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For David

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Abbreviations and symbols

↔	corresponds with
→	is assigned with
*	ungrammatical
**	clarification
>	evolves into
<	originates from
< >	non-morphemic cluster
{ }	abstracted form
-	affix/combining form boundary
+	present
–	absent
±	ambivalent
adj.	adjective
Adj	adjective
AdjP	adjective phrase
Adv	adverb
AmE	American English
AusE	Australian English
Ban.	Bantu
BrE	British English
CxM	Construction Morphology
DaA	deadjectival adjectivization
DadvA	deadverbial adjectivization
DaN	deadjectival nominalization
DEP	Diminution: endearment ↔ pejoration (scale)
DnA	denominal adjectivization
DnN	denominal nominalization
DnumA	denumeral adjectivization
Du.	Dutch
DvA	deverbal adjectivization
DvN	deverbal nominalization
Fa.	Fante
Fr.	French
Ge.	German
Heb.	Hebrew
i	meaning contributed by the base

IrE	Irish English
It.	Italian
j	form-meaning of the derivational form
Ma.	Maori
misp.	mispronunciation
n.	noun
N	noun
Nclass	neo-classical
Neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
NZE	New Zealand English
OE	Old English
PcN	place name
PerN	personal name
Po.	Polish
Pol.	Polari
pron.	pronoun
redup.	reduplicative (or reduplication)
SAfrE	South African English
ScE	Scottish English
SEM	semantic input (base)
Sp.	Spanish
v.	verb
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
Yid.	Yiddish

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Introduction

> Language change is as unpredictable as the tides […] What level on the beach will the incoming tide reach tomorrow? Will the wavelets hit that pebble? Who can say? It depends on the wind, or whether something unusual has happened deep out in the ocean, on ripples set up by a group of jetski enthusiasts – or maybe someone will simply move the pebble. (David Crystal 1996: 15)

Aims and structure

The need to semantically depreciate standard words is a linguistic universal. English is therefore no exception. Following well-established paradigms, English words can be repurposed to denote negative appraisal or offensiveness without importing foreign terms or creating unmotivated coinages. For instance, the British command *sod off* replaces *scram* or *leave at once* in contexts where a more informal or depreciatory expression is needed; *sod off* stems from *sodomite* whereby its clipped base morphologically detaches from the etymon. As a result, it is easy to predict that *sod*, because of its etymology, is bound to disparage, rather than convey a positive meaning. In addition to clipping, which possesses an intrinsic value of marginalization, there are certain derivational patterns that are connected with semantic pejoration:[1] derivational formatives that are added to (non-)pejorative bases (e.g. *black-*, *ethnic-*, *child-*, *air-*, *info-*) can result in derisive or offensive words, as in *blackie, ethno, childish, airhead*, and *infomaniac*. What makes these words interesting to linguists is that the derivational formatives are not necessarily intended to pejorate, that is, diminutive suffixes such as *-ie* and *-o* might result in pejorative-forming morphemes on the basis of whether diminution can be cognitively interpreted as pejorative-invoking by language users. In deciphering the nature of such transitions (e.g. diminution → pejoration), the arrangement of various semantic scenarios or 'input spaces' (Fauconnier & Turner 2002), which converge into abstracted models, could help unravel the cognitive roots of pejoration. In addition, the study of pejoratives could not be adequately addressed without consideration of the connections between morphological units and pragmatic motivations (or communicative

1. Also called 'pejorization' (Schreuder 1970).

goals). The change of semantic load towards pejoration is generally motivated by a pragmatic need to, say, express contempt and cause discomfort in the hearer, which is linked to the notions of taboo and dysphemism (Allan & Burridge 1991; Casas Gómez 2012; Crespo Fernández 2018). Pejoration therefore facilitates the effectiveness of dysphemism, for pejorative traits originally result from semantic and morphological changes: *blackie* and *ethno* (and their corresponding word-formation paradigms) become consensual pejoratives first, and after which they can be used dysphemistically in lieu of standard or less offensive terms.

The aim of this book is to explore the morphosemantic and cognitive traits of 15 pejorative formatives (suffixes and combining forms) in contemporary English: *-ie*, *-o*, *-ard*, *-holic*, *-rrhea*, *-itis*, *-later*, *-maniac*, *-porn*, *-ish*, *-oid*, *-aster*, *-head*, *-pants*, and *-ass*. These end-morphemes are grouped under four general cognitive-semantic categories, which are believed to underlie and motivate the process of semantic change: diminution, excess, resemblance, and metonymization. This classification allows for a more productive interpretation of how each of these cognitive dimensions contributes to the 'evilization' (or depreciation) of morphological units. A relevant premise in this book is that pejorative suffixes and combining forms are also the product of morphological paradigmaticity, i.e. a process that is based on "form-meaning correspondences between words, instead of the concatenation of formatives" (Bauer et al. 2015: 20). Suffixed units might share similarities (or morphological correspondences) on account of either the same base (*blackard*, *blackie*, **blacko*) or the same suffix (*darkie*, *froggie*, *biggie*). This study revolves around the latter, and as such suffixed forms are organized in sets of words that share the same suffix and the same output semantics (i.e. negative or offensive meaning). This restricted scope of study allows for finer-grained insights into morphological paradigms of pejorative derivatives in English, particularly in extra-grammatical or colloquial word stock. In this vein, the study takes as its point of departure the contextualized meaning of words through corpora. This onomasiological approach to word-formation leads to a discerning reflection on referents (extra-linguistic realities) and the semantic contribution of suffixes (as well as combining forms) to base forms (Štekauer 1998).

Based on the principles of Construction Morphology (CxM) (cf. Booij 2007, 2010, 2015, 2019) and Morphopragmatics (cf. Merlini Barbaresi & Dressler 2020), data on English pejoratives are used to explore the conventionalization of lexical properties of language, and the so-called pairing of form and function. This pairing is acknowledged as contributing to the process of analogy at the morphological level (Bauer et al. 2015: 633). Understanding the lexicon as part of a set of analogical formations is a prerequisite to exploring the cognitive bases of pejoration from within, i.e. from the intricate properties of morphological paradigms. A dia-synchronic

approach to pejoration also adds a more comprehensive perception of how pejorative words sharing the same suffix/combining form have been tightly linked to the salient attributions of derivatives, particularly at the morphosemantic level. Suffixes and combining forms are meaningful units whose semantics is built upon word usage and paradigmaticity. Hence, identifying these word-formation paradigms can be of avail in predicting coinages and lexical abhorrence, as well as in explicating why same-suffixed words (e.g. *lezzo*, *lezzie* < *lesbian*) might be understood differently by speakers of different English varieties.

The first part of the book, which is made up of Chapters 1 and 2, is aimed at reviewing the theoretical aspects of pejoration and the main morphosemantic mechanisms that are involved in the formation of pejoratives. Chapter 1 will address the concept of pejoration itself (as well as that of a pejorative) through a sociolinguistic interpretation of this semantic process in English. Through an extensive review of published studies on pejoratives, taboo, and slurs, Chapter 1 advances our understanding of how pejoration lies at the interface of semantics and pragmatics, and how the resulting pejoratives become natural 'conceptualizers' of taboo (or interdicted topics). Chapter 1 is deliberately, therefore, not intended to delimit the conceptual aspects of pejoration, but rather to explore how it is integrated into related fields of study such as slang and dysphemism. To complete the linguistic analysis of pejoratives, Chapter 2 will describe how pejoration is not limited to one word-formation mechanism alone. As a result, this chapter includes an array of examples and classifications that connect pejorative-forming models with most word-formation processes, i.e. compounding, affixation, conversion, clipping, abbreviation, lexical borrowing, reduplication, and semantic extension. Since this book revolves around suffixes and combining forms, special attention has been given to affixation and morphological markedness, as well as to the conceptual blurriness there is between an affix, a combining form, and a compound base.

The second part of the book comprises Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6, and it seeks to explore four cognitive transitions that are believed to underlie the semantic change that affects most of the pejorative suffixes and combining forms in English. These four chapters (and all their sections and subsections) conform to a standard layout that facilitates the reading process. Each is first introduced with a general discussion on how the non-pejorative categories of diminution (Chapter 3), excess (Chapter 4), resemblance (Chapter 5), and metonymy/synecdoche (Chapter 6) evolve into pejoration. An overreaching examination of the forms and functions of each pejorative morpheme is included in order to trace morphological and semantic variation. Since the vast majority of these complex units are not found in dictionaries, making generalizations on the word types yielded by corpora is indispensable. To this end, the words that are itemized in the datasets in the Appendices are abstracted into

constructional schemas, which helps understand what types of morphological composition are linked to derisive meaning. Also, constructional schemas demarcate how suffixes and combining forms become morphological representations of semantic values, and more importantly, how an attitudinal value (such as 'pejorative') might stem from physical ones (as in 'diminutive' or 'excessive'). The chapters in the second part will also lead to the conclusion that expressing a negative appraisal towards someone or something is also connected to a series of semantic and cognitive mechanisms which guarantee that the act of disparaging or depreciating is successfully accomplished provided speakers resort to morphologically binding devices. Such mechanisms, therefore, operate on the basis of salient (or iconic) formulas or schemas that are necessarily interpreted as dysphemistic by proficient users of English.

The data and how it is interpreted

The data used in this book consists of end-morphemes: suffixes and final combining forms. Unlike the former, combining forms have been traditionally classed as units that inhabit the unclear boundaries between affixes and roots (Bauer 1989; Fradin 2000; Mattiello 2018). I have, however, adopted Warren's (1990) use of the term 'combining form' to refer to (a) allomorphs of Greek or Latin roots (e.g. *-maniac*), (b) abbreviated forms that stem from model words (e.g. *-holic*), and (c) parts of the base model that still possess some degree of unit integrity (e.g. *-porn*).[2]

The data used in Chapters 3–6 are itemized in the Appendices in form of tables including three types of information: lemmas, etymons, and senses. While there is no specification of the English varieties represented in the datasets, there are some general references and comments on the sociolinguistic distinction of formatives in the main body of the analysis, whenever pertinent. Although the number of lemmas is occasionally used in the analysis, the quantitative value of the data is not relevant to the general aims of the study. Approximately 950 pejoratives have been itemized in the Appendices, and the data are from two sources: English dictionaries and corpora.[3] For the compilation of dictionary-based entries, only those words whose entries were tagged as 'negative', 'pejorative', 'derogatory', 'offensive', 'vulgar', or 'disparaging' were compiled. The corpus-based extraction was more complex because it involved excerpting from (generally) written samples. Each lemma was

2. For a discussion of midway morphemes (e.g. combining forms, semi-suffixes) that are conceptually unclear, see Section 2.2.1.

3. A full list of the dictionaries and the corpora used in the present study are listed in the References section.

manually checked to ensure that it was used with a negative sense in at least three different contexts. The search query strings used in the corpora were made up of the end-morpheme, as in [*holic] and [*maniac] (or [*-maniac]), and the span of 1,000 word forms used in the data collection is due simply to data-management constraints. However, since the chances of a corpus generating non-derivatives are much higher in suffixes such as *-ie* (or *-y*) and *-o* (rather than combining forms such as *-holic* or *-porn*), this span was expanded to 5,000 for suffixes, and spelling variations, e.g. [*bie] and [*sie], were also included in their search queries.

Thus far, this study does not pertain to the field of corpus linguistics, in its narrow sense, for it does not use the data to make accurate approximations of, say, lexical frequency or productivity. As such, any mentions of these parameters in the book are heavily based on previous studies on formatives, or possibly on general assumptions made with respect to their tendencies; for example, the high number of hapaxes (such as with *-porn* and *-holic*) might be an indicator of high productivity. Nonetheless, although this type of study has its limitations as far as corpus-based parameters are concerned, I still believe that the data compiled here is particularly informative in terms of (a) the examination of new forms and functions in real language use, and (b) the elaboration (and analysis) of constructional schemas. The latter implication (b) lays the groundwork for explicating how cognitive structures underlie the emergence of unified (or more abstract) constructions through the strict correlation (or pairing) between form and function.

