

Pejorative constructions and paradigmatic relations

A cross-linguistic analysis of the concept HEAD

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HEAD

- 1) *I agree that the woman he lives with is an **airhead** or braindead!*
[enTenTen21]
- 2) *Den där **pappskallen** Harlekin har jag sett på andra bloggar också.* [svTenTen20]
'I have seen that fool [lit. cardboard skull] Harlekin in other blogs as well'
- 3) *un trabajo de ficción para ver si el **cabeza de ladrillo** [...] entraba en razón* [esTenTen18]
'a fictional essay that is meant to see if the brickhead comes to his senses'

HEAD

At the structural level, HEAD collocations can be identified as compounds or phrasal lexemes:

- Endocentric (e.g. *pinhead*)
- Exocentric (body part represents [+animate], as in zoonyms, E. *bowhead* and Sp. *cabeza de martillo* 'hammerhead')
 - [+human] complex figurative reading, where HEAD units, such as E. *airhead* and *crackhead*, are associated with aggressive discourse to refer to individuals and to characterize them by their lack of intellect or obsession/addiction (Sánchez Fajardo 2022; Mattiello 2023).
- Sp. and It. phrasal lexemes, in which both bases are connected through a preposition, e.g. *de*, *di*. This type of compound, known as *synapsis*, is syntactic in nature (Bustos Gisbert 1986).

Construction types

HEAD [+human]

Five patterns:

1: N₁ + N₂ (Germanic languages)

driftkop 'anger head' (Dutch)

2: A + N (Germanic languages and Serbian)

prazna glava 'empty head' (Serbian)

3: V + N (Germanic languages)

läshuvud 'reading head' (Swedish)

4: N₁ *de/di* N₂ (Romance languages)

cabeza de chorlito 'plover head' (Spanish)

5: N + A (Romance languages)

testa calda 'hothead' (Italian)

Construction types

1: N1 + N2 (Germanic languages) / **2: A + N** (Germanic languages and Serbian)

- **N2** is the **head of a compound**, which might result from semantic secretion through the processes of metonymy and default inheritance (Sánchez Fajardo & Mattiello 2025: 120).
- **N2** is a '**suffixoid**' in that:
 - it is the product of semantic reinterpretation as compared with the compound constituent (Mattiello 2018, 2022; Amiot & Dugas 2020);
 - It straddles the boundary between compounding and derivation.

4: N1 *de/di* N2 (Romance languages) / **5: N + A** (Romance languages)

- **N1** is the **head of a phrasal lexeme**, which is followed by an adjective or the prepositional complement of the *of*-phrase.

Semantics

- Despite their structural differences, Germanic, Serbian and Romance collocations:
 - are **metonymical** (the head represents the person)
 - see a shift towards **evaluative (pejorative)** semantics
- cf. Sánchez Fajardo and Mattiello (2025), on English HEAD:
 - “the body part (the head) represents someone’s **attitude** or **addiction**, since the head is associated with the **brain** and its being the **seat of intellect**” (p. 120),
 - N+*head* is an **evaluative** construction of ‘**contempt**’ (Grandi & Körtvelyessy 2015: 9–10): someone has an **addiction** or shows **negative attitudes** towards something (or action).

Semantics

HEAD and its pejorative development

- Evaluative meaning is rooted in universal conceptual shifts and cognitive operations (cf. Ganfi et al. 2022):
 - In clusters of semantic domains, the body parts, particularly *head*-related words, are subject to head-for-person metonymization (head as the sensory hub of the body).
 - The result of the metonymization is 'head' denoting a person (see, also, Mol 2004, Kraska-Szlenk 2019).
- Body parts, as in *head* and *foot*, also reflect social hierarchy (e.g., *head of State*), while *head*, *brain*, and *skull* are reserved in phrasal expressions conveying the meaning [+intellect].

Semantics

HEAD and its pejorative development

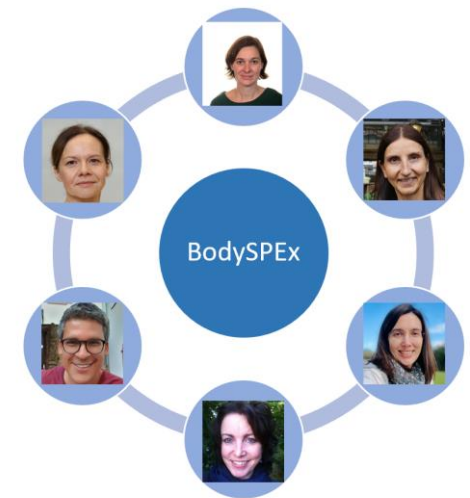
- Prior studies associate these HEAD constructions with pejorative nuances (cf. Mattiello 2023, Sánchez Fajardo & Mattiello 2025), but there is dearth of crosslinguistic data on the transition body part --> expressiveness (pejorative) (see Mattiello & Sánchez Fajardo 2025).
- While heads of the constructions originate via metonymy, non-heads are generally metaphors (see, e.g., Benczes 2006, Meibauer 2013, Mattiello 2024).



