's hair.

As this bahuvrihi compound's first component is an adjective, *redhead* is therefore constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern [$_N$ Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$.

Among the bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* there was, however, only a single bahuvrihi compound which communicates the concept of a specific external characteristic through a metaphor, namely the bahuvrihi compound *towhead*.

towhead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the lexemes *tow* and *head*. A person in reference to whom this bahuvrihi compound is used has hair of pale-yellow color. The former component is the noun *tow* as in the term used in textile industry for broken fibers of flax.[80] It follows that the concept of pale-yellow hair color is in *towhead* communicated through a metaphor as it is communicated through a component that is a word for an object that is of pale-yellow color as well.

In terms of the bahuvrihi compound's latter component, same as in the bahuvrihi compounds *baldhead* and *redhead*, in the bahuvrihi compound *towhead* the word *head*, on the one hand, is the noun *head* that denotes a human body part. On the other hand, however, it is not the whole head of a towheaded person that possesses the characteristic to what *towhead* brings attention. It rather brings attention to the person's hair. Therefore, this bahuvrihi compound communicates the concept of a person whose hair is of pale-yellow color through three figures of speech, namely the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy, WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy and a metaphor.

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[80] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

Because its component *tow* is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern in line with which *towhead* is constructed is $[_N\ N_X\ N_Y]_Z$.

Based on the data provided by *A. A. Maius*, irrespective of whether they are meant to communicate the concept of a person having a specific external characteristic through a metaphor or without using any metaphor, bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* that are meant to draw attention solely to an external characteristic of a person tend to communicate the concept of a person having the given external characteristic through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy.

Aside from the above-mentioned bahuvrihi compounds *baldhead, redhead,* and *towhead,* the list of bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius,* and which draw attention solely to an external characteristic of a person, includes the bahuvrihi compounds *curly-head* and *fuzzhead,* both of which communicate the concept of a person having a specific external characteristic through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy as well. The word *solely* was used in the previous sentence as some bahuvrihi compounds may draw attention to an external characteristic of a person but in addition to that they may also draw attention to another type of a characteristic, e.g. an association of a person with a specific community as discussed in Section 5.2.1.7.

5.2.1.7 Association with a specific community

a)

Semantics: $[\text{PERSON WHO IS ASSOCIATED WITH } (X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N\ \text{N/Adj}_X\ N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/...\text{x} ...\text{y}/\text{z}$

b)

Semantics: $[\text{PERSON WHO IS ASSOCIATED WITH } (X_X)]_Z$

Morphosyntax: $[_N\ N_X\ N_Y]_Z$

Phonology: $/...\text{x hed}_Y/\text{z}$

Among the purposes for what bahuvrihi compounds are created is also the purpose of drawing attention to an association of a person with a specific community. As has been stated in Section 5.1.1, in terms of bahuvrihi compounds which denote a person who is associated with a specific community, there are two schemas that such bahuvrihi compounds may follow. Firstly, there is a schema where *head* is not a fixed component. Secondly, there is a schema where *head* is a fixed component.

In terms of the former schema, bahuvrihi compounds which are constructed in line with this schema draw attention to their referents' association with a specific community by drawing attention also to an external characteristic which is typical of people who are part of that community. In other words, such bahuvrihi compounds use an external characteristic that is typical of people who are members of the specific community to draw attention to their referents' association with that community. The external characteristic may be a physical characteristic of a certain body part of the people. Alternatively, the external characteristic may be connected with something that members of the specific community typically wear, e.g. for religious reasons.

Among already existent bahuvrihi compounds which were found in *A. A. Maius*, and which use a physical characteristic that is typical of the specific community's members to draw attention to their referents' association with that specific community, are the following bahuvrihi compounds.

Flathead

Flathead came into existence by compounding the lexemes *flat* and *head*. The word *flat* is the adjective *flat* as in having a level surface. This bahuvrihi compound refers to a person who belongs to one of the Native American tribes.[81] Particularly, it refers to a person who belongs to one of the tribes that live in the northwestern United States, such as the Salishan tribes, or to the Chinook tribes.[82]

Members of these Native American tribes had begun to be called *Flatheads* due to a practice that had been commonly associated with these Native American tribes, albeit sometimes erroneously, such as in the case of the Salishan people.[83] The practice had been

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[81] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[82] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[83] Available online at https://lewis-clark.org/native-nations/salishan-peoples/salish/.

to flatten their children's head. Members of the Native Americans tribes which had engaged in this practice, such as the Chinookan people, thus had a flat head. However, this practice has already faded away. Therefore, in the present, members of these tribes do not have a flat head anymore.[84]

As has been stated, this bahuvrihi compound's first component is an adjective. Ergo, the morphosyntactic pattern of *Flathead* is $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

skinhead

The bahuvrihi compound *skinhead* consists of the words *skin* and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound is an expression for a young short-haired person who belongs to a specific subculture of whose members it is typical to have closely cropped hair.[85] This relates to the meaning of the component *skin* since it is the noun *skin* as in the layer of tissue covering a human body.[86] The noun *skin* was selected as the bahuvrihi compound's first component due to the circumstance that skinheads have very short hair or even no hair at all, wherefore the skin on their head is visible.

As the component *skin* is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern to which *skinhead* corresponds is $[_N \text{N}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

In terms of bahuvrihi compounds which use something that people who belong to a specific community typically wear to draw attention to their referents' association with that community, examples of such bahuvrihi compounds that were found in *A. A. Maius* include the following bahuvrihi compounds.

dothead

This bahuvrihi compound comprises the lexemes *dot* and *head*. It is an ethnic slur that is used in reference to a person who comes from South Asia. The component *dot* is the noun *dot* that, in terms of this bahuvrihi compound, is meant to refer to a bindi, which

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[84] Available online at https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/chinookan-head-flattening/.
[85] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[86] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

is worn by some people from South Asia, especially by married Hindu women.[87] This bahuvrihi compound therefore communicates the concept of coming from South Asia through a metonymic chain ALL CULTURES WITHIN A GEOGRAPHICAL AREA FOR THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, ONE CULTURE FOR ALL CULTURES WITHIN THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, and MARK FOR CULTURE.