The abstraction of constructional schemas is extremely relevant to Chapters 3–6, since they are used to demonstrate the majority of the morphosemantic properties of pejorative suffixes and combining forms. The schemas, as shown in Figure 1, encompass the syntactic property of the base and the input and output semantics of the pejorative. The input semantics corresponds to the meaning that is informed by the base, whilst the output semantics, following Cruse's contextual approach, reflects the semantic properties the word contracts with actual and potential contexts (1986: 1). The output semantics is based on the universal nomenclature of componential analysis (or lexical decomposition), by means of which some semantic features are present [+], absent [−], or ambivalent [±].[4] The method of componential analysis, which is linked to "the cognitive and psychological reality of speakers" (Goddard 2003: n.p.), reflects how the primal cognitive aspects of 'diminution', 'excess', 'resemblance', and 'metonymy/synecdoche' are semantically represented by the lexical unit in multiple forms, one of which is precisely that of [+pejorative].

4. In this context, 'ambivalent' implies that the semantic feature is heavily dependent on context, and not so much on the input semantics informed by the base.

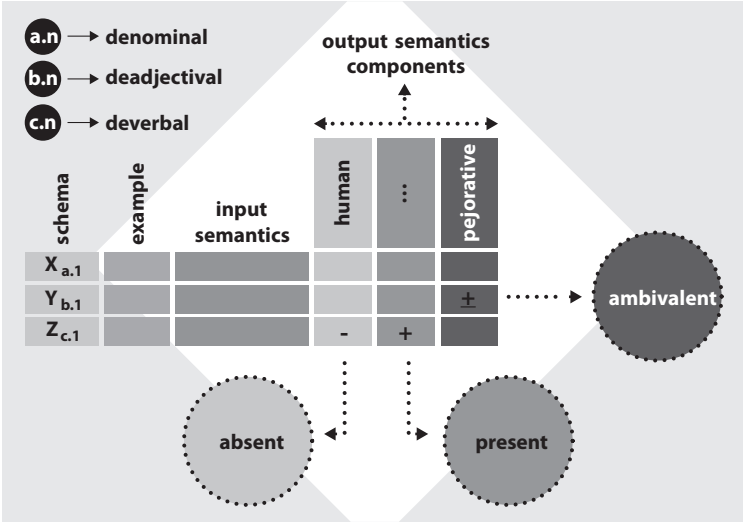

Figure 1. General layout of the tables used in Chapters 3–6 to compile semantic components of constructional schemas

Last but not least, readers should be warned that many of the words and the examples excerpted from the corpora convey extremely hurtful connotations, particularly those that fall within the scopes of race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religious/political views. The degree of offensiveness, therefore, varies considerably from purely humorous motivations (e.g. *emojarrhea* < *emoji, thinkihaditis* < *think I had*) to derisive slurring (e.g. *blackard, lefto* < *left-wing supporter*). Being aware that slurs deal with socially sensitive issues, I have used instances of hate speech to demonstrate the pragmatic force of some of the units under study. My intention in doing this is not to have these offensive words insulated from their damaging value, but to reveal the cognitive intricacy of pejoration so as to explore the conventions of morphological paradigmaticity in the process of pejorative derivation.

CHAPTER 1

Pejoration and beyond

1.1 What is pejoration?

Pejoration is traditionally known as the speaker's evaluation of something (or someone) as being bad (Finkbeiner et al. 2016: 1), but this definition does not do justice to the complex issues around words conveying negative (or offensive) meaning. One of the problematic aspects of pejoration is that devising an exact definition is no easy task because the term can be approached from multiple perspectives (e.g. paradigmatic, referential, cognitive, or pragmatic). This section, therefore, attempts to review of various standpoints and concepts on pejoration (and also on pejoratives) in order to provide a comprehensive overview that does not add to the entanglements of the discussion.

There is a common understanding that pejoration is a semantic property (or process), by means of which a word acquires negative values or connotations (McGregor 2015: 367). This definition, which does not vary much from those described in the major English dictionaries, restricts pejoration to the semantic plane of connotation. However, claiming that the 'evilization' of lexical semantics only concerns connotative traits implies that the resulting pejoratives focus solely on evaluative and communicative values (Backhouse 1992: 297). In this vein, Leech refers to the process of how the word *woman* has been embedded with positive (e.g. 'gentle', 'compassionate') or negative attributes (e.g. 'frail', 'cowardly') (1974: 15). These attributes, which have no effect on the referent, demonstrate how entities or realities are perceived by speakers/hearers. What is more, the impact of such attributes on how a 'woman' is perceived within a social and anthropological framework is realized in words or phrases denoting what being a 'man' entails, such as *to man up* (or *to cowboy up*), as in (1), or *to be a pussy* ('a cowardly man').

(1) But MAN UP isn't just being used to package machismo as a commodity. Its spectrum of meanings runs from "Don't be a sissy; toughen up" all the way to "Do the right thing; be a *mensch*," to use the Yiddishism for an honorable or upright person. (*nytimes.com*, Sep. 3, 2010)

Hence, it is logical to assume that what is perceived as 'bad' only affects the connotational plane. But, what about denotation? Is pejoration detached from denotational properties? To answer this question, two English pejoratives are examined: *sissy* ('an

effeminate man') and *Jap* ('a Japanese person'). The former, based on the concept of pejoration discussed above, illustrates how a standard word, such as *sissy* (< *sis*, short for *sister*), evolves into a disparaging expletive (or invective) for a homosexual or effeminate man, as shown in (2). The word *sissy* has undergone a process of pejoration because it was initially used as a term of endearment for a sister or a close friend, and its semantic value has become negative or offensive. Interestingly, while *sissy* 'an effeminate man' is semantically restricted to the domains of negative evaluation, *sissy* 'sister' has fallen into disuse in present-day English (MWD11). It seems that the fact that pejoratives (or taboo words in general) are sociolinguistically abhorred explains why homonyms of such pejoratives become obsolete, e.g. *gay*.[5] In fact, the coexistence of both types of *sissy* is considered to account for the process of pejoration itself: features that are negatively appraised by speakers towards women (e.g. femininity, physical strength, etc.) are metaphorically transferred onto *sissy* 'an effeminate man'. Similarly, the word *Jap* also undergoes a pejoration process, initially being coined as a neutral clipped word (< *Japanese*) denoting a Japanese person.[6] *Jap* is currently used as a disparaging ethnic slur, as in (3).

(2) Some took Ramones as threatening, with songs about beating brats, sniffing glue, gunning your enemy in the back, a Green Beret male prostitute, slashing a trick to prove he's no SISSY. (*rollingstone.com*, Aug. 30, 2020)

(3) It's magical stuff, meretricious, meditatedly and engagedly violent, fantastically snobbish, worldly to the last drop of a name, lazily anti-American, casually racist about blacks, Jews, Japanese ('once a JAP, always a JAP'), grotesquely preoccupied with the signals of sado-masochism […]
(*thebookseller.com*, Jan. 31, 2020)

Although both *sissy* and *Jap* constitute semantic developments of pejoration (from neutral, or positive, to negative values), they also demonstrate how their referential (or conceptual) planes (i.e. denotation) are not necessarily altered. As opposed to *sissy* ('an effeminate man'), where the word is originally used for 'sister', the referent in *Jap* ('a Japanese person') remains unchanged. There are, thus, two premises that

5. The word *gay* shows a clear semantic transition from positive values into slightly negative ones. By the 17th century, the word moved from 'jolly' or 'light-hearted' into 'frivolous' and 'hedonistic', and it was not far into the 20th century that hedonistic *gay* was used as a euphemism for homosexuals (Leith 1997: 76). As such, in that it is also a term used to refer to a traditionally marginalized community, *gay* is certainly avoided when a speaker wishes to express the feeling of happiness (Crowley 1997: 154).

6. Initially coined as a 'colloquial abbreviation' (OED3), *Jap* might have been used with a neutral semantics, but "it was used as a slur against Japanese immigrants and, later, in reference to Japanese American citizens" (Varner 2016: n.p.).

can be drawn from these two examples: (a) connotation is necessarily involved in the evaluative transition from neutral (or positive) to negative; and (b) pejoration should not be restricted to connotation, since denotative or conceptual traits, as in *sissy*, may also undergo semantic revamping.

What is undeniable is that attitudes towards someone or something are subject to an ever-changing continuum whereby a word is dependent on its socio-pragmatic status at a certain point in history. While referents, as in the case of *Jap* 'a Japanese person', remain relatively unchanged, the semantic properties of *Jap* reflect not only the relations it contracts with actual and potential contexts (Cruse 1986: 1), but also the appropriation of the term by users holding a negative view towards the referent. Extralinguistic aspects, such as historical turning points and social changes, play a fundamental role in the process of in-group reappropriation. For instance, the Second World War and the Cold War, respectively, are correlated with the depreciation of 'Japanese' (e.g. *Jap*, *Nip* < *Nippon*) and 'communist' (e.g. *commie*, *reddie*).[7] The perception of pejorative terms, particularly slurs whose referents have not changed, is therefore not steady throughout time, leading to attitudes of either linguistic interdiction (e.g. *nigger*, *Jap*, *commie*), linguistic correctness (e.g. 'someone suffering from a mental illness or health problem' rather than *crazy, insane*, or *lunatic*),[8] or historical reinterpretation.

An example of historical, or perhaps anachronistic, reinterpretation, includes the controversy surrounding the use of ethnic or origin slurs by 18th- and 19th-century English-speaking writers. Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been in the spotlight recently since the word *nigger*, which is used over 200 times in the novel, has been replaced by less derisive epithets. At the linguistic level, the pragmatic implicatures of *nigger* in this case are interpreted through the current connotations that the pejorative conveys at present. In addition, the unnatural replacement of *nigger* in this case disregards the role language plays in reflecting race-related issues in a period when attitudes towards slavery were changing. Perhaps those who attempt to fictitiously 'ameliorate' the novel should bear in mind that Twain might have used pejoratives, such as *nigger*, in order to reveal the prevalent racism of the time because by "putting *nigger* in white characters' mouths, the author is not branding blacks, but rather branding the whites" (Kennedy 2003: 109,

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7. A quick search on COHA (*Corpus of Historical American English*) yields that the use of the terms *Jap* and *commie* were at their peaks in the 1940s and 1950s respectively, suggesting an extensive use of each epithet in the written press in specific historical points.

8. In the fields of medicine and education, there were words that "were formerly used as technical descriptors", e.g. *idiot, imbecile, moron*. Following the postulates of linguistic correctness, they "were broadly rejected by the close of the 20th century and [are] now considered offensive" (MWD11).

italics in the original). As such, the examination of a pejorative's etymology helps understand how negative connotations are inevitably socio-historical constructs.

Nonetheless, pejoration is not entirely connected to diachronic semantic shift. Examples (4) and (5) show two excerpts in which *interesting* is used with different pragmatic goals. In (4), *interesting* is used to positively qualify a referent (e.g. 'a class') whereas in (5) *interesting* connotes lack of excitement in a sarcastic fashion, thus causing discomfort in the interlocutor. This type of usage-based change is not necessarily attested in dictionaries. The word *interesting*, for example, has the meaning of "arousing interest" (MWD11), but no reference to the pejorative sense is traced in the dictionary. As a result, lexicographical works are not sufficient in themselves to map out the level of pejoration expressed in speech, as many standard words (such as *interesting*) can potentially be pejorative in any given situation.