The present study

Objective

- A corpus-based, comparative analysis of pejorative HEAD constructions in six languages:
 - Dutch (Kristel Van Goethem)
 - English (Elisa Mattiello)
 - Swedish (Muriel Norde)
 - Italian (Francesca Masini)
 - Spanish (José A. Sánchez Fajardo)
 - Serbian (Tijana Vesić Pavlović)



Research questions

- RQ1: Should compounds and phrasal lexemes be integrated into word-formation paradigms?
- RQ2: Do crosslinguistic differences affect these paradigms?

Sources

- Data are drawn from **web corpora**, consisting of sentences crawled from the web
- TenTen corpora at SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014)
 - nlTenTen20 (Dutch): 6.8 billion tokens
 - enTenTen21 (English): 61.6 billion tokens
 - itTenTen20 (Italian): 14.5 billion tokens
 - esTenTen23 (Spanish): 33.1 billion tokens
 - svTenTen20 (Swedish): 2.7 billion tokens
- MaCoCu corpora at SketchEngine (Bañón et al. 2022)
 - MaCoCu Serbian v1.0 (2021-2022): 3.0 billion tokens

CONCORDANCE

Swedish Web 2020 (svTenTen20)



Query

CQL [lemma = ".*huvud"] • 359,223
130.82 per million tokens • 0.013%



Image created using DALL-E, by OpenAI, July 2025



Manual filtering

FREQUENCY

BASIC

ADVANCED

LEARN

First word to the left

KWIC

WORD FORMS

WORD FORMS

PART OF SPEECH

PART OF SPEECH

TAGS

TAGS

LEMMAS

LEMMAS

(3,581 items, 359,223 total frequency)

	Lemma	Frequency	Relative ?	% Of conc. ?	
1	✓ huvud	302,891	110.30	84.32 %	...
2	✓ bakhuvud	7,958	2.90	2.22 %	...
3	✓ överhuvud	6,649	2.42	1.85 %	...
4	✓ sidhuvud	1,540	0.56	0.43 %	...
5	☐ kukhuvud	1,200	0.44	0.33 %	...
6	☐ bakhuvud	1,122	0.41	0.32 %	...
7					...

Show concordance for:

SELECTED (4)

NOT SELECTED

12467
lemmas
remaining

Annotation

- Download to Excel
- Manual selection of first 20 relevant examples
- Analysis in componential grid
- Parametric analysis
 - 40 properties for the collocation as a whole
 - 55 properties for Noun collocates
 - 53 properties for Adjective collocates

lemma	general traits (person)					attributes (physical)			
HEAD lemma	adult	female	origin	appearance	social status	ethnicity	attractiveness	size (big-small)	height (short-tall)
kukhuvud 'dickhead'	N/A	no	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
hästhuvud 'horsehead'	N/A	yes	N/A	yes	N/A	N/A	no	N/A	N/A
dumhuvud 'dimwit'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ljushuvud 'bright persc'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
stenhuvud 'idiot'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ägghuvud 'egghead' (s)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
kvickhuvud 'quick-witt'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
slughuvud 'cunning pe'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
klokhuvud 'smart pers'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
smarthuvud 'smart pe'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
skithuvud 'shit-head'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A



Preliminary results

Analysis (English)

Head element:

HEAD compounds ➡ addiction, inclination, obsession, or stubbornness.

HEAD stands more metonymically for the person as a whole.

HEAD compounds vary and are not always negative.

BRAIN compounds ➡ stupidity, foolishness, or lack of intelligence.

BRAIN linked to intellectual or cognitive functions.

BRAIN compounds are uniformly offensive or pejorative.

Analysis (English)

Non-head element:

HEAD and *BRAIN* compounds share some modifiers:
e.g., *fat, meat, shit, dick*

BRAIN is not modified by:

- drug-related terms (e.g., *gear, pot, crack*)
- elements indicating obsession (e.g., *metal* (as in music), *motor*).

Instead

HEAD modifiers often refer to substances or materials:
e.g., *air, bone, meat, fat*

BRAIN modifiers frequently point to size (e.g., *pea*) or animals (e.g., *pig, bird, mouse*) typically implying **smallness or inferiority**.