Due to the former component being the noun *dot*, the morphosyntactic pattern to which this bahuvrihi corresponds is [$_N$ N$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$.

raghead

The two words which were connected to each other to form this bahuvrihi compound are the nouns *rag*, i.e. in the sense of a piece of cloth, and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound is used in reference to a person who comes from a culture, part of which is a tradition to wear a cloth headdress, such as a turban or a keffiyeh. Therefore, this bahuvrihi compound is used, for example, in reference to an Arab.[88] Since *raghead* communicates the concept of coming from a culture, part of which is a tradition to wear a turban, a keffiyeh, or any other cloth headdress, through a word which refers to a cloth headdress worn by people from such a culture, it therefore communicates that concept through the HEADDRESS FOR CULTURE metonymy.

In terms of morphosyntax, as has been stated, the component *rag* is a noun. For that reason, the precise morphosyntactic pattern that *raghead* follows is [$_N$ N$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$.

In terms of the schema where the position of the second component always belongs to the noun *head*, this schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to a specific association of their referents with a specific community in any other manner than by drawing attention also to a specific external characteristic that is typical of the members of that community.

The list of such bahuvrihi compounds that were found in *A. A. Maius* includes the following examples.

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[87] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[88] Available online at https://www.thefreedictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

cheesehead (a Wisconsinite)

The two components of this bahuvrihi compound are *cheese* and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound is used as an informal expression for a person who comes from the American state of Wisconsin. Its component *cheese* is the noun *cheese* as in the food made from milk. In terms of the reason why Wisconsinites are called *cheeseheads*, Wisconsin is known as an American state where a lot of cheese is produced.[89] It follows that this bahuvrihi compound communicates the concept of a Wisconsinite, firstly, through the BODY PART FOR WHOLE PERSON metonymy, secondly, through the PRODUCT FOR STATE metonymy as it uses a word for a product whose production is typical of Wisconsin.

Because the component *cheese* is a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern of this bahuvrihi compound is therefore $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

jihad-head

The lexemes that *jihad-head* uses as its first and its second component are the nouns *jihad* and *head*, respectively. This bahuvrihi compound has not been found in any online dictionary.[90] Nevertheless, it was found in the corpus, and it was found used in such a context which left no room for doubt in terms of whether it was used as a bahuvrihi compound. Nor did the context leave any room for doubt regarding the bahuvrihi compound's meaning. It was used as an expression for a Muslim who advocates a jihad. Therefore, *jihad-head* uses a word for a jihad, namely *jihad*, to denote a person who is a Muslim, i.e. a specific type of a Muslim.

Regarding morphosyntax, this bahuvrihi compound's component *jihad* is a noun, *jihad-head* thus follows the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

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[89] Available online at https://www.thefreedictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[90] Last checked on April 25, 2024.

5.2.1.8 Role

Semantics: [RUGBY PLAYER WHOSE BODY PART HAS THE CHARACTERISTIC OF (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

Among the bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* there were also bahuvrihi compounds which were created to draw attention to a role of a person on a rugby team. Bahuvrihi compounds which were created for such a purpose are connected with bahuvrihi compounds that draw attention to an association of a person with a specific community. Similarly to most bahuvrihi compounds which bring attention to an association of their referents with a specific community, these bahuvrihi compounds were created in such a manner that an external characteristic of the player who has a specific role on their rugby team was used to denote that player. Nevertheless, these bahuvrihi compounds are different from a vast majority of the bahuvrihi compounds denoting a person who is associated with a specific community in the respect that they do not have a negative connotation.

The list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which denote a rugby player who has a specific role on their team includes the following bahuvrihi compounds.

loosehead

The two words that comprise the bahuvrihi compound *loosehead* are the adjective *loose*, i.e. in the sense of not firmly held, and the noun *head*. It is a term for a rugby player who is positioned on the left-hand side of the scrum's front row. Untypically of bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans, *loosehead* is not disrespectful and does not have a negative connotation.[91]

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[91] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

A rugby player who is a loosehead is called *loosehead* because their head is on the outside of the scrummage during the engagement and because it remains loose throughout the scrummage.[92]

As this bahuvrihi compound's former component is an adjective, the precise morphosyntactic pattern of *loosehead* is [$_N$ Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$.

tighthead

The two components of the bahuvrihi compound *tighthead* are the adjective *tight*, i.e. in the sense of firmly held, and the noun *head*. It is a term for a rugby player who, as opposed to a loosehead, plays on the right-hand side of the front row of the scrummage. Same as *loosehead*, it does not have a negative connotation.[93]

The reason why a rugby player who is a tighthead is called *tighthead* is that once the scrummage is engaged, the player's head is kept tight between two of the opposing team's players, namely between their hooker and their loosehead.[94]

Since this bahuvrihi compound came into existence by compounding an adjective with a noun, the morphosyntactic pattern in line with which *tighthead* is constructed is thus [$_N$ Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$.

5.2.2 Bahuvrihi compounds that refer to non-human entities

Semantics: [NON-HUMAN ENTITY WHOSE PART (Y$_Y$) HAS THE QUALITY (X$_X$)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /...$_X$ ...$_Y$/$_Z$

Bahuvrihi compounds are also created to refer to non-human entities, i.e. animals, plants, or inanimate objects. Such bahuvrihi compounds always draw attention to a specific physical characteristic of a non-human entity. Unlike bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans, and which in most cases have a negative connotation, the

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[92] Available online at https://www.rugbypass.com/articles/loosehead-prop-position-guide/.
[93] Available online at https://www.wordsense.eu/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[94] Available online at https://www.rugbypass.com/articles/tighthead-prop-position-guide/.

bahuvrihi compounds which refer to non-human entities do not have a negative connotation. Nor do they have a positive connotation.

a) Bahuvrihi compounds that refer to animals

Unlike bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans, and which may be created for various purposes, bahuvrihi compounds which refer to animals are created for one purpose only. Their purpose is to draw attention to an external characteristic of specific animals. There are two manners in what bahuvrihi compounds denoting an animal may be created.

One of the two options is to use a specific external characteristic of one of the animal's body parts to denote the whole animal without communicating the body part's characteristic through any metaphor. Among bahuvrihi compounds which have already been created in this manner, and which were found in *A. A. Maius*, are the following bahuvrihi compounds.

greenhead (a horsefly)

The two words which were compounded to create this bahuvrihi compound are the adjective *green*, i.e. in the sense of a specific color, and the noun *head*. It is a common expression for any green-eyed horsefly, such as the horsefly species which is also known under its scientific name *Tabanus nigrovittatus*. These horseflies earned the English name *greenhead* because their eyes are green.[95] Since only their eyes are green, as opposed to their entire head, the bahuvrihi compound *greenhead* therefore communicates the concept of a green-eyed horsefly through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy.