(4) At one INTERESTING class I attended in a Buddhist temple – gold images galore – the teacher declared cheerfully that this mindfulness session was going to be a cut above the rest […] (*spectator.co.uk*, Aug. 19, 2020)

(5) Put it this way. I take a reasonably sceptical approach to information and advice. With respect to intelligence, I never comment on it. One's reaction, though, is often, well… that's INTERESTING, but, y'know (sic), is there anything more concrete? (*noted.co.nz*, May 21, 2020)

However, most of the literature on pejorative semantics and pragmatics rests on the contextualized use of expletives and ethnic slurs by means of which the notions of hate, conflict, and interdiction are underscored (e.g. Hom 2010; Hedger 2013; Croom 2011, 2013; Vallée 2014). Making slurs and cursing constitute the most visible face of pejoration, for the words or phrases used as slurs or expletives are interdicted in everyday communication. But slurs, in actual fact, are not semantically fixed, and their effects "vary in intensity of contempt" (Anderson & Lepore 2013: 25). For instance, *negro*, *nigger*, *blackie*, and *darkie* may well possess different powers to offend the same person, and their derogatory effect will be different whether they are appropriated by xenophobes or reclaimed use as terms of address by African-Americans. The reappropriation of offensive slurs, particularly those related to race or origin, is not symmetrical. For example, *nigga* has been traditionally tagged as a term of endearment, but recent studies have confirmed that its primary function is as a masculinizing marker of social identity (cf. Smith 2019). This demonstrates that the semantics of slurs fluctuates diachronically and pragmatically, and their categorization is mostly shaped by how it is perceived (or reappropriated) by interlocutors (for further discussion on the concept of reappropriation, see Section 1.8).

1.2 Pejoration at the interface of semantics and pragmatics

The process of pejoration is, then, always open to new interpretations. The idea mentioned earlier that speakers perceive pejoratives as gradable (or paradigmatic) conventions is linked to their cognitive attitude (Lederer 2013). Users of pejoratives are aware of an evaluative continuum at the interface of semantics and pragmatics, which they learn as they grow to naturally recognize words in a given context. Without this awareness, no semantic fluctuation would exist between standardness and interdiction, and hence speakers would probably perceive *lezzie*, *lesbo*, *lesbian*, and *dyke* as purely referential signifiers ('a homosexual woman') with no connotational attachments.

Some studies suggest that connotation is in fact a pragmatic category of meaning (Allan 2007: 1047), as it is detached from both the referent and the objectivity of what is denoted. Since pejoratives are used to negatively evaluate referents, connotation is presupposed to be an essential, almost identificatory, part of lexical semantics. How words are used in an utterance or in a discursive construction is believed to be as relevant as the inherent denotational meaning of the words themselves (Channell 1999: 38). The semantic connection between words and collocates is used to describe the so-called notion of semantic prosody (cf. Sinclair 1987; Louw 1993; Stubbs 1995a, 1995b), which is the acquired meaning expressed by a word occurring "regularly with other words that share a given meaning or meanings" (Stewart 2010: 1). Accordingly, a pejorative is dependent on a series of aspects (e.g. contextual cues, collocates, speech genre, and ethnographic features) in order to be connotatively salient and meaningful. For instance, a *hacker* in the field of sports news is correlated to the idea of 'being bad at a sport', as in (6), whereas a *hacker* in the field of computing suggests that 'someone is an expert', as shown in (7). Also, the latter shows nuances of illegality in some specific contexts, which makes connotation fluctuate at a different rate, as in (8). Proficient users who read or hear either type of *hacker* are able to distinguish the pragmatic meaning (or semantic prosody) through their own awareness of the ethnometapragmatic status of *hacker* in a given speech community (Goddard 2015). A speaker who is not familiar with the collocational and evaluative meaning of *hacker* 'being bad at sports' is bound to fail at decoding its negative values.

(6) If you are a High School or College coach, USTA League captain or member, or a tennis HACKER like me who just enjoys the sport, we'd love to hear from you. (*alstennisshop.com*, n.d.)

(7) HACKERS solve problems and build things, and they believe in freedom and voluntary mutual help. To be accepted as a HACKER, you have to behave as though you have this kind of attitude yourself […] (*cs.duke.edu*, Spring 2001)

(8) A computer HACKER who helped orchestrate one of the largest thefts of credit and debit card numbers in U.S. history faces sentencing this week for hacking into computer systems of major retailers […] (*huffpost.com*, May 22, 2010)

The words 'negative' and 'offensive' are used as frequently throughout this book where pejoration is described, and this is because for pejoration to exist there must be a negative (and/or offensive) evaluation or appraisal. The acquisition of negative values has also been interpreted as the loss of quality (Ullmann 1962: 197–210), which means that a relation of oppositeness must exist between the negative word under study and others of neutral or positive value. For instance, *authoritarian* (as in *an authoritarian government*) has a negative quality because the word qualifies a government that is not "constitutionally responsible to the people" (MWD11). As an alternative to *authoritarian* in this context, the adjectives *democratic* and *libertarian* convey the positive quality that has been removed from *authoritarian*. Although adjectives are naturally related to qualifying and evaluation, nouns can also express negative connotations and therefore become pejoratives. The words *tyrant* or *dictator*, for instance, are clearly derogatory since they denote someone who resembles or is an oppressive ruler. However, the negative/positive polarity is dependent on a myriad of sociolinguistic aspects, ranging from collocational meaning to a speaker's ethnopragmatic traits. The word *disciplinarian*, for instance, has the meaning of "one who disciplines or enforces order" (MWD11), which conveys little information on its connotative status. Examples (9) and (10) show two instances of *disciplinarian* extracted from the NOW Corpus. The former suggests a positive connotation as regards the role of a politician (i.e. Narendra Modi) in restoring order in the country whereas the latter implies a negative evaluation of a teacher ('rigid' and 'too demanding'). Although collocates are essential to lexical semantics, they might not be sufficient for understating the connotational value of the word, and hence more information is required. In the two cases of *disciplinarian, strict* is a preceding adjective that might imbue the noun *disciplinarian* with negative values ('inflexible', 'harsh'), that is *disciplinarian* is believed to acquire negative prosody due to the preceding adjective *strict*. Alternatively, example (9) shows that *strict* has an opposite effect on *disciplinarian*, evoking the qualities of 'rigorous' and 'compromising'. Hence, these examples corroborate the notion that both context and users' pragmatic implicatures are relevant to the expression of connotative values: whether it is a concerned citizen or a resentful student, *disciplinarian* is very likely to be connotatively biased.

(9) Vinita Kale, who lost her job due to the lockdown, describes Modi as a strict DISCIPLINARIAN that India needs in order to run. "My company had trouble managing a few people, but Modi has to manage an entire country," she said. (*scroll.in*, Sep. 2, 2020)

(10) Though a strict DISCIPLINARIAN, she was kind too, and many past pupils remember the drama sessions in the Friary Hall in Kilkenny, the choir practice and singing lessons. (*kilkennypeople.ie*, Jul. 31, 2020)

The study of pejoration therefore shows that a complete understanding of how words become negative at some point calls for a multi-level approach. One of the most notable premises on which this approach is based is the fact that pejoration is not semantically static and it inevitably involves an extension of meaning. Accordingly, if pejoration is related to an axiological scale of values (from positive, through neutral, to negative), pejoratives, as the resulting units, should be able to convey this semantic transition. However, the term 'pejorative' is used in dictionaries to denote all kinds of depreciatory or disparaging words/phrases, regardless of whether pejoratives departed from neutral semantics or not. Studies on pejoratives and slurs confirm that these negative words are regarded as "connoted expressions through which speakers express a negative attitude toward a person, a class of persons, or a certain state of affairs" (Tenchini & Frigerio 2020: 274). For example, *stupid* (< Fr. *stupide*) and *loony* (< shortening of *lunatic*) are pejoratives because they have negative connotations and are intended to disparage someone who shows lack of judgment and reasoning. Whilst the former (e.g. *stupid*) was borrowed from French and its negative or pejorative value has remained relatively steady, *loony* has undergone a semantic change: from neutral (or technical) *lunatic* ('insane') to pejorative *loony* ('crazy', 'foolish'). This leads to the conclusion that *loony* stems from a pejoration process, while *stupid* does not. To avoid unnecessary terminological confusion, two types of pejoratives (not pejoration) are worth noting: (a) a pure pejorative (as in *stupid*), and (b) a merged pejorative (as in *loony*). The term 'merged' refers to words or expressions (conveying negative connotations) that originated from an English etymon with neutral or positive semantics. A significant number of merged pejoratives have resorted to specific suffixes and combining forms in the expression of negative qualities, e.g. *black* > *blackard, lesbian* > *lezzie, coffee* > *coffeeholic*. In contrast, pure pejoratives are words that were already pejoratives when they entered the English language, that is they did not undergo a process of pejoration in English, e.g. *villain, drunk*. This book is particularly interested in these merged pejoratives, but I have opted for using the word 'pejorative' instead of 'merged pejorative'. Readers should know that examples such as *stupid* or *bastard* (also from French) do not fall within the scope of study because they constitute loanwords and their seemingly derivational construction (as in *bastard*) occurred prior to their linguistic adaptation in English.

1.3 A linguistic interpretation of pejoratives

Pejoration is not restricted to lexis, which is why it is also expressed through other levels of language, i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (Finkbeiner et al. 2016). Prosodies, for instance, can express a speaker's attitudes, and hence comply with evaluative patterns, for "prosodies often express the speaker's reason for making the utterance" (Stewart 2010: 28). Further empirical research also suggests that pejorative prosody is rather monotonous and accompanied by a deeper voice (Sendlmeier et al. 2016), thereby corroborating the conventionalization of prosodic patterns in pejoration.

Some syntactic constructions are also expected to gain pejorative connotations. Examples (11) and (12) show two constructions in English which are similar but have different illocutionary forces: whilst *don't bring me* in (11) expresses a command (i.e. imperative), *don't providence me* in (12) is intended to convey disapproval and discomfort towards the speaker's attitude. To this end, example (12) shows an instance of a pejorative construction that stems from the notion that the interlocutor should stop saying/doing whatever it is that makes someone else feel uneasy. The type of construction in (12) is based on the process of functional shift or conversion, by means of which a preceding word, generally a noun (e.g. *providence*), is converted into a verb. This construction has also been approached from a discursive perspective in order to explain the correlation between the use of terms of address, such as *ma'am* in (13), and the hearer's attitude towards the term (Hohenhaus 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza & Gómez-González 2014).

(11) A: Do you want today's paper?
B: No, DON'T BRING ME the paper today. I'm fine.

(12) A: Now, obviously the last thing I wish to do is to fit glasses to those who have no need for them.
B: No, no.
A: Hey, you! Sheriff Forbes, well, this is providence indeed.
B: B: Don't PROVIDENCE me! (*Treasure of Matecumbe*, 1976, TMC)

(13) A: They stopped paying you, didn't they?
B: Yes, ma'am.
A: Don't you MA'AM me. What do you need?
(*Criminal Minds*, 2009, TTVC)

At the level of syntax, pejoration is notably more salient in the use of negative intensifiers (e.g. *fuck, fucking, damn, bloody*). Intensifiers are interesting because they generally position next to adjectives or verbs, impacting on the value of the adjectives and the force of the verb (Greenbaum 1970; Quirk et al. 1985). For example,

an utterance containing a pejorative intensifier, as in *I fucking know that* (14a), might be interpreted as anger or discomfort. Consequently, the pragmatic force of syntactic constructions that involve pejorative intensification is generally associated with negative semantics. Nonetheless, the interface of pragmatics and semantics is context-dependent, which means that what sounds pejorative can in fact be excitement (14b). These examples show that in both contexts, *fucking* imbues constructions with informal (or marginal) value, example (14a) being characterized by its having gained negative connotation in the form of aggressiveness and resentment.

(14) a. A: You know, the report is due Monday.
B: I FUCKING know that.
b. A: (on a TV show) "The next question is: when was New York founded?"
B: I FUCKING know that.

An interesting example that corroborates the relevance of syntactic categories in the process of pejoration is the word *gay* used as a noun and as an adjective (see footnote 5 for more details on its semantic development). According to MWD11, "[t]he noun *gay* is sometimes considered offensive. Instead, phrases that employ the adjective tend to be preferred, as in "a gay man/woman," "gay people," etc." This usage-based proposition can be easily checked in corpora. For instance, in the NOW Corpus, 476 hits are yielded when *gay* (n.) is typed in as a search query, as opposed to 315,214 hits for *gay* without any part-of-speech selection. Once the 476 hits are manually disambiguated to discard those noun phrases in which *gay* is used as a leftmost noun in a compound (e.g. *gay bar*) or with an adjectival function (e.g. *gay person*), only 74 hits of *gay* (n.) are found. In all these instances, *gay* (n.) is used for mockery, exemplification of hate speech, or linguistic commentaries on the etymological use of *gay* over time. These compound nouns in which *gay* occurs, as suggested by Crespo Fernández, show a quasi-euphemistic value "in that they attract people's interest to the concept being talked about" (2018: 46).