Analysis (English)

Semantic parallels:

There are clear conceptual correspondences:

- *airhead* implies that the head contains *air* (and not a brain)
- *bubblebrain* suggests that the brain is metaphorically like a *bubble* - full of air

Other examples:

- *mushbrain* (inconsistency)
- *featherbrain* (lightness)
- *bonehead* or *hammerhead* (hardness) 'stubbornness'

Schemas (English)

Schema: $[[X_{N/ADJ,i} - \textit{head}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person characterised by SEM}_i]]$

Subschema: $[[X_{ADJ[PEJORATIVE],i} - \textit{head}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person with property SEM}_i]]$

Subschema: $[[X_{N[SUBSTANCE]} - \textit{head}] \leftrightarrow [\text{stupid person}]]$

...

Schema $[[X_i - \textit{brain}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person characterised by SEM}_i]_{PEJORATIVE}]$

Subschema: $[[X_{N[SMALL],i} - \textit{brain}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person characterised by SEM}_{[INFERIOR],i} \text{ brain}]]$

...

Analysis (Swedish)

HEAD element:

HEAD compounds → stupidity, foolishness, behaviour, physical appearance, e.g. *dumhuvud* 'dimwit', *kukhuvud* 'dickhead', *krullhuvud* 'curly-head'

HEAD stands metonymically for the person as a whole

HEAD compounds (with N or A as input) are always negative, even when the input is normally positive, e.g. *klokhuvud* 'smart head' [SARCASTIC] or neutral, e.g. *lufthuvud* 'airhead'

SKULL compounds → stupidity, foolishness, behaviour, appearance, predilection, e.g. *knäppskalle* 'idiot', *tjurskalle* 'stubborn person', *flintskalle* 'baldy', *hiphopskalle* 'hiphop fan'

SKULL stands metonymically for the person as a whole, more informal

SKULL compounds are more diverse semantically: pejorative, offensive or positive

Analysis (Swedish)

Non-HEAD element

- *HEAD* and *SKULL* share 5 modifiers ('shit', 'skin', 'black', 'dumb', 'smart')
- Modifiers can be pejorative themselves ('idiot', 'sick') or refer to material ('stone', 'cork', 'cardboard') that appears to have replaced the brain
- *SKULL*, but not *HEAD*, can refer to predilection ('drunk', 'hiphop', 'metal') which is not necessarily pejorative
- Some *HEAD* types may be English loans ('shithead', 'dickhead', 'airhead', 'meathead')

Schemas (Swedish)

Schema: $[[X_{N/ADJ,i} - \textit{huvud}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person characterised by SEM}_i]_{\text{PEJORATIVE}}]$

Subschema: $[[X_{\text{ADJ}[\text{PEJORATIVE}],i} - \textit{huvud}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person with property SEM}_i]]$

Subschema: $[[X_{N[\text{SUBSTANCE}]} - \textit{huvud}] \leftrightarrow [\text{stupid person}]]$

...

Schema $[[X_i - \textit{skalle}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person characterised by SEM}_i]]$

Subschema: $[[X_{\text{ADJ}[\text{POSITIVE}],i} - \textit{skalle}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person with property SEM}_i]_{\text{SARCASTIC}}]$

Subschema: $[[X_{N[\text{MUSIC GENRE}],i} - \textit{skalle}] \leftrightarrow [\text{person enthusiastic about SEM}_i]]$

...

Analysis (Spanish)

cabeza 'head' element:

10 [N *de* N]:

- 4 point to [lack of intelligence] *cabeza de chorlito* 'lit. head of plover'
- 4 point to [size] *cabeza de melón* 'lit. head of watermelon'

10 [NA]

- 9 convey [behavior/att.] except for *cabeza hueca* 'lit. hollow head'

cerebro 'brain' element:

10 [N *de* N]:

- All of them point to [lack of intelligence/maturity]

10 [NA]

- 5 point to [lack of intelligence/maturity]
- 5 point to [incl./att./belief/psych. affliction]

Analysis (Spanish)

cabeza 'head' element:

10 [N *de* N]:

- 4 point to [lack of intelligence] *cabeza de chorlito* 'lit. head of plover'
- 4 point to [size] *cabeza de melón* 'lit. head of watermelon'

10 [NA]

- 9 convey [behavior/att.] except for *cabeza hueca* 'lit. hollow head'

cerebro 'brain' element:

10 [N *de* N]:

- All of them point to [lack of intelligence/maturity]

10 [NA]

- 5 point to [lack of intelligence/maturity]
- 5 point to [incl./att./belief/psych. affliction]

Analysis (Spanish)

Non-head element (*cabeza* 'head'):

10 [N]:

- 5 [animate] 4 [plant/animal] *cabeza de hongo* 'lit. head of mushroom'
- 4 [material/comp.] *cabeza de lata* 'lit. head of tin'

10 [A]:

- [feeling/behavior/lack of intelligence] *sucia* 'dirty', *mala* 'bad'

Analysis (Spanish)

Non-head element (*cerebro* 'brain'):

10 [N]:

- All are [animate], 8 are [animal] and 2 are [human]
- All refer to small heads/brains, and thus, 'stupid/immature'.