As the position of the first component of *greenhead* was filled with an adjective, the precise morphosyntactic pattern in line with which this bahuvrihi compound is constructed is thus $[_N \text{Adj}_X N_Y]_Z$.

hardhead

This bahuvrihi compound came into existence by compounding the adjective *hard*, i.e. in the sense of uneasy to bend, with the noun *head*. It is a common name for a catfish species otherwise known under its scientific name *Ariopsis felis* that lives near the

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[95] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

southeastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean and in the Gulf of Mexico. Members of this species are referred to as *hardheads* owing to a bony plate which they have between their eyes and their dorsal fin.[96] Because it is only a part of the catfish's head that is hard, *hardhead* therefore communicates the concept of this specific catfish through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy.

Since the position of this bahuvrihi compound's first component was filled with an adjective, the morphosyntactic pattern that *hardhead* follows is thus $[_N \text{Adj}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

The second manner in what bahuvrihi compounds denoting an animal may be created is by communicating the observed external characteristic of an animal's body part through a metaphor. The list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which have already been created in this manner includes the following bahuvrihi compounds.

hammerhead

Hammerhead consists of the nouns *hammer* and *head*. It is an English name for sharks which belong to the genus Sphyrna. The head of these sharks is flattened in such a manner that in terms of shape it may remind of a hammer as in the hand tool that is used for pounding, which is why *hammer* was selected as the bahuvrihi compound's first component.[97] Since these sharks are called *hammerheads* merely due to the circumstance that their head happens to have the shape of a hammer, this bahuvrihi compound is therefore an example of bahuvrihi compounds denoting an animal which communicate the specific external characteristic of a part of the animal's body through a metaphor.

Since this bahuvrihi compound's former component is *hammer* as in the noun *hammer*, the morphosyntactic pattern that *hammerhead* follows is therefore $[_N \text{N}_X \text{N}_Y]_Z$.

steelhead

The bahuvrihi compound *steelhead* is comprised of the nouns *steel* and *head*. It is an English common name for an anadromous fish of the salmon family that lives in North America. It was given the English name *steelhead* owing to a circumstance that adult

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[96] Available online at https://www.wlf.louisiana.gov/species/detail/hardhead-catfish.

[97] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

steelheads have a silvery color, i.e. the same color as steel.[98] Since the head of this trout is not made of steel, but it is merely likened to steel due to the circumstance that it has the same color as steel, *steelhead* is therefore another example of bahuvrihi compounds denoting an animal which communicate an external characteristic of an animal's body part through a metaphor.

As has been stated, the first component of this bahuvrihi compound is a noun. It follows that *steelhead* is constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \, N_X \, N_Y]_Z$.

b) Bahuvrihi compounds that refer to plants

Aside from the possibility of referring to humans or to animals, bahuvrihi compounds may also be used in reference to plants. Same as the bahuvrihi compounds which refer to animals, bahuvrihi compounds which refer to plants do not have a negative connotation either.

Regarding the types of characteristics of plants to what bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention, the number of possibilities is relatively limited, in comparison to the number of types of human characteristics to what bahuvrihi compounds may possibly bring attention.

Nevertheless, unlike in the case of animals, in the case of plants there is more than only one type of a characteristic to what bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention. Same as in the case of animals, in the case of plants it is possible to use bahuvrihi compounds for the purpose of drawing attention to their appearance. However, bahuvrihi compounds may also be used for the purpose of drawing attention to other characteristics of plants, albeit always to physical characteristics, e.g. taste or freshness.

There are two manners in what bahuvrihi compounds may bring attention to a physical characteristic of a plant. They may bring attention to the specific characteristic by communicating the physical characteristic of the plant either through no metaphor or through a metaphor.

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[98] Available online at https://www.nwf.org/Educational-Resources/Wildlife-Guide/Fish/Rainbow-Trout-Steelhead.

Among the bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* there was only one bahuvrihi compound which does not use any metaphor to communicate a specific physical characteristic of a plant, namely the bahuvrihi compound *crisphead*.

crisphead

This bahuvrihi compound is the result of compounding the lexemes *crisp* and *head*. It is an English common name for a type of lettuce. The component *crisp* is the adjective *crisp* as in a synonym for *fresh*.[99]

The reason why this type of lettuce is called *crisphead* is that it has a head of crisp, light green leaves.[100] It follows that this bahuvrihi compound draws attention to a physical characteristic of the plant through a component which is a word for that characteristic. This means that *crisphead* does not communicate the concept of the concrete physical characteristic through any metaphor.

As the component *crisp* is an adjective, *crisphead* is therefore an example of bahuvrihi compounds which communicate the concept of a specific physical characteristic of a plant while following the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \text{Adj}_X N_Y]_Z$.

The list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* which do use a metaphor to communicate a specific physical characteristic of a plant includes the following examples.

butterhead

The bahuvrihi compound *butterhead* is comprised of the nouns *butter* and *head*. It is an English common name for a type of lettuce. This specific lettuce is known for its buttery leaves, which is what led to the lettuce being called *butterhead*.[101] This bahuvrihi compound thus draws attention to the plant's taste. It communicates what its taste is by means of a comparison to the taste of butter. Therefore, *butterhead* communicates the specific physical characteristic of the plant through a metaphor.

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[99] Available online at https://dictionary.cambridge.org/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[100] Available online at https://www.chhs.colostate.edu/fsi/food-articles/produce-2/iceberg-lettuce/.
[101] Available online at https://www.chicagotribune.com/1995/02/15/butterhead-lettuce-aptly-named/.

Since both of this bahuvrihi compound's components are nouns, *butterhead* is thus an example of bahuvrihi compounds that communicate the concept of a specific physical characteristic of a plant while being constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$.

turtlehead

The bahuvrihi compound *turtlehead* came into existence by compounding the nouns *turtle* and *head*. It is a name for a perennial herb of the snapdragon family which grows in North America.[102]

Turtleheads were given such a name owing to a circumstance that the shape of their blossoms resembles the shape of a turtle's head.[103] It follows that *turtlehead* draws attention to the shape of the plant's blossoms and that it compares the shape of the plant's blossoms to the shape of a turtle's head. Therefore, this bahuvrihi compound uses a metaphor to communicate what the physical characteristic of the plant is.