Lexical units expressing pejorative meaning, as suggested above, constitute the most tangible means of linguistic derision or pejoration. Words, besides denoting a referent (i.e. object, person, action, notion, etc.), complement this referential function with expressive or evaluative realizations. This is particularly distinct in doublets (or sets) of words sharing the same referent, where one of the words is always neutral (or standard) and the other is depreciatory (Finkbeiner et al. 2016: 5):

an *old person* = a *boomer*
an *environmentalist* = a *tree-hugger* (or a *greenie*)
a *pedophile* = a *predator* (or a *chimo*)

The disparaging lexical components can be built on the basis of hilarity (e.g. *tree-hugger*, *boomer*) and/or metaphor/metonymy (e.g. *predator*, *greenie*).[9] Yet, not all referents (and their corresponding signifiers) are equally susceptible to pejoration; for instance, *pedophilia*, being a socially reprehensible crime, is expected to constitute a 'bad word' (or a pejorative) in itself, in any given context. So, either *predator* or *pedophile* is ethnopragmatically attributed to negative appraisal, although *predator* conveys a more explicit depreciatory evaluation than *pedophile*. The word *pedophile*, for instance, when used by psychiatrists who discuss this mental disorder, acquires a jargon status and a less subjective evaluation.

As opposed to socially condemned categories such as *pedophile*, other words are less obvious or explicit. Let us take the word *butcher*, which constitutes a standard name for a long-standing trade. The noun *butcher* might be subject to condemnation or negative appraisal by vegans, as shown in (15), where the words *vegan* and *butcher* express opposing notions. In a more paradigmatic line, *butcher* also makes up a lexical doublet of standard/negative realizations, as in the case of *surgeon/butcher*. In this doublet, *butcher* conveys a pejorative meaning of *surgeon*, as seen in (16), and it is used to express disapproval of a surgeon's performance. Various semantic traits (such as 'carelessly chopping meat' and 'aprons covered in blood'), which characterize the standard form of *butcher*, are negatively transposed into the pejorative unit. In actual fact, the semantics of *butcher* shows that the interplay of denotation and connotation is highly dependent on context and pragmatic force. As a result, two semantic pathways (or routes) are likely: one in which the standard word acquires negative connotations that qualify the same referent (e.g. *butcher* 'a dealer in meat'); and the other in which the standard word acquires negative connotations that qualify a different referent (e.g. 'a specialist who practices surgery'). Whilst the former is necessarily linked to the ethnographic beliefs of a speaker or a speech community towards a (standard) referent, the latter is based on the creation of a metaphorical (or metonymic) unit that is not restricted to ethnographic traits (i.e. anyone can use it to criticize a surgeon's performance).

(15) I'm greeted at the door by 34-year-old Mindaugas – Minda, for short. A BUTCHER turned radical vegan activist, he is tall and broad, with a warm smile that belies the quiet forcefulness of the personality beneath.
(*irishtimes.com*, Dec. 21, 2013)

(16) For one, the line that separates a qualified surgeon from a BUTCHER could be so slim when there is no professionalism. Even when professionalism abounds, other things can interfere to affect outcomes. (*guardian.ng*, Nov. 19, 2016)

9. Note that *predator* is not only used to describe pedophilic attitudes, but it also means "one who injures or exploits others for personal gain or profit" (MWD11).

Within a set of words denoting the same referent, a gradable perception of offensiveness is discernible among the words comprising the lexical set. Although the concept of perception here might evoke lack of objectivity, previous studies have measured the level of emotional distress in the use of semantically marked lexis, e.g. Bowers & Pleydell-Pearce's work on swear words and euphemisms (2011). This study in particular shows that verbal conditioning (i.e. phonological and morphological constituency) is associated with the heightened response to swear words. Such a response is not surprising; it actually explains the linguistic quest for phonologically similar forms (e.g. *shoot* < *shit* [exclamation of surprise]; *fax* < *fucks*) that make hearers and speakers feel less uneasy. A set of words, such as *pedophile*, *child molester*, *predator*, *chimo* (< *child molester*), *chester* (< *Chester the molester*), exemplifies how the use of orthophemism (*pedophile*) or dysphemism (*predator*) constitutes a gradable expression of a pejorative or taboo referent. Whilst an orthophemism is communicatively less threatening, a dysphemism is intended to intensify covert negative qualities that are not socially tolerated. In fact, there is a continuum from attenuation to offense, as argued by Allan & Burridge (2006). Between the two extreme points, there are also other axiological categories of taboo naming, not only orthophemism, which have been called quasi-euphemism and quasi-dysphemism because they stand "halfway between dysphemism and euphemism" (Crespo Fernández 2015: 46).

The notion of doublets consisting of a pejorative (e.g. *brownie*) and a non-derogatory term (e.g. *African-American*) is known as coreferentialism and is based on Vallée's assumption that "[i]f S is an ethnic slur in language L, then there is a non-derogatory expression G in L such that G and S have the same extension" (2014: 79). In short, a disparaging word and its neutral equivalent, generally its descriptor, are coreferential, where it is "the [non-disparaging] expression that picks out the supposed extension of the epithet but without expressing derogation towards members of that extension" (Hom 2008: 417). In a review of the so-called coreferential expressions, Croom (2015) provides evidence to show that pejorative slurs and non-derogatory terms are not coreferential with the same extension. For instance, by using a number of prototypical (and ranked) attributes for *nigger*: a^1 (X is African-American), a^2 (X is lazy) … a^{10} (X is loud and excessively noisy), Croom points out that 'African-American' is a more salient indicator than a^2 or a^{10}, which is termed as a conceptual anchor rather than a full non-derogatory expression, proving that *nigger* and *African-American* are not coreferential with the same extension (2015: 34–35).

1.4 A two-dimensional analysis of pejorative lexis

Being by-products of a semantic process, pejoratives should not be exclusively associated with lexical etymology in terms of understanding how words attain negative values over time. Pejoration should therefore be addressed from both diachronic and paradigmatic perspectives because that is the natural line of semantic events. From a diachronic standpoint, pejoration is defined as a type of semantic extension (homonymy or polysemy) that characterizes an existing lexical unit. This type of semantic development has an effect on denotational and connotational planes. For instance, according to the OED3, the earliest recorded sense of *abysmal* is "[o]f, relating to, or resembling an abyss; bottomless; profound; spec.: of, resembling, or relating to Hell; hellish" [1656–1976], which has coexisted during a limited time with "[o]f an exceptionally poor standard or quality; extremely bad, appalling" [1904–2010]. The latter sense is now used as a negative term to describe something of extremely bad quality. The semantic development undergone by *abysmal* is connected to the acquisition (or loss) of semantic categories that lead to homonymy or polysemy. Both senses show that there exists a relatively strict connection between the features of 'bottomless, dangerous, and profound' and those of 'appalling and bad quality', which furnishes proof of both the degree of semantic change and the attainment of negative connotations. The example of *abysmal* also proves that negative or pejorative connotation is naturally shaped to a word's original sense, which is even more evident in polysemous words that coexist at the moment, as in *fairy*. Traditionally used for a mythical creature possessing magic powers, *fairy* has also been adopted as a disparaging term for male homosexuals. In the process of semantic restriction through homonymy/polysemy, the metaphorical or metonymic transposition of referential traits plays an important role: some female and delicate features of a fairy have been disparagingly assigned to the male homosexual. Both *fairy* ('mythical creature') and *fairy* ('male homosexual') are attested in present English.

A paradigmatic perspective is linked to the existence of sets of words that are used for a single referent. For instance, *woman* and *bitch* are both used for [+female, adult, human]. The difference is purely connotational: *bitch* is an offensive term whereas *woman* is neutral (or standard). This standpoint is based on the notion that the referent (a woman) can be negatively perceived by members of a speech community, which explains the emergence of doublets (neutral/pejorative). In this case in particular, the meaning of *bitch* can be traced by both its synonymic relation to *woman* and the negative traits inherited through a speaker's appraisal. Besides, *bitch* ('a woman') is linguistically connected with *bitch* ('a female dog') through a process of semantic change or polysemy. Clearly, *bitch* is a materialization of the conceptual metaphor 'women are animals', which is the source of many dysphemistic labels to refer to women, and reflects heteronormative views of gender and sexuality and ultimately reinforces male dominance (Crespo Fernández 2015). In

contrast to the diachronic evolution of meaning (as in *abysmal*), the paradigmatic plane of pejoration in *bitch* and *fairy* depends on a series of extralinguistic traits that point to those aspects of *fairy* ('a mythical creature') and *bitch* ('a female dog') that are pejoratively used to denote a male homosexual and a woman respectively.

Thus, it can be seen that a semantic analysis of pejoration involves two dimensions or planes (see Figure 1.1): (a) a paradigmatic plane that describes how a depreciatory word (e.g. *bitch*) is connected to a referent and neutral (or standard) signifiers (e.g. *woman*), and (b) a diachronic plane in which a pejorative stems from a (not always) neutral etymon (e.g. *bitch* 'female dog').

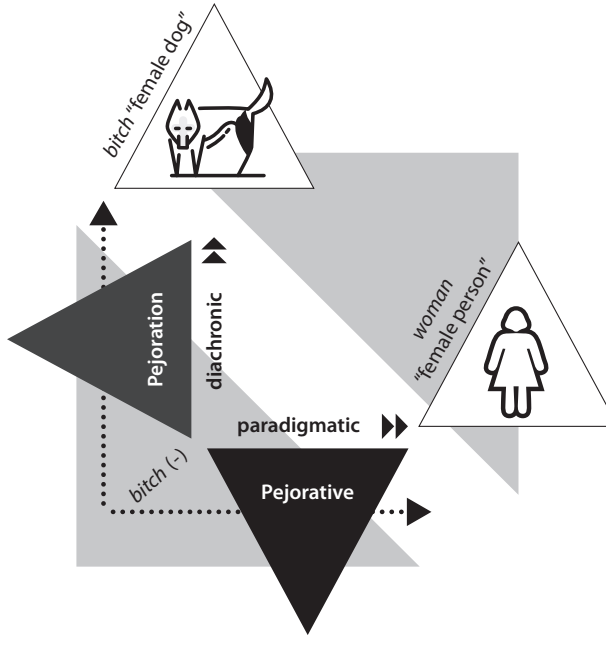

Figure 1.1 A two-dimensional analysis of the pejorative *bitch*

Both planes are based on semantic extension or change, but the diachronic plane frequently leads to referential modification, i.e. the new word (e.g. *bitch*) denotes a new referent ('a spiteful woman'). It is presupposed that paradigmatic changes trigger semantic restriction (or subreption) such as linguistic pejoration. In other words, *bitch* ('female, adult, human') would not exist if a woman (as a referent) were not regarded depreciatorily. The dissociation of these two planes is unnatural: a pejorative, e.g. *fairy* ('male homosexual'), encapsulates concurring semantic changes that originate from an existing unit (*fairy* 'mythical creature') and from a set of lexical units where the word in question constitutes a negative or offensive component (e.g. *fairy/gay*).

1.5 Pejoratives: What for?

Although the origin of pejoratives is closely linked to semantic development or extension, as shown in Section 1.4, offensive or contemptible language constitutes, no doubt, a linguistic means in the expression of one's negative attitude towards someone or something. This means that a pragmatic assessment of pejoration can help understand what motivates pejoratives in social interactions and conversational analysis. In examples (17a) and (17b), both predicates denote 'of French origin', which is examined as a type of conventional implicature (cf. Whiting 2013). This type of pragmatic implicature, originally referring to 'what is said' (Grice 1975), is generated in the utterance regardless of context, and it should be distinguished from conversational implicatures, which emerge from 'what is implied'. In (18), for instance, *froggie* implies that 'French people do not take showers' or that 'French people have poor personal hygiene'. The conversational implicature is only possible through contextual cues and illocutionary force.