10 [A]:

- No uniformity:
 - [form] ➡ *hueco* 'empty'
 - [velocity] ➡ *lento* 'slow'
 - [affliction] ➡ *defectuoso* 'damaged/sick'
 - [bodily state] ➡ *pobre* 'poor'
 - ...etc.

Schemas (Spanish)

Schema: $[[cabeza [de] X_{N/ADJ,i}] \leftrightarrow [person \text{ characterised by } SEM_i]_{PEJORATIVE}]$

Subschema: $[[cabeza X_{ADJ[PEJORATIVE],i}] \leftrightarrow [person \text{ with property } SEM_i]]$

Subschema: $[[cabeza de X_{N[object]}] \leftrightarrow [stupid \text{ person}]]$

...

Schema: $[[cerebro [de] X_{N/ADJ,i}] \leftrightarrow [person \text{ characterised by } SEM_i]_{PEJORATIVE}]$

Subschema: $[[cerebro X_{ADJ[PEJORATIVE],i}] \leftrightarrow [person \text{ with property } SEM_i]]$

Subschema: $[[cerebro de X_{N[animal]}] \leftrightarrow [stupid \text{ person}]]$

...



Cross-linguistic analysis

GENERAL TRAITS / ATTRIBUTES (PHYSICAL) / ATTRIBUTES (NON-PHYSICAL) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	adult	female	origin	appear.	ethn.	attract.	size	hair	ph. str.	aggre.	intel.	incl.	addic.	att.	belief	matur.
-head	1			2				2		1	10	3	2	9	9	
-brain											20			20		20
-huvud		2	2	4	1	1	2	2			15			16		15
-skalle	1	1		3	1			2	1	3	14	4	1	8	1	13
cabeza	4	2		1		4	4	1			6			14		9
cerebro	4										17	1		1	1	15

BODY RELATED / SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND MEMBERSHIP / TARGET OF ENTHUSIASM/DEVOTION/ADDICTION WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	ph. affl.	ps. affl.	sex. act.	ex. talk.	indust.	memb.	lead.	drug	bever.	object	action	habit	music
-head				1		1	1	2	1			4	1
-brain													
-huvud	3	2											
-skalle	1				1	1		1	1		1	1	2
cabeza		1	2				1						
cerebro		2									1		

Semantic clusters—HEAD lemma output
(*heatmaps*)

1-2
3-6
7-10
11-15
16-20

GENERAL TRAITS / ATTRIBUTES (PHYSICAL) / ATTRIBUTES (NON-PHYSICAL) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	adult	female	origin	appear.	ethn.	attract.	size	hair	ph. str.	aggre.	intel.	incl.	addic.	att.	belief	matur.
-head	1			2				2		1	10	3	2	9	9	
-brain											20			20		20
-huvud		2	2	4	1	1	2	2			15			16		15
-skalle	1	1		3	1			2	1	3	14	4	1	8	1	13
cabeza	4	2		1		4	4	1			6			14		9
cerebro	4										17	1		1	1	15

BODY RELATED / SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND MEMBERSHIP / TARGET OF ENTHUSIASM/DEVOTION/ADDICTION WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	ph. affl.	ps. affl.	sex. act.	ex. talk.	indust.	memb.	lead.	drug	bever.	object	action	habit	music
-head				1		1	1	2	1			4	1
-brain													
-huvud	3	2											
-skalle	1				1	1		1	1		1	1	2
cabeza		1	2				1						
cerebro		2									1		

Semantic clusters—HEAD lemma output
(*heatmaps*)

1-2

3-6

7-10

11-15

16-20

GENERAL PROPERTIES (ANIMATE / INANIMATE) WITH 'YES' VALUES

	human	adult	plant	animal	artifact	object	subst.	drug	food	instr.	music
<i>-head</i>				1	2	3	5	3	2	1	1
<i>-brain</i>	1		1	3	1	1	3	1	2		
<i>-huvud</i>	4	2		3		1	5		2		
<i>-skalle</i>	6	6		2	2		4		1		2
<i>cabeza</i>	1	1	2	3	1	3	3		3	1	
<i>cerebro</i>	2			8							

GENERAL PROPERTIES (ATTRIBUTES-PHYSICAL / ATTRIBUTES-NON-PHYSICAL /) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	age	attr.	color	dim.	surf.	comp.	mat.	quant.	feel.	beh.	prof.	hobby	aggres.	intel.	incl.	addic.
<i>-head</i>					1	6	3				1	1		1		3
<i>-brain</i>		1	1	4		4	2	1				1				1
<i>-huvud</i>				1	1		4	1						1		
<i>-skalle</i>					1		5		5	5			3	5	1	1
<i>cabeza</i>		3		3		4	4							1		
<i>cerebro</i>	2			10										10		