Because this bahuvrihi compound was created by compounding two nouns, the precise morphosyntactic pattern of *turtlehead* is thus [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$.

c) Bahuvrihi compounds that refer to inanimate objects

Apart from humans, animals, or plants, bahuvrihi compounds are also used to refer to inanimate objects. Same as bahuvrihi compounds which refer to animals or plants, bahuvrihi compounds which refer to inanimate objects have neither a negative connotation nor a positive connotation. The list of bahuvrihi compounds found in *A. A. Maius* includes only two bahuvrihi compounds which refer to an inanimate object, namely the bahuvrihi compounds *bobblehead* and *figurehead*.

bobblehead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the lexemes *bobble* and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound refers to a collectible doll whose head starts to bob if touched. The component *bobble* is the noun *bobble* as in a bobbing movement.[104] This bahuvrihi compound draws attention to repeated physical movements that such a doll makes. It draws attention to

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[102] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[103] Available online at https://hort.extension.wisc.edu/articles/turtlehead-chelone-spp/.
[104] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

them through a noun for such movements. Therefore, *bobblehead* communicates what the characteristic observed in such a doll is directly, i.e. without using any figure of speech.

Since the first component of this bahuvrihi compound is a noun, *bobblehead* is therefore constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

figurehead

This bahuvrihi compound comprises the nouns *figure*, i.e. in the sense of a model of a human, and *head*. It denotes a carved figure on the bow of a ship.[105] This bahuvrihi compound draws attention to the fact that the inanimate object in the shape of a human being is a figure. It communicates that fact by having the noun *figure* as its first component, i.e. it communicates the inanimate object's characteristic of being a figure without using any figure of speech.

Since a noun was selected as this bahuvrihi compound's first component, *figurehead* therefore follows the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$.

5.2.3 Calques and semi-calques

Among already existent English compounds that are used as bahuvrihi compounds, there are many instances of such compounds which meet some of the most crucial criteria for their inclusion among bahuvrihi compounds, such as the criterion of using a characteristic of a part of an entity for denoting the whole entity, however, they are different from prototypical bahuvrihi compounds in the respect that they were created differently.

Any prototypical bahuvrihi compound has its lexical form because it is a result of the word-naming process described in Section 3, i.e. the process when a concept that a prototypical bahuvrihi compound communicates undergoes mental processing, the result of which is subsequently paired with a model from the lexicon. Some bahuvrihi compounds, however, did not undergo such a word-naming process. Instead, they came into existence as calques or semi-calques. This means that in the case of such bahuvrihi compounds there had been at first a bahuvrihi compound in a foreign language. At some point the foreign bahuvrihi compound was borrowed and started to be used in English.

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[105] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

However, while borrowing the bahuvrihi compound, changes were made, namely one or both of its components got substituted with an English equivalent.

Based on the data provided by *A. A. Maius*, in terms of the English language, calquing is most common in the case of bahuvrihi compounds which refer to animals. Nonetheless, bahuvrihi compounds denoting other entities were either fully or at least partially calqued too. Among the data provided by the corpus, there were hits on two bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans and which were calqued, namely *dumbhead* and *dunderhead*. Regarding bahuvrihi compounds which refer to plants, only one calqued bahuvrihi compound was found in the corpus, namely *dragonhead*. As for bahuvrihi compounds which denote inanimate objects, no example of a calqued bahuvrihi compound was found.

Given the manner in what these English compounds entered the English lexicon, a question may rise whether they should be considered bahuvrihi compounds at all. In this thesis, they have been included in the list of bahuvrihi compounds for the following reasons.

Firstly, as mentioned above, these compounds do meet crucial criteria for the inclusion among bahuvrihi compounds. They meet the criterion of denoting a whole entity while drawing attention to a characteristic of only a part of the entity. They are constructed in line with either of the two morphosyntactic patterns in line with which bahuvrihi compounds are most commonly constructed, i.e. the morphosyntactic patterns $[_N N_X N_Y]_Z$ and $[_N Adj_X N_Y]_Z$. Also, the ones which refer to humans, same as ordinary bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans, have a negative connotation, while the ones which refer to non-human entities, same as ordinary bahuvrihi compounds which refer to non-human entities, have neither a negative connotation nor a positive connotation.

Secondly, all the fully or partially calqued bahuvrihi compounds which were found in the corpus have been used in English for a long time, and in the present a vast majority of the native speakers of English who ever use any of these compounds is presumably incognizant of the manner in what the compound came into existence. Therefore, most people presumably do not realize that these compounds which may even look like ordinary bahuvrihi compounds are in fact calques, or semi-calques, as the case might be.

a) Calqued bahuvrihi compounds that refer to humans

dumbhead

As has been stated in Section 5.2.1.1, this bahuvrihi compound is an expression for a person who is not intelligent. It came into existence as a word-for-word translation of the German bahuvrihi compound *Dummkopf*.[106] Therefore, the English bahuvrihi compound *dumbhead* is a full calque. Nonetheless, this bahuvrihi compound was first used in English in 1887 at the latest.[107] Thus, it has been part of the English lexicon for many generations, and in the present, it is presumably not widely known that it entered the English language as a loan translation of the German bahuvrihi compound *Dummkopf*. Therefore, in the present, a vast majority of native speakers of English probably uses the bahuvrihi compound *dumbhead* while being unaware of the fact that they use a bahuvrihi compound which did not come into existence in the same manner as prototypical bahuvrihi compounds.

As has been stated in the Section 5.2.1.1, *dumbhead* corresponds to the morphosyntactic pattern $[_N \text{ Adj}_X \text{ N}_Y]_Z$. The reason why it follows this precise morphosyntactic pattern is that the German bahuvrihi compound's former component is the German adjective *dumm* which means *dumb* as in unintelligent, and its latter component is the German noun *Kopf* which means *head* as in the body part.[108] The morphosyntactic pattern that *Dummkopf* follows is thus $[_N \text{ Adj}_X \text{ N}_Y]_Z$, and since the English bahuvrihi compound *dumbhead* was created as a word-for-word translation of the German bahuvrihi compound, it was therefore constructed in line with the same morphosyntactic pattern.

dunderhead

The two lexemes that comprise this bahuvrihi compound are *dunder* and *head*. This bahuvrihi compound is used to denote a person who lacks intelligence. Its origin can be traced to the Dutch bahuvrihi compound *dunderkop* whose component *dunder* is the noun *dunder*, i.e. Dutch for *thunder* as in the loud noise during a storm, and whose

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[106] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[107] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[108] Available online at https://www.duden.de/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

component *kop* is the noun *kop*, i.e. Dutch for *head* as in the body part.[109] While creating the English bahuvrihi compound *dunderhead*, it was only the Dutch bahuvrihi compound's latter component that got substituted with its English counterpart. Ergo, unlike *dumbhead*, the English bahuvrihi compound *dunderhead* is only a partial calque.