(17) a. Fred is a Frenchman.
b. Fred is a FROGGIE.

(18) A: I did take a shower this morning, you know, I'm Canadian, not a FROGGIE.
B: A said he was not a FROGGIE; he takes showers regularly.

In a study of slurs, Bolinger (2017) identifies five general properties that can be adapted to all types of pejoratives: (a) offensive autonomy, (b) embedding failure, (c) perspective dependence, (d) offensive variation, and (e) insulation. The property of offensive autonomy implies that a pejorative is derogatory regardless of the speaker's intention. Embedding failure is manifest in the use of different forms of indirect formulas, as in the case of indirect speech, which is believed to be ineffective in capturing an original slur (Anderson & Lepore 2013: 31), as in (18), where B does not intend to cast aspersions on French people. Perspective dependence is based on truth-conditional semantics,[10] in that a pejorative connotes the idea that a speaker holds negative attitudes or beliefs. As such, (17b) shows that what is implied in the utterance suggests that not only does the speaker identify Fred's origin (or nationality), but in addition he or she connotes a negative appraisal (or contempt) towards the slur on Fred's ethnicity. However, a speaker does not always intend to imply such a derogatory perspective, and the use of a pejorative is interpreted as a humorous resource or a term of endearment. The connotational variability

10. Truth-conditional semantics is based on the principle of semantic competence as an expression of how language reflects the world. Accordingly, "[t]he semantic competence of a speaker–hearer is said to consist in his/her knowledge, for any sentence of his/her language, of how the world would have to be for that sentence to be true" (Carston 2003: n.p.).

clearly depends on conversational implicatures, which also has an effect on the next parameter: offensive variation. As suggested earlier in Section 1.4, slurs, and pejoratives in general, operate on a two-axis scale of offensiveness. One axis corresponds to the disparaging degree of a pejorative within a set of words (paradigmatic plane); for example, *nancy*, *sissy*, and *faggot* are not equally depreciatory. The other axis is related to contextual cues of pejoratives and the communicative intention of the utterance, e.g. *nigger* and *faggot* can be reappropriated by African-Americans and male homosexuals, respectively, to hallmark the cohesive nature of their speech communities, which is why these words have also been termed 'cohesive X-phemisms' (Crespo Fernández 2015, 2018). The connotative asymmetry that is established between *faggot* (used as a disparaging word) and *faggot* (used as a term of endearment), does not disclaim a principle of semantic awareness: "[f]ully to understand a word, one must have some awareness, however inexplicit, of the conventional implicatures that it generates" (Williamson 2009: 153).

The last parameter, insulation, is a complex one, for it underpins the inoffensive use of pejoratives through neutral contexts, in which a pejorative, for instance, is used in a context where the semantics of the word is specified (Bolinger 2017). If a hearer in (17b) asks what *froggie* means, and a different speaker asserts that "a *froggie* is a pejorative word for a French person", *froggie* is mentioned in a nonthreatening manner to explain its meaning, similar to the way dictionaries give detailed explanations in word entries. Insulation does not negate the fact that "no linguistic constructions containing a slur can insulate the speaker from properly being taken as the source of offensiveness" (Jeshion 2013: 248), but rather it distinguishes derogatory intentionality from natural awareness.

An example of insulation at the morphosyntactic level is the case of negative idioms that originate from ethnic slurs. These phrases are based on offensive stereotypes that are entrenched in the full semantics of constructions, as in *to gyp* (< short for *gypsy* 'to cheat') and *to jew down* ('to haggle'). What is interesting (and frequently claimed by users) is the fact that language choice is not intended to be derogatory when used in social interactions, owing to the detachment between ethnic etymology and current meaning/use. That is, these phrases are originally built on derogatory ethnic slurs (i.e. negative stereotyping), but their meanings seem to have lost direct connection with their referents. There is a semantic disassociation between etymon (*gypsy*) and sense ('to cheat') because the present-day sense does not refer to the original meaning of the etymon ('a member of the ethnic group'). It is in fact used to denote any act of trickery and deceitfulness, in which the ethnic origin of the cheater or trickster is not relevant. Consequently, if the word *to gyp* were only kept to disparagingly refer to Romani people, the word would probably be bound to hold a strong offensive connotation. In point of fact, unawareness of the originally offensive roots of the slur has caught many public figures off guard:

in 2014, for instance, Michelle Obama was criticized for using the verb *to gyp* in a TV interview, as shown in (19).

(19) "The first thing I tried to do, which was a mistake, was that I tried the part-time thing… I realized I was getting GYPPED on that front".
(Michelle Obama, *ABC News*, Jun. 22, 2014)

Pejoratives are generally associated with a speaker's evaluation of a referent, but they are also expressive means through which to convey a particular mood. The overall view seems to indicate that pejoratives are impolite. According to Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, speakers present a negative or positive face in social interactions. While positive face refers to an interlocutor's desire to have their personality accepted by others, negative face is defined as the interlocutors' desire to prevent their actions from being cramped or hindered. Therefore, positive impoliteness is bright-line when a positive face is threatened particularly in situations where interlocutors, for instance, are made to feel uncomfortable or act unsympathetically. The use of pejoratives encourages face-threatening acts, especially in contexts where social status or hierarchy is more noticeable, e.g. some pejorative terms are unthinkable in a teacher-student or a patient-doctor interaction. Hence, the degree of offensiveness expressed by a pejorative is not only dependent on its negative connotation but also on the situational context in which it is used.

As regards the degree of offensiveness, Tenchini & Frigerio (2020) itemize the reasons for pejoratives being impolite. The first is that pejoratives constitute expressions that speakers use to convey their negative attitude, e.g. disgust, contempt, anger, etc. Although positive face is clearly threatened through the act of rejecting or denigrating someone else's feelings and behavior, negative face can also be threatened because a speaker's expression of anger or verbal violence may trigger a hearer's feelings of fear and spatial exclusion (Tenchini & Frigerio 2020: 278–279). The second reason refers to the fact that excessive emotional load generates offense. Pejoratives are operational means to achieve such extreme expressivity because excessively negative loads are incompatible with standard interactions. Hence, in standard contexts a pejorative conveys an emotional state that can cause both fear in the addressee and a sense of the speaker's inability to control their emotions in a given situation (Tenchini & Frigerio 2020: 279). The third reason is that most of these pejorative terms or phrases are associated with vulgarity or marginalization, thus becoming threats to the addressee's negative face. To protect one's face, speakers opt for euphemistic words that avoid socially unconventional vulgar words when taboo topics are involved. Euphemisms do not express positive connotations: *child molester* and *street walker* are still socially condemned entities, but they are cover-ups of linguistically unaccepted vulgarities, i.e. *predator* (or *chimo*) and *whore* (or *prossie*) respectively. In Section 1.6.1, I offer an account of frequent euphemistic means that are used to neutralize the effect of pejoratives in speech.

1.6 Pejoration and X-phemisms

The identification of a pejorative meaning necessarily involves recognizing the communicative function of a word within an utterance. This function indicates whether a word is used to mitigate the semantic implications of a pejorative (euphemism), or it reinforces the derisive semantics of a referent by replacing a standard or agreeable word with a pejorative (dysphemism). In the following two subsections (1.6.1 and 1.6.2), I will examine the correlation between the concept of pejoration and those of euphemism and dysphemism.

1.6.1 Euphemisms as neutralizers of pejorative meaning

Euphemisms are traditionally linked to the theories of face and politeness, since they are referred to as linguistic alternatives to dispreferred expressions "in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offense, that of the audience, or of some third party" (Allan & Burridge 1991: 11). In other words, speakers opt for a euphemistic expression to mitigate linguistic taboos (or pejoratives) because they possess a desire "to be positively regarded in social context" (Crespo Fernández 2015: 45). To comply with the mitigation of offensive phrases, speakers and hearers both need to be aware of the social norms and pragmatic forces that a euphemistic unit conveys. Hence, when *freaking* is used instead of *fucking* as a type of intensifier, a speaker is mitigating the interdiction of *fucking* without sacrificing the expression of disapproval or anger for which intensifiers are meant. However, euphemisms are not necessarily standardized and they can even identify the community to which a speaker pertains because "[s]hared taboos and the rites and rituals that accompany our euphemistic behaviour increase group identity through feelings of distinctiveness; they strengthen the social fabric" (Burridge 2012: 70).

For example, teenagers are anthropologically acknowledged as speakers who feel the urge to create their own community and exclude unwished members (Eble 1996; Allen 1998; Smith 2011). This implies that there are specific linguistic formulas that are coined and popularized by teenagers in the expression of interdictive notions; for instance, the use of acronyms and initialisms on the social media, as in *lmao* < *laughing my ass off, gtfo* < *get the fuck out, hs* < *holy shit, af* < *as fuck*. Interestingly, however, and in contrary to popular belief, teenagers' computer-mediated communication is characterized by low use of abbreviations (Baron 2004; Tagliamonte & Denis 2008; Tagliamonte 2016), which might be due to their use of social media as channels of self-expression where they feel disinhibited and are allowed to have a fictional representation of self (Huffaker & Calvert 2005).

One type of euphemistic abbreviation which is particularly common in present-day English is the combination of an initialed base and a full base in a compound unit, in which the initialed one stands for the interdictive word, e.g. *a-hole* (< *asshole*). This construction is a kind of compound hybrid (i.e. initialism and compounding), in which the leftmost base is generally an initial, and the rightmost base, a full word. Similar to this hybrid template is the case of *-word* units, which are intended to neutralize the derisive nature of the leftmost base. The most popular example is *n-word* (< *nigger*) and the OED3 records five more examples: *c-word* (< *cunt*), *c-word* (< *cancer*), *f-word* (< *fuck*), *l-word* (< *liberal*), *y-word* (< *Yid* 'Jew'). This type of abbreviated compound resembles the insulation strategy (see Section 1.5), whereby a speaker implies that the leftmost bases represent socially interdicted notions (e.g. *liberal, cancer*), which have been abbreviated to soften instances of communicative derision.

An interesting (and also expected) feature of *-word* constructs is their high polysemy, for the initialed base can refer to multiple etymons. For instance, a quick search in the NOW Corpus shows 2,182 matching strings for *f-word*, and a total of 32 senses, as in *future* in (20), *feminist* in (21), *faggot* in (22), etc.[11] These examples show that whilst *-word* has a mitigating effect in *faggot*, it also denotes that the bases to which it is attached are controversial or hot-button in that context (e.g. *feminist, future*). So, *-word* is believed to have inherited the sense of linguistic interdiction (from *n-word*) to explicitly refer to standard topics that are contextualized as polemic.

(20) My sleeping schedule was off, and every time I heard, saw, or even thought of the dreaded F-WORD (future), I broke out in a cold sweat.
(*universitytimes.ie*, May 31, 2019)

(21) And Combs especially took issue with the fact that the new iteration of the beloved show was being described as a "fierce, funny, feminist reboot of the original series," mostly that final F-WORD: feminist.
(*eonline.com*, Oct. 18, 2012)

(22) We spoke about straight people using the F-WORD ("faggot") and decided it wasn't okay but another listener is wondering. (*thestranger.com*, Jul. 19, 2013)

11. Interestingly, the NOW Corpus shows 4,917 matching strings for *n-word*, but all of these forms stand for *nigger*, as opposed to the polysemous form *f-word*. This confirms that taboo is gradable and that some constructions are more politically incorrect than others. Therefore, the use of *n-word* for, say, *night* or *November*, as a conversational expletive is overtly interdicted because it constitutes a reminder of "the most offensive and inflammatory racial slur in English, a term expressive of hatred and bigotry" (MWD11).