Semantic clusters—nonHEAD Noun lemma input
(*heatmaps*)

1-2

3-6

7-10

11-15

16-20

GENERAL PROPERTIES (ANIMATE / INANIMATE) WITH 'YES' VALUES

	human	adult	plant	animal	artifact	object	subst.	drug	food	instr.	music
-head				1	2	3	5	3	2	1	1
-brain	1		1	3	1	1	3	1	2		
-huvud	4	2		3		1	5		2		
-skalle	6	6		2	2		4		1		2
cabeza	1	1	2	3	1	3	3		3	1	
cerebro	2			8							

GENERAL PROPERTIES (ATTRIBUTES-PHYSICAL / ATTRIBUTES-NON-PHYSICAL /) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	age	attr.	color	dim.	surf.	comp.	mat.	quant.	feel.	beh.	prof.	hobby	aggres.	intel.	incl.	addic.
-head					1	6	3				1	1		1		3
-brain		1	1	4		4	2	1				1				1
-huvud				1	1		4	1						1		
-skalle					1		5		5	5			3	5	1	1
cabeza		3		3		4	4							1		
cerebro	2			10										10		

Semantic clusters—nonHEAD Noun lemma input
(*heatmaps*)

1-2

3-6

7-10

11-15

16-20

GENERAL PROPERTIES (BODY-RELATED / SOCIAL ENTITIES / ACTION-RELATED) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	secr.	body p.	attract.	life	organ	w. body	viol.	cogn.	habit	move.	locom.
-head	1	3			1	4			1	1	1
-brain	1	3	1		3	6	1				
-huvud	1	4			1						
-skalle	2	2	1	5	1	3		1	1	1	
cabeza				2				1			
cerebro				8							

Semantic clusters—nonHEAD N lemma input
(*heatmaps*)

1-2
3-6
7-10
11-15
16-20

GENERAL PROPERTIES (BODY-RELATED / SOCIAL ENTITIES / ACTION-RELATED) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	secl.	body p.	attract.	life	organ	w. body	viol.	cogn.	habit	move.	locom.
-head	1	3			1	4			1	1	1
-brain	1	3	1		3	6	1				
-huvud	1	4			1						
-skalle	2	2	1	5	1	3		1	1	1	
cabeza				2				1			
cerebro				8							

Semantic clusters—nonHEAD N lemma input
(*heatmaps*)

1-2
3-6
7-10
11-15
16-20

GENERAL PROPERTIES (PERCEPTIONAL, SPATIAL, TEMPORALITY-RELATED...) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	dim.	col.	form	cons.	mot.	veloc.	damp.	life	const.	afflict.	appear.	bod.	intel.	beh.	quant.	funct.	comp.	diff.
-head	1				1							1						
-brain					1		1				1	1						1
-huvud		1								1	1	1	5	5				
-skalle	1							2					3	1	1	2		
cabeza			2	1						2	1	2		7		2	1	
cerebro			2			1			1	3	1	1	2	1				

Semantic clusters—nonHEAD Adjective lemma
input
(heatmaps)

1-2
3-6
7-10
11-15
16-20

GENERAL PROPERTIES (PERCEPTIONAL, SPATIAL, TEMPORALITY-RELATED...) WITH 'YES/NO' VALUES

	dim.	col.	form	cons.	mot.	veloc.	damp.	life	const.	afflict.	appear.	bod.	intel.	beh.	quant.	funct.	comp.	diff.
-head	1				1							1						
-brain					1		1				1	1						1
-huvud		1								1	1	1	5	5				
-skalle	1							2					3	1	1	2		
cabeza			2	1						2	1	2		7		2	1	
cerebro			2			1			1	3	1	1	2	1				

Semantic clusters—nonHEAD Adjective lemma input
(*heatmaps*)

1-2
3-6
7-10
11-15
16-20



Conclusions and outlook

General analysis

- Regardless of the formal pattern (e.g. **NN**, **N de N**), all the collocations are underpinned by metonymy (HEAD stands for an individual).
- From an ontological viewpoint, there are language-specific limitations: English and Swedish involve [excessive enthusiasm / addiction], which is impossible in Spanish.
- **NN** involves a metaphorical interpretation of how nonHEAD component leads to semantic categories (such as addiction or lack of intelligence):
 - 'hollowness' ➡ 'brainless' ➡ 'lack of intelligence'
 - 'hard consistency' ➡ 'inflexible' ➡ 'stubborn'
- **NN** collocations are semantically more complex than **NA** ones: one of the features of nonHEAD components (e.g., fluidness, size, unattractiveness) is used to describe, say, intelligence (or its lack thereof).