Dunderhead has been part of the English lexicon since around the 1620's.[110] Therefore, although this bahuvrihi compound is not English in origin, a lot of people presumably use it while being incognizant of the fact that it has its roots in a foreign language's bahuvrihi compound.

As has been stated, the bahuvrihi compound *dunderkop* which had existed in Dutch in the early 17th century was comprised of two nouns. Since the English bahuvrihi compound *dunderhead* was created by borrowing the Dutch bahuvrihi compound's first component and by substituting the Dutch bahuvrihi compound's second component with its English equivalent, *dunderhead* was thus constructed in line with the same morphosyntactic pattern as *dunderkop*, i.e. in line with the pattern $[_N \; N_X \; N_Y]_Z$.

b) Calqued bahuvrihi compounds that refer to animals

lancehead

This bahuvrihi compound consists of the words *lance* and *head*. It denotes an extremely venomous pit viper which lives in Central and South America. This bahuvrihi compound has its origin in a French name for the pit viper, namely in the name *fer-de-lance*.[111] *Fer-de-lance* is French for iron of a lance.[112] It follows that the first component of the English bahuvrihi compound comes from the French noun *lance* that had been used in the French name for the pit viper. The English bahuvrihi compound's second component, however, does not come from the French name for the pit viper. Therefore, *lancehead* is a semi-calque.

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[109] Available online at https://www.dictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[110] Available online at https://www.dictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[111] Available online at https://www.merriam-webster.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[112] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

Since the bahuvrihi compound's component *lance* is a translation of the French noun *lance*, it is therefore also a noun. It follows that *lancehead* is constructed in line with the morphosyntactic pattern [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$.

lionhead

Lionhead is comprised of the nouns *lion* and *head*. It is an English common name for a breed of rabbit with long fur all over their face.[113] This breed of rabbit was first bred in the 1980's. It was bred in France and Belgium by crossing a Swiss Fox and a Netherland Dwarf rabbit. It was given the name *tête de lion*, which is French for "lion head".[114] These rabbits were given such a name owing to a wool mane that encircles their head and reminds of the head of a male lion.[115]

This breed of rabbit was eventually exported to other European countries, and in the late 1990's also to the United States. In English, it began to be called *lionhead*, i.e. it was a given a name that was fully calqued from French.[116]

As the bahuvrihi compound *lionhead* is a full calque and either of its components was chosen for the reason that it was a literal translation of a word which had been used in the French expression, the precise morphosyntactic pattern in line with which *lionhead* was formed had thus been influenced by what parts of speech the French words comprising the original French compound had been. Since both French words which were substituted with their English equivalents were nouns, *lionhead* therefore follows the morphosyntactic pattern [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$.

c) Calqued bahuvrihi compound that refers to a plant

dragonhead

The two components of this bahuvrihi compound are *dragon* and *head*. It is an English common name for plants which belong to the genus Dracocephalum.[117] The shape

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[113] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].
[114] Available online at https://www.zooplus.fr/magazine/rongeur-co/guide-des-especes-de-rongeurs/lapin-tete-de-lion.
[115] Available online at https://cubcreeksciencecamp.com/programs-activities/meet-our-animals/mammals/lionhead-rabbit/.
[116] Available online at https://animalcorner.org/rabbit-breeds/lionhead-rabbit/.
[117] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

of these plants' flowers reminds of a dragon's head.[118] This is the reason why these plants were given the Latin name *Dracocephalum*. The English name *dragonhead*, however, is merely a translation of the Latin name and it is therefore a calque.[119]

Regarding the morphosyntactic pattern that *dragonhead* follows, since the bahuvrihi compound's component *dragon* is a noun, the precise pattern that it follows is thus $[_N \ N_X \ N_Y]_Z$.

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[118] Available online at https://www.missouribotanicalgarden.org/PlantFinder/PlantFinderDetails.aspx?taxonid=281541&isprofile=0&.

[119] Available online at https://www.collinsdictionary.com/, [last checked on April 25, 2024].

6 Conclusion

The list of bahuvrihi compounds which were analyzed in this thesis was put together according to data provided by the corpus *Araneum Anglicum Maius (Global English, 15.04) 1,20 G* that was found in *Český národní korpus*. The list comprises 155 bahuvrihi compounds.

In this thesis it has been discovered that bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may be used in reference to humans but also in reference to non-human entities, such as animals, plants, or inanimate objects. Regarding the question of what schemas bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may follow, it has been discovered that in terms of bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans, there are 9 schemas that may serve as patterns according to which new such bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* may be constructed. Those 9 schemas are:

a)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS UNINTELLIGENT IN RESPECT TO (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

b)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS INTERESTED IN (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adv$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

c)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS ADDICTED TO (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

d)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS ASSOCIATED WITH (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N_X N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ hed$_Y$/$_Z$

e)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO HAS THE INTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC OF (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj/V/Adv$_X$ N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

f)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS UNLIKABLE IN RESPECT TO (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

g)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO HAS THE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC OF (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

h)

Semantics: [PERSON WHO IS ASSOCIATED WITH (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N_Y]$_Z$

Phonology: /…x …y/z

i)

Semantics: [RUGBY PLAYER WHOSE BODY PART HAS THE CHARACTERISTIC OF (X$_X$)]z

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]z

Phonology: /…x …y/z

In terms of the schemas a), b), c), and d), the component *head* is a fixed part of these schemas. This means that whenever a new bahuvrihi compound is constructed according to any of these schemas, the position of its second component is filled with the noun *head*, as opposed to a word for any other body part.

In terms of the schemas e), f), g), h), and i), the component *head* is not a fixed part of these schemas. This means that whenever a new bahuvrihi compound is constructed in line with any of these schemas, the bahuvrihi compound does not have to use the noun *head* as its second component. The bahuvrihi compounds which were found in the corpus, and which follow any of these 5 schemas, only happen to use the noun *head* as their second component. Words for other body parts may, however, be used as well.