1.6.2 Dysphemisms as enhancers of pejorative meaning

Dysphemism is conceptually integrated in the concept of pejoration. Both generate the notion that a semantic transition (from standard to negative) spawns interdiction, offensiveness, and discomfort. Dysphemism, defined as the process through which "most pejorative traits of the taboo are highlighted with an offensive aim to the addressee or to the concept itself" (Crespo Fernández 2008: 96), is a communicative realization of the evilization of language. In other words, pejoration constitutes a general semantic property that explains how a meaning is subject to negative connotations because it falls into what social standards class as taboo. The process of semantic 'worsening' is also present in dysphemistic words or expressions, but these are only pragmatically relevant when used as disparaging constituents of lexical doublets, e.g. *bitch* vs. *woman*, *reddie* vs. *communist*, etc. The words *bitch* and *reddie* are dysphemistic words (and also pejoratives) because of both their corresponding neutral or standard counterparts, and their logical developments, i.e. *bitch* ('female dog') → *bitch* ('woman') and *red* ('color') → *red* ('communist'). Dysphemism, as hinted at by the definition above, is based on the semantic property of lexical pejoration, and it is formally perceived through the communicative interplay of neutral and negative constituents. Thus, *bitch* is a dysphemistic word for 'woman' (and even more dysphemistic for 'man'), but not for 'female dog', because *bitch* activates a contrast between 'woman' and 'female dog', hence its offensive value. The metaphor here is the raw material of dysphemism.

However, limiting the statuses of pejoration and dysphemism as general and specific concepts respectively could be a dysfunctional means by which to distinguish these two processes. Dysphemistic words are based on the intensification of (socially) unacceptable traits by extrapolating representatively negative elements of the etymon (e.g. *bitch* 'female dog') to the dysphemistic term (e.g. *bitch* 'woman'). It is, then, reasonable to think that dysphemism, as a communicative strategy conceived to cause discomfort and offense in the interlocutor, triggers figurativeness through the conceptual metaphor theory (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980)[12] and the contemporary metaphor theory (cf. Lakoff 1993). The framework of the former reflects the interconnection between situational context and cognitive salience in the formation of dysphemisms. Cognitively speaking, some traits are salient in the (negative) conceptualization of figurative language, which means that some aspects are prioritized in the metaphorical structuring (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 10). The

12. The conceptual metaphor theory is based on the principle that a metaphor "is not just an aspect of language, but a fundamental part of human thought" (Gibbs 2011: 529). Hence, metaphorical language is conceptualized in a system of linguistic formulas that are universally used by interlocutors in speech.

contemporary metaphor theory, in contrast, reserves the term 'metaphor' for the conceptual mappings, rather than for the linguistic expressions (Lakoff 1993: 209). Accordingly, metaphors constitute cognitive devices that are reflected in the aspects of linguistic paradigmaticity (or regularities) and lexical innovation.

Both theories shed light on the process of pejoration because a vast number of pejoratives constitute conceptual metaphors, defined as "*understanding one domain of experience (that is typically abstract) in terms of another (that is typically concrete)*" (Kövecses 2017: 13, italics in the original). In the example of *a woman is a bitch*, salient (or priority) attributes of *bitch* (concrete or source domain) are transposed onto *woman* (abstract or target domain). Pejoratives that are conceptual metaphors stem from complex cognitive and cultural considerations (Langacker 1997: 241) as, not all attributes are associated with offensive attitudes. The way pejoration connects with pragmatic and socio-cultural aspects shows that its traditional concept of solely being a type of semantic process is far from the reality. While semantic change evinces the nature of pejoration (i.e. negative words that originate from neutral or positive words), the transition is necessarily upheld by communicative strategies (e.g. dysphemism), socio-cultural notions (e.g. conceptualization of taboo), or linguistic formulation (e.g. conceptual metaphors).

1.7 Pejoration and slang

Pejoration should not be confused with marginalization, slang creation, or colloquialisms. Not all slang words are meant to offend or to cause discomfort in their interlocutors, which explains why slang words are not dysphemistic per se but quasi-euphemisms whose function is to display group solidarity, cohesiveness, etc. Their primary function is to cohere speech communities and to reinforce social identity (Eble 1996: 11). This function does not contradict the fact that most slang users are associated with marginalized groups. However, these groups are not marginalized by language itself, but by social standards. For instance, prison inmates and prostitutes, which constitute breeding ground for cohesive X-phemism, pertain to socially marginalized groups, whose identificatory speech is tagged as slang. However, some pejoratives can be used by a particular social group owing to the marginalized field they are associated with. For instance, while *lezzo*, *gaybo*, and *faggot* are frequently used by homophobes, *Frenchie*, *Russki*, and *Wetback* are disparagingly used by xenophobes. When pejoratives become distinctive or identificatory words of a speech community, they can therefore be considered slang. This means that pejoration and marginalization are different categories that can overlap depending on context use and social demarcation.

Although 'slang' and 'colloquial' are used interchangeably for less standard language, the latter is not necessarily associated with a speech community. Both types of nonstandard words are characterized by being placed below the level of stylistically neutral language use (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 69). Colloquialisms such as *telly* (< *television*) and *booze* ('alcoholic drink') are hardly evidence for group togetherness or cohesion. However, slang words can be imported by non-members of the speech community, and hence be adopted as a non-standard, colloquial unit. Like slang words, colloquialisms should not be strictly identified as pejoratives. For example, whilst the words *jerk* and *asshole* are colloquial pejoratives for an idiotic person, *notorious* ("widely and unfavorably known", MWD11) is a standard pejorative. That is, *notorious* has undergone a process of semantic depreciation (i.e. pejoration), but its register has not been affected. Because of the terminological blur that characterizes the concepts of slang and colloquialism, this book does not seek to make a conceptual distinction between them. Therefore, in general throughout this work, the terms 'nonstandard' or 'marginal' language are preferred over 'slang' or 'colloquial', the latter two terms being left to discussion of pejoratives as communicative means of group identification.

Slang or colloquial words, including those used as pejoratives, are usually characterized by metaphorical or metonymic extension (Mattiello 2005), which generates new meanings and more semantic opacity. There is a correlation between the degree of offensiveness and that of semantic transparency: words such as *bumbaclot*, *dinlo*, *gobbin*, *meff*, *pranny*[13] (used for 'a stupid person') are perceived as less offensive because they are less transparent in the eyes of the standard beholder (Mattiello 2005: 18). Depreciatory slang words are, therefore, coined after going through standard word-formation processes (see Chapter 2 for more examples), but their newness is attributed to the need for cryptic innovation (cf. Davie 2018). Lexical crypticism guarantees covert social cohesion and less offensive illocutionary force. Regardless of the derogatory value informed by context and communicative force, if a pejorative is unknown to the addressee, there is less chance of the pejorative sounding as offensive as it is originally intended to be. This general rule implies that pejoratives, because of their strong negative evaluation, are felt depreciatory as long as both interlocutors are aware of their degree of offensiveness or interdiction.

13. These examples are taken from Mattiello (2005: 18).

1.8 Pejoratives and the conceptualization of taboo

Pejoratives can be seen in the form of intensifiers (*bloody*), slurs (*Paki*), curse words (*fuck*), or evaluative content words (*obnoxious*). All these different subtypes have in common the expression of negative qualities, but these negative connotations are not limited to the lexical semantic plane. A word is a pejorative if the properties that it conveys are felt as negative by speech community members. But the question here lies in determining what is meant by 'negative'. A negative meaning can be related, for instance, to what is culturally and socially regarded as taboo, either as a general notion or as a linguistic unit. The notion of taboo refers to the interdiction of objects, ideas, and behaviors that are interpreted as injurious or damaging for moral, religious, or socio-cultural reasons, whilst linguistic taboo relates to a "word or phrase to be avoided in public discourse because of the restrictions imposed by taboos" (Crespo Fernández 2008: 96, footnote 2). Also, a distinction is occasionally made between what is profane (profanity, malediction, perjury, blasphemy) and what is taboo (obscenity, foul language, ethnic slurs). Although both types of notion are socially unacceptable, the latter is purely secular and has no sacred equivalent (Hughes 2006: xv-xvi).

Pejoratives are, then, conventionally acknowledged as offensive or reprehensible, particularly when the pejorative directly relates to one of the interlocutors, and it is also expected to arouse general discomfort and uneasiness. For example, *whitey* ('white person') or *dozo* ('a fool') are clearly defined as pejoratives because they refer to properties of humans that arouse the feelings of displeasure (i.e. race and lack of intelligence, respectively). In the case of *cunt* ('vagina') and *cum* ('semen'), these are dysphemistic ways of referring to sex-related units. As opposed to *whitey* and *dozo*, these sex-related words are not intended to disparagingly refer to interlocutors; yet, they are still pejoratives because they may cause discomfort and annoyance. The degree of offensiveness sometimes boils down to a question of context. For instance, these sex-related words may be used in male heterosexual pornography as the preferred alternative because this is a 'male' context that reinforces and welcomes certain terms which in other contexts would be totally inappropriate and dispreferred.

Therefore, one of the difficulties that is frequently encountered in the examination of the extralinguistic plane of pejoration is that it also involves other social-cognitive factors such as cultural framework and the conceptualization of taboo through discourse (Casas Gómez 2018). In this vein, the conceptualization of taboo words (e.g. swearwords, invectives, or pejoratives) is generally ambivalent, that is moving from what is completely negative (or interdictive) to what comes across as humorously justified (Drößiger 2017: 214–215). In particular, ethnic slurs

can be especially damaging and offensive in contemporary societies, and their use is characterized by various situational contexts. Bartlett et al. have managed to identify six different categories that demonstrate the ambivalence of ethnic slurs in discourse: (a) negative stereotypical attitude, (b) casual use of slurs, (c) targeted abuse, (d) appropriated use, (e) non-derogatory function, and (f) offline action (2014: 24–25). An interesting finding of this same study was that most slurs are used for the sake of in-group cohesion or non-derogatory description (Bartlett et al. 2014: 7; Technau 2018: 32), and not necessarily to cause discomfort in or harm to the addressee. Therefore, it is clear that the ultimate semantics of slurs, or pejoratives in general, depends on their discursive uses or contextualized forms (Hom 2008). Although clear-cut pejorative terms, such as *cunt* or *homo*, are tagged in dictionaries as 'offensive', 'pejorative', or 'disparaging' (e.g. MWD11, OED3), their speech output semantics is not exclusively linked to a pejorative function, as illustrated in (23). In this excerpt, extracted from the TV show *Will & Grace*, frequently-used terms of address, such as *homo* or *queer*, are reclaimed by the script writers to portray the identities of a group of friends, although the show has also been criticized for using an array of stereotyped gay-related language and attitudes (cf. Mitchell 2005). The truth is that offensive terms of address are commonly reclaimed by social group members to delimit their group cohesion and camaraderie. In other words, these slurs or terms of address "are not a necessary feature of hate speech, neither is hate a necessary feature of all modes of use" (Technau 2018: 39).

(23) [Karen introduces Grace, Will, Jack, and Elliot to Milo] Karen: And this is Red, HOMO, HOMO, and Boy. (*Will & Grace*, 2003)

How neutral words are reconducted towards a negative axiology might also depend on the way users reappropriate them to denote taboo. This reappropriation process does not consist in taking an existing signifier and assigning it to an interdicted referent. Instead, words might undergo a semantic shift that reflects how their connotational value is being, or has been, shaped through the extralinguistic perception of referents. If there were communicative consensus among users on negative or taboo values, the signifier would necessarily move into the negative side of semantics, thus entailing a neutral-negative operation. Communicative consensus, or common grounding (Brennan 1998), is utterly predictable when referents have been traditionally part of taboo or interdicted topics (e.g. sex, homosexuality, ethnicity) within the same cultural framework. At times, pejoration can be rather unpredictable because neutral or positive words are used in contexts where a taboo topic unfolds. For instance, the adjective *flattering* in fashion has been associated with garments that make people look attractive, which at first sight indicates a positive connotation. However, as claimed by journalist Carner-Morley (2020),

activists are currently striving to remind *f-word* (*f* standing for *flattering*)[14] users that the word is a compliment on women getting thinner, that is on their tummies getting *flatter*. Being acknowledged as a lexical means of "passive-aggressive body-policing" (Carner-Morley 2020: n.p.), *flattering* has become a pejorative term because it is associated with (unacceptable) weight standards.