General analysis

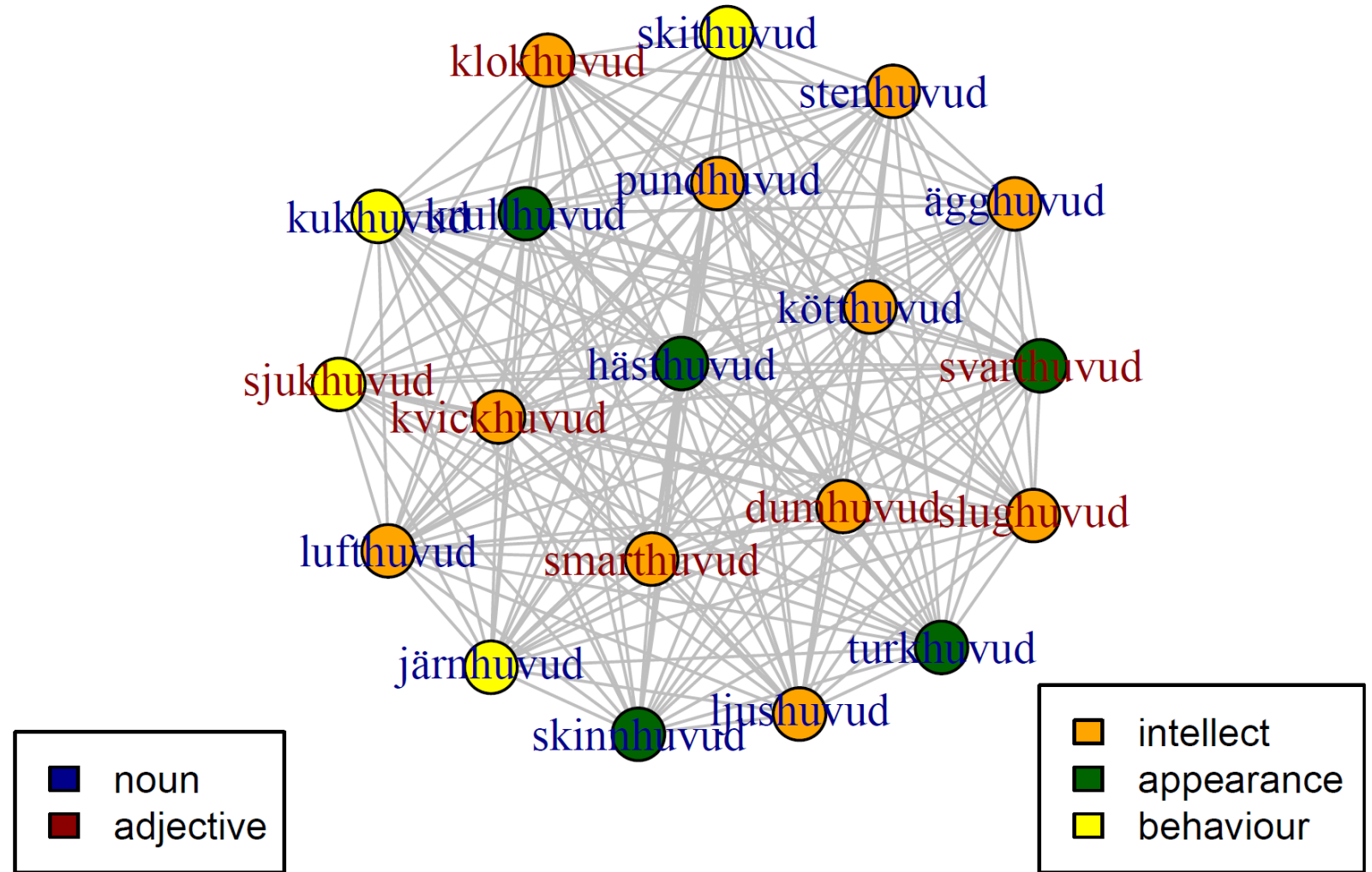
- Pejorative evaluation arises as a by-product of the metonymic transition, possibly because of the following features:
 - HEAD ('seat of intellect') is linked to cognitive / attitudinal / sensory functions.
 - Metonymy can operate in an evaluative guise.
- From a constructionist perspective, we claim that [**NN**] and [**N *de* N**] collocations are, respectively, morphological and syntactic strategies, employed as modes of semantic modification (i.e., equivalent devices that are formally distinct)