Although the schemas where *head* is not fixed are in the majority, it has been discovered that bahuvrihi compounds which end in *head*, and which denote humans, are in fact more commonly constructed in line with one of the 4 schemas where *head* is fixed. Among the 155 bahuvrihi compounds gathered from the corpus there were 127 bahuvrihi compounds which refer to humans, and 85 of those 127 bahuvrihi compounds follow one of the schemas where *head* is fixed.

Regarding bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* which refer to non-human entities, it has been discovered that there is only 1 schema according to which such bahuvrihi compounds may be constructed, and it is a schema where the position of

the second component may be filled even with other words than *head,* i.e. with words for a different part of a given non-human entity. That schema is:

j)

Semantics: [NON-HUMAN ENTITY WHOSE PART (Y_Y) HAS THE QUALITY (X_X)]$_Z$

Morphosyntax: [$_N$ N/Adj$_X$ N$_Y$]$_Z$

Phonology: /…$_X$ …$_Y$/$_Z$

While for bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* that denote humans it is more common to follow one of the schemas where *head* is fixed, bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* which denote non-human entities always follow a schema where *head* is not fixed. As has been stated, among the bahuvrihi compounds denoting humans alone there were 85 bahuvrihi compounds gathered from the corpus which follow a schema where *head* is fixed. Thus, if all the 155 bahuvrihi compounds that were gathered from the corpus are considered, the bahuvrihi compounds which follow a schema where *head* is fixed are in the majority. Therefore, it may be concluded that bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* are more often created in line with a schema where *head* is fixed.

Regarding the possibilities of what part of speech may the first component of a bahuvrihi compound ending in *head* be, it has been discovered that the first component of a bahuvrihi compound ending in *head* may be a noun, an adjective, a verb, or an adverb. Nevertheless, none of these 4 parts of speech is part of each of the 10 schemas according to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may be constructed. Among the 10 schemas there are 9 schemas where the position of the first component may be filled with a noun, 7 schemas where the position of the first component may be filled with an adjective, 2 schemas where the position of the first component may be filled with an adverb, and 1 schema where the position of the first component may be filled with a verb.

Nouns are thus part of more schemas than any other part of speech. Moreover, among the 155 bahuvrihi compounds that were gathered from the corpus there are 121 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component is a noun. It may therefore be concluded

that bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* are by far most frequently created by compounding 2 nouns. Among the other 34 bahuvrihi compounds that were gathered from the corpus there are 30 bahuvrihi compounds that use an adjective as their first component. Thus, it is also not unusual to use an adjective as the first component of a bahuvrihi compound. Among the other 4 bahuvrihi compounds gathered from the corpus there are 2 bahuvrihi compounds that use a verb as their first component and 2 bahuvrihi compounds that use an adverb as their first component. Therefore, it happens only rarely that a verb or an adverb gets selected as the first component of a bahuvrihi compound.

Regarding each of the schemas according to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in the noun *head* may be created, the aim of this thesis was to describe the conceptualization leading to selection of lexemes which instantiate the schema's variables.

In terms of the schemas a), b), c), and d), as has been stated, the position of the second component always belongs to the lexeme *head*. Therefore, whenever a new bahuvrihi compound is constructed according to any of these 4 schemas, the position of the second component is filled with the lexeme *head* because the speaker fills it with this lexeme as they are familiar with the schema's existence. Therefore, in terms of bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed according to any of these 4 schemas, the only variable is their first component.

In terms of the schema a), this schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds that draw attention to low intelligence of their referents. Such bahuvrihi compounds may be created in such a manner that the position of their first component is filled with a word which directly communicates their referents' characteristic of being unintelligent, e.g. *stupid* that was used while creating *stupidhead*.

More commonly, however, the position of such bahuvrihi compounds' first component is filled with a word that communicates their referents' characteristic of being unintelligent indirectly. Most commonly, the selected word is meant to allude to a characteristic with which low intelligence is commonly associated. Such characteristics include an absence of the brain, small cerebral size, an uncommon shape of the head, mental slowness, and rigidity. Nonetheless, it is also possible to select a word for an animal which is supposedly unintelligent and thus to communicate the characteristic of

low intelligence by comparing the level of intelligence of the bahuvrihi compound's referent to the level of intelligence of the supposedly unintelligent animal, as was the case while creating, for instance, *asshead.*

Regarding the option of selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which would allude to an absence of the brain, the word may be a word for something that is empty on the inside, e.g. *bubble* that was selected while creating *bubblehead.* Regarding the option of selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which would allude to small cerebral size, the word may be a word for something that is small, e.g. *goober* that was selected while creating *gooberhead.* Regarding the option of selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which would allude to an uncommon shape of the head, the word may be a word for a specific shape, e.g. *cone* that was selected while creating *conehead.* Regarding the option of selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which would allude to mental slowness, the word that may be selected may be used as a conceptual metaphor, namely the conceptual metaphor LOW INTELLIGENCE IS SLOWNESS, e.g. *sap* that was selected while creating *saphead.* Regarding the option of selecting such a word as the bahuvrihi compound's first component which would allude to rigidity, the word that may be selected may be used as a conceptual metaphor, namely the conceptual metaphor LOW INTELLIGENCE IS RIGIDITY, e.g. *block* that was selected while creating *blockhead.*

In terms of the schema b), this schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to a specific interest of their referents. There are two manners in what such bahuvrihi compounds may be created. One option is to fill the position of the first component with a word that directly communicates what the specific interest of the bahuvrihi compound's referent is, i.e. the interest of its referent is not communicated through any figure of speech. This is the manner in what, for instance, *sneakerhead* was created. The other option is to fill the position of the first component with a word that communicates the specific interest of the bahuvrihi compound's referent indirectly, i.e. the interest is communicated through a figure of speech, such as a metaphor and/or metonymy. This is the manner in what, for instance, *chickenhead* and *seamhead* were created, the former communicating its referent's interest through a metaphor, while the latter communicates its referent's interest through a metonymy.

In terms of the schema c), bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed in line with this schema draw attention to a specific addiction of their referents. When a bahuvrihi compound bringing attention to a specific addiction of its referent is created, the position of its first component is usually filled with a word for the object of its referent's addiction. Among the bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus there were 17 bahuvrihi compounds that bring attention to an addiction of their referents, and 16 of the 17 bahuvrihi compounds were created in such a manner that a word for the specific object of their referents' addiction was selected as their first component.