Another example of how pejorative meaning is cognitively and socially conceptualized is the use of the race slur *colored* (or *coloured* in BrE) in the US and the UK. Although this lexical unit has been tagged as 'offensive' and 'old-fashioned' in dictionaries (e.g. MWD11, OED3), its degree of offensiveness is limited by how the word is generally perceived by users of different English varieties. Still acknowledged by older British generations as a euphemistic expression for black people, *colored* has become less and less accepted and *black* certainly has gained ground at the end of the 20th century, for the term *black*, as suggested by Lewis & Phoenix, is no more insulting than *white* and is preferable to the euphemistic *colored* (2004: 118). Demarcating social stances or positions is a process that is reflected in language and in how members of a social group lean towards one term or another. For instance, in Britain, black people "have claimed the word 'black' as a political term to demarcate a collective position and rejected the term 'coloured' as the language used by the dominating group to describe them" (Williams et al. 1998: 17). In this sense, *black* and *colored* are lexical representations of two historically antagonistic groups: ethnic minority and white supremacist.

In recent years, the British actor Benedict Cumberbatch apologized for using the word *colored* to refer to black actors, which might be interpreted by the British audience as something that our grandparents might say (Butterly 2015: n.p.). In the US, on the other hand, *colored* encapsulates a painful ethnic transgression, for it is a reminder of times of racial segregation. Hence, to understand the pejorative constructs of *colored* in the US, one needs to go beyond the implications of etymons (e.g. *color-*) and word choice; for instance, the historical use of *colored* by an oppressive legal apparatus that suppressed the rights of the black community by imposing segregation laws. Nevertheless, the expression *person of color* (or *colour*) has gone along a different semantic path as it seems to still be used as a euphemistic (or politically correct) device for 'a non-white person' in the UK, as demonstrated in examples (24) and (25). This is also reflected in the COD23 entry for *person of colour* (i.e. "someone who does not consider themselves to be white"), where the expression is not tagged as offensive or dated.

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14. Note that *f-word* has also been coined in this case based on analogy with the oft-quoted *f-word* (*f* standing for *fuck*), which intensifies the interdictive value of *flattering* in context. For more information on *-word* constructs, see Section 1.6.1.

(24) When you're a pop culture-loving PERSON OF COLOUR you learn to take the character wins where you can, but on Game of Thrones the losses just keep piling up. (*The Guardian*, May 6, 2019)

(25) A Vancouver high school student who created a racist video in 2018 that targeted Black people later lived with a PERSON OF COLOUR in the United States for two weeks as part of his effort to atone for his actions. (*Richmond News*, Jun. 29, 2020)

In the US, the spread or reappropriation of *person of color* (or its abbreviated form *POC*) is a more complex issue. Through an examination of mainstream and black newspapers, Pérez (2020) has found that (a) the term was used (or reappropriated) by black journalists long before mainstream reporters did the same, and that (b) it is also used to refer to non-black minorities, such as Latinos or Asians. Hence, *person of color* or *POC* is a self-denomination that allows for "viewing oneself as an interchangeable member of a shared group, where one's unique identity as black, Asian or Latino is nested under a broader POC category" (Pérez 2020: n.p.).

These examples of ethnic and race slurs (e.g. *colored*) and beauty terms (e.g. *flattering*) reflect the overall notion that the conceptualization of taboo is a sociolinguistic process. Taboo, originally being a social construct, is represented by an endless series of words, many of which are acknowledged as pejoratives. A pejorative inherits the negative axiology of its semantics from the interdicted concept to which the pejorative refers: *prostitute*, *street walker*, and *whore* are pejoratives because prostitution is generally regarded as taboo. The need to attenuate the degree of offensiveness that taboo topics such as prostitution generate, leads to multiple lexico-semantic mechanisms with frequently covert interdiction. Taboo, then, works as a linguistic trigger to lexical innovation and neologism, for it "provides a fertile seedbed for words to flourish – and the more potent the taboo, the richer the growth" (Burridge 2004: 212).

CHAPTER 2

How pejoratives are made

There is no one and single word-formation process that is exclusively involved in the making of pejoratives. The variety of examples found in descriptive dictionaries and corpora demonstrates that (a) some processes seem to be more strongly implicated in pejoration or marginalization, e.g. clipping as in *lez* (< *lesbian*) and *commie* (< *communist*), and (b) some others are otherwise motivated by the processes of semantic appreciation (or amelioration), e.g. initialism (or alphabetism) as in *gtfo* < *get the fuck out*. This section is intended to illustrate how pejoratives are not morphologically limited to one process, as well as to examine the role of sense restriction in the process of semantic depreciation.

2.1 Compounding

Owing to the interdictive nature of pejoration, particularly in the case of slurs (or ethnic expletives), compounds can be morphosemantically opaque, as in *Red Sea pedestrian* 'Jew' and *bog-trotter* 'Irish'. This lack of transparency does not, however, necessarily imply that pejorative words are impossible to decode without situational context. In fact, some compounds, especially those with "a sort of argumentative relationship between constituents" (Lieber 2009: 359), might show higher degree of semantic transparency. For instance, in comparison to *bog-trotter*, the slur *lager lout* (also meaning 'Irish') is less opaque because it is entrenched with two features that are offensively and stereotypically used to denote an Irishman: 'being a heavy drinker' and 'brutish'.

Compound pejoratives are, for this reason, generally exocentric, which Marchand characterizes as being forms in which the determinatum is "implicitly understood but not formally expressed", and hence "lies outside the combination" (1969: 11).[15]

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15. According to Lipka, a compound of the type X_1X_2 is made up of a "determinant" (X_1), or qualifying base, and a "determinatum" (X_2), or compound nucleus, and the type of relation that is established between them can be summarized as follows: determinants specify the typology of determinatums, whereas determinatums constitute a type of hypernym of the two elements combined (2002: 96). For instance, in *boy whore* ('a male prostitute'), *whore* represents the determinatum or nucleus, and *boy* specifies (or qualifies) the type of *whore* the compound conveys.

Bearing in mind that opacity is important in the expression of offensiveness, it is understandable that targets of pejoratives are excluded from the complex unit. The explicit form is then made implicit through interdiction and taboo. Exocentric compounds expressing pejoration constitute an example of the conceptualization of taboo because interdictive topics are then expressed through figurativeness. Pejorative endocentric compounds, whilst being less frequent, are more direct and tend to have a less humorous motivation, e.g. *dumb blonde* ('a blonde woman who is considered attractive but not very clever') and *village idiot* ('someone who is considered an idiot, especially in a small town').

Most offensive (or derogatory) compounds are nouns, and they generally make reference to wit (or lack thereof), gender, ethnicity, origin, race, disability, or addictions, as in *dipshit* ('a fool'), *black velvet* ('a black person'), *chili-eater* ('a Mexican'), and *basket case* ('a disabled person whose four limbs have been amputated'). As mentioned earlier, the aspect of offensiveness is achieved through metaphorical encoding and figurativeness, through which users resort to visible properties (e.g. 'black') as well as implicit (or stereotype-based) ones (e.g. 'chili', 'basket').

As regards the grammatical relations between bases, and following Bisetto & Scalise's (2005)[16] classification of compounds, most pejoratives show a subordinate type of relation, in which rightmost heads are nouns. Compound heads can be simplex or complex. Complex ones are generally suffixed deverbal nouns such as *mouth breather* ('a fool'), *chili-eater*, *bog-trotter*, etc. The nominalizing effect of *-er* also leads to a more transparent connection between the output semantics of compounds ([someone who is disparagingly characterized by being X]) and the trait of [+human]. Hence, *-breather* and *-head*, as in *mouth breather* and *bonehead*, show dissimilar morphological transparency, the former being less opaque than the latter. The association of *-head* and [+human] comes about through the process of synecdoche (i.e. the head represents a person).[17]

Deverbal nouns acting as heads (or nucleus) in compounds, e.g. *ballkicker*, *asskisser*, *manhater*, etc., are best described by the concept of argumental compounding, in which the head is argument-taking, e.g. in *manhater*, the base *man-* is the object of deverbal noun *-hater* (object referencing). The result of this type of

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16. Bisetto & Scalise's (2005) classification of compounds is based on the syntactic relation of components (or bases), and compounds are accordingly classed as subordinate, attributive, and coordinate. In the case of subordinates, both components or bases are related through a head-complement construction, e.g. *barfly* ('a drunk'): *bar* (location) is the complement of *fly*. Attributives consist of nominal heads that are frequently modified by adjectives, e.g. *black velvet*. Coordinative compounds are the least common; they are characterized by two heads, as in *milktoast* ('a wimp').

17. Although *-head* is used here to exemplify the property of semantic opacity in exocentricity, it is in fact acknowledged as a type of combining form in Section 6.2.

compounding in particular has been termed affixal argumental compound (Bauer et al. 2015: 466–467), and as expected, these forms are not limited to one argument structure because the syntactic relation that is established between both components is dependent on the verbal nature of the rightmost element. In an updated proposal of their model, Scalise & Bisetto (2009) draw on the deverbal nature of heads in subordinate compounds to make a distinction between the categories of ground, as in *village idiot* and *four-eyes*, and of verbal-nexus, as in *manhater* and *nosebleed* 'someone who is irritating'. This classification (see Figure 2.1) opens up new interpretations of compounds that include both their syntactic relations and semantic transparency (i.e. endocentric or exocentric compounds).

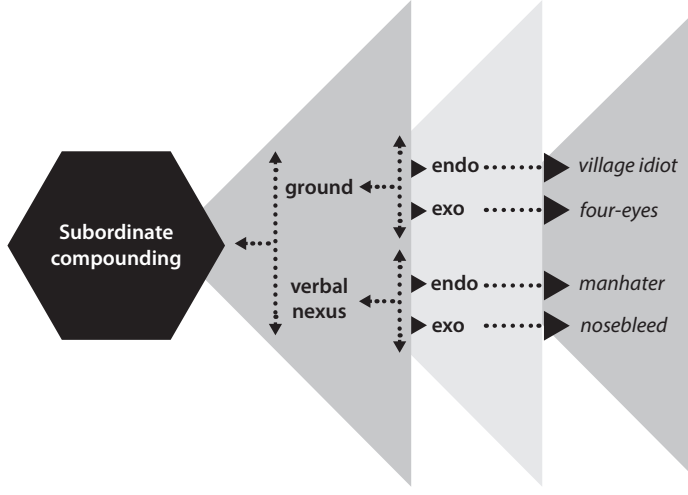

Figure 2.1 Types of subordinate compound according to Scalise & Bisetto's (2009: 50) general classification

One type in particular, a ground exocentric subordinate, consists of phrases that are frequently hyphenated, e.g. a *four-eyes* ('a nerd'), a *cloth-ears* ('a hearing-impaired person'). They are not affixal and their syntactic construction and semantic compositionality are more transparent than verbal-nexus compounds. Similarly, expressions that originate from rhyming slang constitute a more complex type of compound. Rhyming slang has been traditionally regarded as a word-formation category in which "an expression, typically a double-stressed phrase, takes on the meaning of a word with which it rhymes" (Lillo Buades 2018: 688); for instance, *bubble and squeak* ('Greek'), *five-to-two* ('Jew'), and *twist and twirl* ('girl'). The intricacy of these expressions resides in the combination of phonological and morphological features that take as their point of reference an outside element, as in 'Greek', 'Jew', or 'girl'.

2.1.1 Blends

Lexical blends, conventionally classed as types of compounding or of non-affixational derivation (Plag 2018: 13), are regularly acknowledged as a source of problematic categorization. For instance, morphologically speaking, there is no agreement on whether blending is characterized by one or two clipped bases (Renner et al. 2012: 3). For example, while *ikeymo* (< *ikey* [< *Isaac*] + *Mo*[*ses*], 'Jew') and *bohunk* (< *bo*[*hemian*] + *hun*[*garian*], 'someone from Central Europe') are compounds where both bases are clipped, *hindiot* (*Hindi* + [*idi*]*ot*) and *tardbaby* (< [*re*]*tard*[*ed*] + *baby*) confirm that only one base can be clipped. Both types of blending have in common the recognizability of each of their constituents, where their morphological and phonological clusters are structurally integrated, insofar as hearers are able to identify the lexemes. The degree and typology of integration depends on a series of factors, which are generally located at the phonological and the morphological levels (see Table 2.1). Therefore, the output structure of blends shows a reduction in transparency (or recognizability) "while retaining an optimal form for it" (Tomić 2019: n.p.). Although a common morphological paradigm originates from the initial part of the first word and the final part of the second component, there is a constant violation of morphological and grammatical rules (Tomić 2019).