Research Question 1

- **RQ1: Should compounds and phrasal lexemes be integrated into word-formation paradigms?**
 - *YES*, we follow earlier studies (Gaeta & Angster 2019; Hathout & Namer 2019; Bagasheva 2021) which argue that compounds can form paradigms and extend this to phrasal lexemes
 - HEAD collocations are linked both intraparadigmatically and interparadigmatically (cf. Norde & Morris 2018: 54), with the strength of the links depending on the number of shared properties (Norde & Trousdale 2023: 151-152)

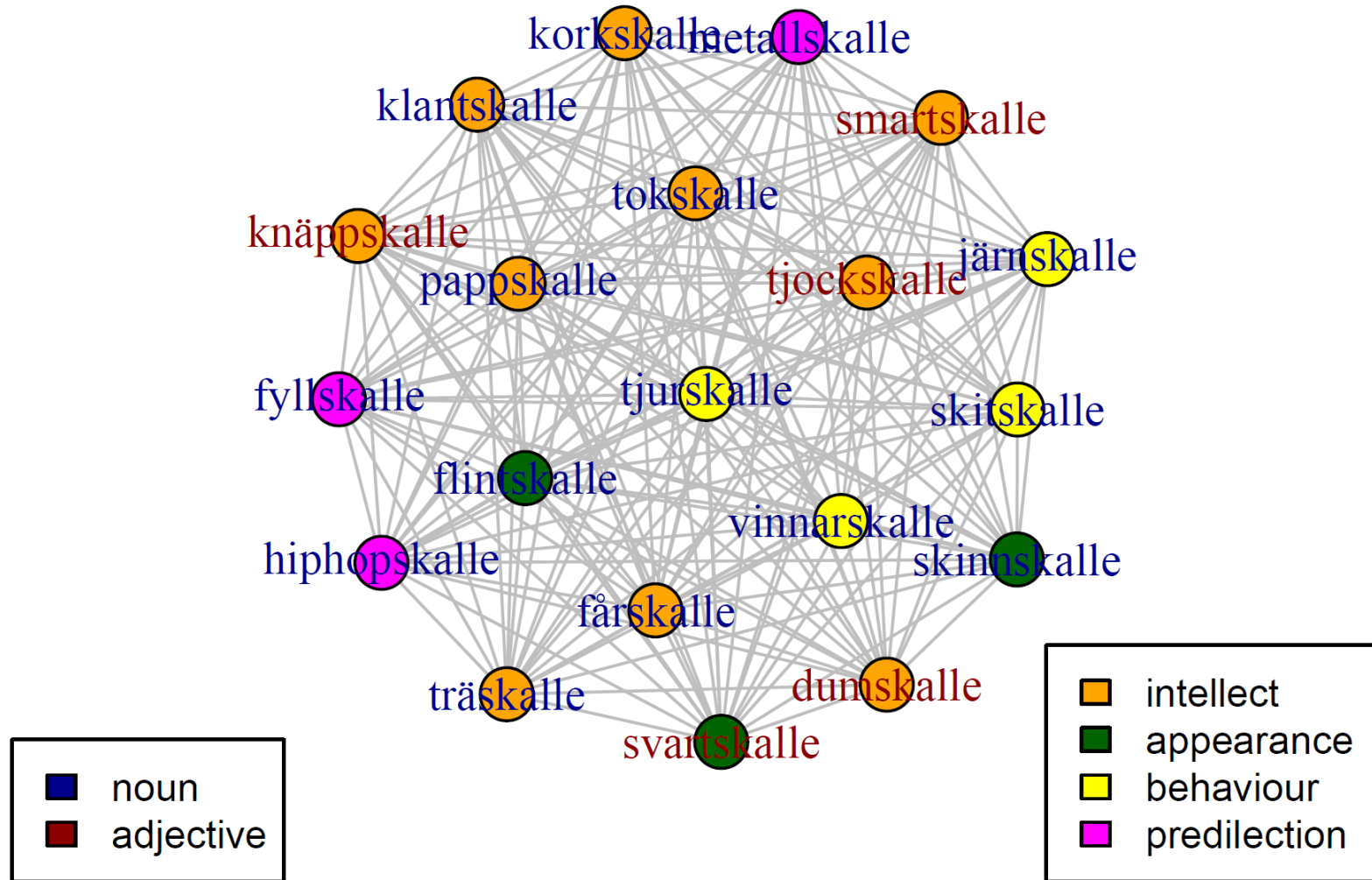
Intra- paradigmatic links (Swedish *huvud*)