Usually, such a word for the object of addiction of a person is selected which is a colloquial word for it, as was the case while creating, for instance, *skaghead*. Nevertheless, a neutral word for the object of addiction of a person may be selected as well, as was the case while creating, for example, *coffeehead*.

Furthermore, it has been discovered that the word for the object of addiction of a person that gets selected tends to be short, usually monosyllabic. Among the 17 bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus, there were only 2 bahuvrihi compounds whose first component consists of more than 1 syllable, namely *acidhead* and *coffeehead*, both of which use a disyllabic word for their referents' object of addiction as their first component.

However, it has been discovered that bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to a specific addiction of their referents do not have to use a word for the object of their referents' addiction as their first component, as evidenced by *wirehead*.

In terms of the schema d), bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed according to this schema draw attention to an association of a person with a specific community, namely in any other manner than by drawing attention also to an external characteristic that is typical of members of that community. The schema's variable may thus be instantiated, for instance, with a word for a product that is typical of the state where the community to which the person belongs lives, as was the case while creating, for example, *cheesehead*.

In terms of the schemas e), f), g), h), i), and j), as has been stated, the position of the second component of bahuvrihi compounds that are created according to any of these

6 schemas may be filled even with other lexemes than *head*. Therefore, in terms of bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed according to any of these 6 schemas, there are always two variables, i.e. their first component as well as their second component.

In terms of the schema e), this schema is used as a pattern for creating bahuvrihi compounds that draw attention to a specific internal noncognitive characteristic of their referents. Such bahuvrihi compounds may be created in one of two manners. One manner is that the position of the first component of a bahuvrihi compound is filled with a word which communicates the specific internal noncognitive characteristic of the bahuvrihi compound's referent directly, i.e. the internal noncognitive characteristic is communicated through no figure of speech. This is the manner in what, for instance, *sorehead* was created. The other manner is that the position of the first component of a bahuvrihi compound is filled with a word which communicates the specific internal noncognitive characteristic of the bahuvrihi compound's referents indirectly, i.e. through a figure of speech, as was the case while creating, for example, *bighead*.

In terms of the schema f), this schema serves as a pattern according to which such bahuvrihi compounds are created whose purpose is to communicate their referents' characteristic of being unlikable. For that purpose, the position of such bahuvrihi compounds' first component is filled with a word that is vulgar and/or that denotes something which may be viewed as ugly. Usually, the word is either an expression for bodily waste, e.g. *shit* that was selected while creating *shithead*, or an expression for human private parts, e.g. *dick* that was selected while creating *dickhead*.

In terms of the schema g), this schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds that draw attention solely to a specific external characteristic of their referents. Such bahuvrihi compounds may be constructed either in such a manner that the position of their first component is filled with a word that communicates the external characteristic directly, as evidenced by *baldhead*, or in such a manner that the position of their first component is filled with a word that is meant as a metaphor, as evidenced by *towhead*.

Nonetheless, it has been discovered that bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* which are meant to draw attention solely to an external characteristic of a person tend to communicate the concept of a person who has the specific external characteristic not only through the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy, but also through the WHOLE

ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy. This has been discovered as all the bahuvrihi compounds which were found in the corpus, and which draw attention solely to an external characteristic of their referents, use the word *head* as their second component even though the external characteristic to which they draw attention does not pertain to the whole head of their referents, but rather only to a part of their head.

In terms of the schema h), this schema is a pattern for creating bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to an association of their referents with a specific community, namely by drawing attention also to an external characteristic that is typical of the people who are part of that community. The external characteristic may, for instance, be connected with a specific physical appearance of the members of the community, as evidenced by *skinhead*. Alternatively, the external characteristic may be connected with something that members of the community wear, e.g. a cloth headdress, as evidenced by *raghead*.

In terms of the schema i), this schema is followed by bahuvrihi compounds which denote a rugby player who has a specific role on their team. This schema is followed only by bahuvrihi compounds which draw attention to the role of a person on a rugby team by drawing attention to an external characteristic that such a person possesses while fulfilling their role on the team. Among the bahuvrihi compounds found in the corpus there were only two bahuvrihi compounds which follow this schema, namely *loosehead* and *tighthead*.

As has been stated, bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed according to the schema h) draw attention not only to an association of a person with a specific community, but also to an external characteristic which members of that community typically possess, and which the bahuvrihi compounds' referents may thus possess as well. Similarly, bahuvrihi compounds that are constructed according to the schema i) draw attention not only to a role of person on a rugby team, but also to an external characteristic of the person while fulfilling their role on the team. It follows that bahuvrihi compounds may in fact draw attention to multiple characteristics of their referents.

In terms of the schema j), as has been stated, this is the only schema according to which bahuvrihi compounds ending in *head* that denote non-human entities are constructed. The reason why there is only one schema according to which bahuvrihi

compounds ending in *head* that denote non-human entities may be constructed is that, as has been discovered, there is only one type of a characteristic of non-human entities to what bahuvrihi compounds may draw attention, namely a physical characteristic.

In terms of animals and plants, it has been discovered that their specific physical characteristic may be communicated either through a metaphor, as evidenced by *steelhead* or *turtlehead*, or through no metaphor, as evidenced by *hardhead* or *crisphead*. In the case of animals, however, it has been discovered that the concept of an animal that has a specific physical characteristic may also be communicated not only through the PART OF ICM FOR WHOLE ICM metonymy, but also through the WHOLE ICM FOR PART OF ICM metonymy if the physical characteristic pertains to only a part of the animal's head. This is evidenced, for example, by the bahuvrihi compound *greenhead* (a green-eyed horsefly). In terms of inanimate objects, bahuvrihi compounds that are meant to refer to inanimate objects are created in such a manner that they draw attention to a physical characteristic of the inanimate object directly, as evidenced by *bobblehead*. There was no bahuvrihi compound found in the corpus which would draw attention to a physical characteristic of an inanimate object through any figure of speech.

Additionally, it has been discovered that English bahuvrihi compounds do not always have to be created in such a manner that they would undergo the word-naming process which prototypical bahuvrihi compounds undergo, i.e. the process when a concept undergoes mental processing, the result of which is subsequently paired with a model from the lexicon. Bahuvrihi compounds may also be either fully or at least partially calqued into English from a foreign language. For instance, this is how *dumbhead*, *lancehead*, and *dragonhead* were created as they were calqued from German, French, and Latin, respectively.