Huvud Intraparadigmatic



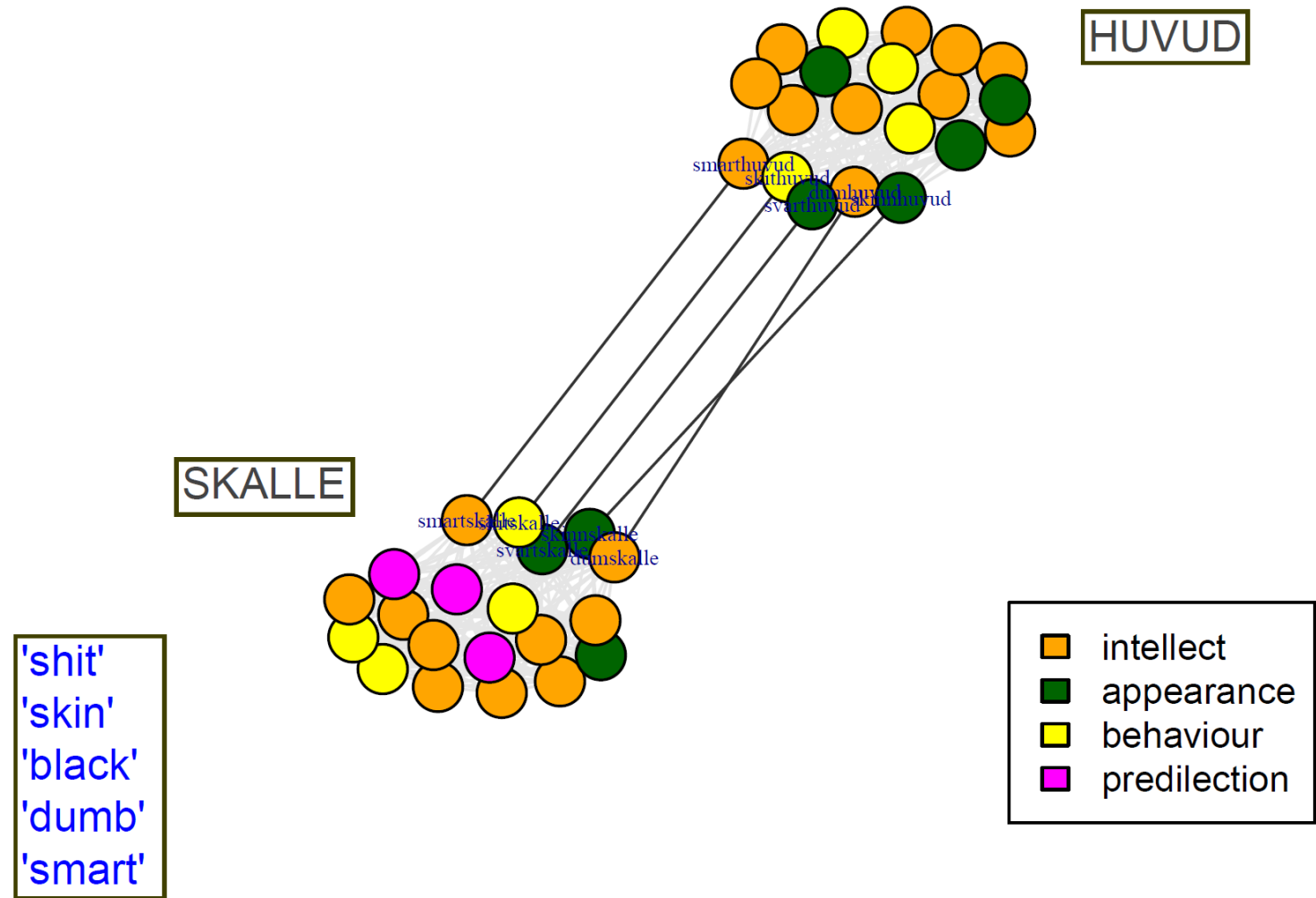
Intra- paradigmatic links (Swedish *skalle*)

Skalle Intraparadigmatic



Inter- paradigmatic links (Swedish)

Huvud and Skalle Interparadigmatic



Research Question 2

- RQ2: Do crosslinguistic differences affect word-formation paradigms?
 - In both Modifier-Head and Head-Modifier languages, the evaluative unit undergoes a metonymization process (HEAD > PERSON)
 - However, semantic secretion is even more prominent in Modifier-Head constructions, where the HEAD unit is used in the rightmost position, such that its paradigms are closer to affixation
 - As a result, Modifier-Head constructions are richer in subschemas

Outlook

- Exploratory stage: only top **20** types
- Dissimilar number of types:
 - Not so many examples in Serbian.
 - Romance languages: 10 N and 10 A (imposed criteria) because they had to be searched separately.
- Expand this methodology to other languages, e.g. Greek, Russian.
- Include more body parts (BodySPEx) conveying [pejorative] and [human] in their output semantics, e.g. *ass, mouth, hand*.

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Thank you for your attention

Pejorative constructions and paradigmatic relations: A cross-linguistic
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