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Appendix

Bahuvrihi compound	Meaning
acidhead	a person who is addicted to LSD
airhead	an unintelligent person
asshead	an unintelligent person
baldhead	a person who has no hair
banana-head	an unintelligent person
basehead	a person who is addicted to freebase cocaine
beathead	a person who has a passion for the electronic music
bighead	a conceited person
bighead	a carp species
blockhead	an unintelligent person
bluehead	a fish of the genus Thalassoma
blunderhead	a blunderer
blunthead	a species of cichlid that lives in Lake Tanganyika
bobblehead	a collectible doll whose head starts to bob if touched
bogie-head	an unlikable person
bonehead	an unintelligent person
bonnethead	a shark of the genus Sphyrna
bowhead	a species of baleen whale
bristlehead	a passerine bird of the genus Pityriasis
bubblehead	an unintelligent person
bufflehead	a sea duck of the genus Bucephala
bullethead	an unintelligent person
bullhead	a catfish of the genus Ameiurus
bullhead	a sculpin of the genus Cottus
bumhead	an unlikable person
butterhead	a type of lettuce that has a buttery flavor
butthead	an unlikable person
cheesehead	a Wisconsinite

cheesehead	a fan of the Green Bay Packers
chickenhead	a fellator / fellatrix
chilihead	a person who has a passion for chili peppers
chucklehead	an unintelligent person
coffeehead	a person addicted to coffee
cokehead	a person who is addicted to cocaine
conehead	an unintelligent person
copperhead	a pit viper of the genus Agkistrodon
crackhead	a person who is addicted to crack cocaine
crisphead	a type of lettuce that has a head of crisp leaves
crypto-head	a person who has a passion for cryptocurrencies
curly-head	a person who has curly hair
Deadhead	a fan of the Grateful Dead
dickhead	an unlikable person
dirthead	an unlikable person
dittohead	a fan of Rush Limbaugh
dittohead	a person who mindlessly agrees with ideas of a concrete person
doody-head	an unlikable person
dopehead	a drug addict
dorkhead	an unlikable person
dothead	a person from South Asia
dough-head	an unintelligent person
dragonhead	a plant that belongs to the genus Dracocephalum
duffhead	an unlikable person
dumbhead	an unintelligent person
dunderhead	an unintelligent person
dusthead	a person who is addicted to angel dust
egghead	a person who has a passion for studying
emptyhead	an unintelligent person
farthead	an unlikable person

fathead	an unintelligent person
figurehead	a carved figure on the bow of a ship
Flathead	a member of a Native American tribe, especially a tribe from the Northwestern United States
fuckhead	an unlikable person
fuzzhead	a person who has fuzzy hair
gearhead	a person with mechanical interests
gilthead	a food fish of the genus Sparus
gooberhead	an unintelligent person
greedhead	a greedy person
greenhead	a green-eyed horsefly
greenhead	a male mallard
handkerchief-head	a black person
hammerhead	a shark of the genus Sphyrna
hardhead	a species of catfish that belongs to the genus Ariopsis
hemphead	a person addicted to marijuana
hophead	a drug addict
hophead	a beer enthusiast
hothead	a person who gets angry too quickly and who reacts without thinking carefully first
jarhead	a member of the U.S. Marine Corps
jazzhead	a jazz enthusiast
jihad-head	a Muslim who advocates a jihad
jughead	an unintelligent person
juicehead	a person who is addicted to alcohol
knobhead	an unintelligent person
knothead	an unintelligent person
knucklehead	an unintelligent person
lancehead	a venomous pit viper living in Central and South America
lionhead	a breed of rabbit whose head due to its mane reminds of the head of a lion

loosehead	a rugby player who is positioned on the left-hand side of the scrum's front row
lughead	an unintelligent person
lunkhead	an unintelligent person
malt-head	a beer enthusiast
math-head	a person interested in math
meatballhead	an unintelligent person
meathead	an unintelligent person
meaniehead	a mean person
metalhead	a person who has a passion for heavy metal
meth-head	a person who is addicted to methamphetamines
motorhead	a car enthusiast
muddlehead	an unintelligent person
mullethead	an unintelligent person
musclehead	a person interested in bodybuilding
mush-head	an unintelligent person
musichead	a person interested in music
muttonhead	an unintelligent person
nethead	a person who is enthusiastic about the Internet
noodlehead	an unintelligent person
numbhead	an unintelligent person
numptyhead	an unintelligent person
nuthead	a crazy person
parrothead	a fan of Jimmy Buffett
peckerhead	an unlikable person
pepperhead	a person who has a passion for spicy food
petrolhead	a car enthusiast
petrolhead	a person interested in motorsports
pillhead	a person who is addicted to pills, especially amphetamines
pinhead	an unintelligent person
pisshead	a person who is addicted to alcohol

poopoohead	an unlikable person
poopyhead	an unlikable person
potato-head	an unintelligent person
pothead	a person who is addicted to marijuana
raghead	a person from a culture, part of which is a tradition to wear a cloth headdress
rattlehead	a talkative person
redhead	a person who has red hair
rev-head	a motorsport enthusiast
rotorhead	a person interested in helicopters
saphead	an unintelligent person
seamhead	a baseball fan
sheephead	a species of wrasse that lives in the eastern Pacific Ocean
sheepshead	a fish species of the genus Archosargus
shithead	an unlikable person
sillyhead	an unintelligent person
skaghead	a heroin addict
skinhead	a member of a subculture whose members are young and short-haired
sleepyhead	a sleepy person
smeghead	an unlikable person
snakehead	a fish of the family Channidae
snakehead	a member of a Chinese criminal network that smuggles Chinese citizens to the USA
sneakerhead	a person who has a passion for sneakers
sorehead	an easily angered person
squarehead	an unintelligent person
steelhead	an anadromous fish of the salmon family
stinky-head	an unlikable person
stupidhead	an unintelligent person
teahead	a person who is addicted to marijuana

tech-head	a person with technological interests
thickhead	an unintelligent person
tighthead	a rugby player who is positioned on the right-hand side of the scrum's front row
towelhead	a person from a culture, part of which is a tradition to wear a cloth headdress
towhead	a person who has hair of pale-yellow color
turtlehead	an herb of the snapdragon family
veg-head	a vegetarian
wirehead	a person who is addicted to stimulating their brain with electric current
woodenhead	an unintelligent person
yellowhead	a species of jawfish that lives in the Caribbean Sea
zipperhead	a person of East Asian descent