Table 2.1 Formation patterns of blends, adapted from Tomić (2019: n.p.)

Type of blend	Definition	Examples
AB + CD = AD	The first part of the first base is blended with the second part of the rightmost etymon.	*Koreegro* (*Korean* + *negro*) *neek* (*nerd* + *geek*)
AB + CD = ABD	The leftmost base is blended with the second part of the rightmost etymon.	*craptard* (*crap* + *retard*) *mangina* (*man* + *vagina*)
AB + CD = ACD	The first part of the leftmost base is blended with the full rightmost etymon.	*grape* (*gang* + *rape*) *sorowhore* (*sorority* + *whore*)
AB + CD = ACB, ADB, ABC	Either part of the rightmost base is inserted within the part of the leftmost etymon.	*cadazy* (*crazy* + *mad*) *yestergay* (*yesterday* + *gay*)
AB + CD = ACD or ABD (B = C)	Due to morphophonological overlapping, the origin of the linking cluster is unclear.	*requestion* (*request* + *question*)
AB + CD = AC	The first part of the leftmost etymon is blended with the first part of the rightmost etymon (parallel blend).	*smim* (*spastic* + *mimic*)
AB + CcD = ABc	The full leftmost etymon is blended with the middle part of the rightmost etymon.	*shegarry* (*sherry* + *carry-on*)
AB + CD = CAD	The first part of the leftmost etymon is inserted within the rightmost base.	*slock* (*sock* + *slug*)
AB + CD = BD	The second part of the leftmost etymon is blended with the second part of the rightmost etymon.	*Vaalie* (*Transvaal* + *japie*)

What all these examples also confirm, regardless of the number of clipped bases involved in the formation of the blend, is that a new word is created out of two existing concepts and that traditional rules of compounding are not applied (Dressler 2000: 5). A blend is, therefore, the product of semantic maximization (two concepts/referents in one) that is guaranteed by an optimal fusion, in which certain specific morphophonological and prosodic features are strategically resorted to (Mattiello 2013; Olsen 2014). One morphological outcome of this multilevel accommodation is the formation of 'splinters' (Bauer 2004), which are non-morphemic fragments of a word that are believed to be bound. An interesting feature of splinters is their process of semantic specialization, through which a clipped base becomes highly combinatory, to the extent that all semantic attachments to the original etymon are lost. For instance, -(*a*)*holic* means 'in excess' in *shopaholic* and *workaholic*, but it detaches from the referent 'alcohol' as expressed in *alcoholic*. The process of monosemantization is believed to emerge, at a preliminary stage, from the blend between -(*a*)*holic* and a full base, in which the meaning of -(*a*)*holic* is not yet restricted. As -(*a*)*holic* keeps attaching to (frequently nominal) bases, its combinatorial pattern leads to a gain of rather suffixal attributes.[18]

Two more examples of splinters are *-wog* ('someone who is a foreigner') and *-tard* ('someone who is very stupid'), which originate from *golliwog* and *retard* respectively. The splinters (as in *clogwog* and *fucktard*) under question show two different degrees of semantic restrictions: while *-wog* imports the features of 'black' and 'human' from *golliwog*,[19] *-tard* retains the full semantics of *retard*. Hence, a highly combinatorial pattern does not necessarily lead to semantic specialization. In the case of *-tard*, its position in a blend is more variable than *-wog*, for it can be used as a leftmost component (e.g. *tardbaby*) or a rightmost one (e.g. *freetard*, *fucktard*, *craptard*). This difference, perhaps on analogy with compounding, depends on the property of headedness. In his analysis of slang blends, Tomić (2019) finds that most of the blends he scrutinized are morphosyntactically right-headed, which frequently coincides with the general sense of a blend. For instance, in *clogwog* and *freetard*, *-wog* and *-tard* constitute the heads of the blend formations as they are semantically restricted to 'someone', which is also represented in the output semantics of the full words.

The property of semantic specialization (or monosemantization) is not exclusive to splinters and blend formations, it is also associated with the so-called

18. For more information on the combining form *-holic*, see Section 4.3.

19. A *golliwog* literally means "a type of black rag doll with exaggerated features and colorful clothing that was formerly popular as a children's toy in Britain and Australia" (MWD11).

semi-affixes (as well as combining forms)[20] and specific types of compound bases which are highly combinatory. Let us take the example of *-porn* to illustrate the process of semantic detachment. Popularized through the compound *food porn*, which refers to the excessive posting of food-related imagery online, the current semantics of *-porn* ('the excessive act of showing or gazing at provocative and luscious imagery of something') is construed upon the original meaning of *porn* ('pornographic film'). The curious thing about *-porn* is that it can combine with an array of bases, and under normal circumstances this combination would arouse sexual connotation. For instances, *pet porn* can refer to either bestiality or an excessive display of funny and humanlike pictures of pets (Sánchez Fajardo 2018: 148). Also, units such as *house porn*, as in (1), and *poverty porn*, as in (2), are used in the press to belittle some types of audiovisual production. As such, the nonsexual unit *-porn* is characterized by semantic restriction, which causes the unit to rarely occur in isolation: the phrase **the porn of food* (or *pets*) is impossible in English.[21]

(1) From a purely aesthetic level, she and husband Perry (Alexander Skarsgard) win hottest couple, though their marriage is clearly bad news bears. And hi, did you see that house? (Are you sensing a theme here? [Big Little Lies] is total HOUSE PORN.) (*eonline.com*, Feb. 19, 2017)

(2) She recommended I read "Hillbilly Elegy" – the best-selling book that has been criticized by those living in Appalachia as glorified POVERTY PORN promoting simplistic stereotypes about a diverse region. (*nytimes.com*, Nov. 19, 2020)

Pejorative blends are not, though, necessarily characterized by clipped bases. In the case of lexical puns and orthographic adaptations, as in *Brag Pitt* in (3) and *Amerikkka* in (4) respectively, both original concepts are intertwined without losing any part of their morphological materials. While in (3) the base *Brad-* is replaced by *brag* in the form of a pun, in (4) *-kkk-* is used to alter the graphemic template of *America*. In both examples, one of the units (i.e. *brag* and *kkk*) is meant to generate pejoration, causing the other base to undergo a depreciation of its output semantics: *Brad Pitt* → 'a show off', *America* → 'a country with racist confrontations'.

(3) Get it? It's a *Brad* Pitt reference, but because he's bragging, he called him BRAG PITT. I suppose it could have been worse, the guy could have been balling like Shawn *Brag*ley. (*djbooth.net*, Aug. 27, 2018)

20. Since combining forms are an essential object of study in this book, they are further described in Section 2.2.1.

21. The combining form *-porn* is further discussed in Section 4.6.

(4) You cannot run from AMERIKKKA, her hands reach far. Keep in mind AMERIKKKA manipulates and dictates policy in many foreign countries. Furthermore, many other countries as have adopted AMERIKKKA's flawed principles as their own. (Starr Child, *Journeyz in the 4th Dimension: A Collection of Thoughts & Essays on Life, God and the Beyond*, 2017, p. 26)

2.2 Affixation

The process of affixation, particularly that of suffixation, constitutes the gist of this book. Affixation, also known as derivation, is a major word-formation process by means of which a complex word is formed by attaching at least one derivational affix to a lexical base.[22] Derivational suffixes are generally accountable for both category-changing and semantic reconfiguration. Accordingly, the vast majority of suffixes in English often change the part of speech of the bases to which they are attached, e.g. *waste* (v.) > *wastrel* (n.). Also, suffixes are believed to possess "some inherent meaning that, together with the meaning of the base, generates the meaning of the derived word" (Plag 2018: 84). Hence, a suffix constitutes a morphological unit whose meaning only becomes operational when attached to a lexical base, which explains why they are generally characterized as bound. This property of boundness indicates that suffixes (a) are dependent on the input semantics of bases, and (b) are systematically used to denote specific senses. Suffixation is therefore a paradigmatic process whereby sets of same-suffixed derivatives are believed to embed suffixes with specific semantic characteristics; for instance:

-o (*fatso, weirdo, sicko*) ↔ [one who is negatively characterized by being X_{Adj}]
-ard (*sluggard, laggard, stinkard*) ↔ [one who X-s_v excessively]

The connection between derivational patterns (or paradigms) and morphological semantics can be better understood through the way evaluative meanings are conveyed and interpreted (or decoded) by proficient users; for instance, *-ard* as in *laggard* and *sluggard*, is not only interpreted as [someone who X-s_V excessively] but is also associated with offensiveness because *-ard* derivatives are disparaging terms at the pragmatic level. Evaluative morphology, in particular pejorative suffixation, represents an excellent opportunity to explore the intersection of morphology, pragmatics, and cognition, since evaluative suffixes "can be organised in recurrent and regular networks of semantic and pragmatic relations" (Grandi & Körtvélyessy

22. The concept of 'base' is preferred over root or stem in the description of suffixed derivatives because it refers to any morphological element (regardless of the number of their roots) "to which other elements are added in the creation of words" (Bauer et al. 2015: 18).

2015: 5). However, evaluative suffixes, such as *-ard*, *-ie*, or *-o*, are no different from non-evaluative suffixes (e.g. *-ment* as in *establishment*, *-ship* as in *leadership*) in the expression of denotative meaning. Both types of suffixes constitute a semantic nexus that connects the input semantics of a base with the output semantics of the derivative; for example, the nominal base *leader-* (in *leadership*) and the adjectival base *old-* (in *oldie*) are connected through the semantic schemas [the capacity of being X_N] and [one who is regarded as X_{Adj}], respectively. The schemas are useful to systematically relate bases and derivatives, but in the case of *oldie*, the schema is rather incomplete: [one who is *disparagingly* regarded as X_{Adj}] conveys a sense that truly conforms to the evaluative semantics of *oldie*. But this amendment only applies to one of the senses of *oldie*. In the case of 'an old movie (or film)', the semantic schema [something that is regarded as X_{Adj}] is best suited, thereby clearly demonstrating the property of polysemy of suffixes and how it arises from the base (Plag 2018: 84).

Another example of suffixal polysemy, which is also discussed in the sections to follow, is the case of *-ist* nominalizations, such as *unionist, novelist, ageist, and cyclist*. Although they are generally denominal derivatives (except for *cyclist*), the input semantics of their bases (*union-, novel-*, and *age-*) necessarily leads to various schemas of the suffix *-ist*: [one who belongs to X_N] as in *unionist*, [one that produces X_N] as in *novelist*, and [one that discriminates on the basis of X_N] as in *ageist*. While *unionist* and *novelist* can be negatively used in certain communicative instances, *ageist* constitutes a pejorative word regardless of the situational context in which it is used. A closer look into the senses of *unionist, novelist*, and *ageist*, shows that there is a correlation between the input semantics of the base and the output sense of affixed nouns (see Figure 2.2).

Semantic variation of lexical bases (e.g. from neutral/positive to negative) is not homogeneous to all suffixes. The degree to which a suffix shows more evaluation-arousing traits depends on the nature of the base. For instance, in cases such as *Frenchie* ('a French person'), *specky* ('one who wears glasses'), or *poetaster* ('one who pretends to be a poet'), the lexical bases (i.e. *French-*, *spec*[*tacles*]*-*, *poet-*) are not offensive terms, but the output sense of the derivatives is clearly derisive; however, the bases are less ambivalent (i.e. negative → negative) in *drunkard, junkie*, or *prossie*. These two subsets of disparaging derivatives demonstrate that the evaluative nature of suffixes in pejoration is a gradable property, and units such as *-o* (*weirdo*), *-ie* (*lezzie*), *-ard* (*drunkard*), *-later* (*bibliolater*), *-oid* (*intellectualoid*), *-ish* (*apish*), and *-head* (*airhead*) can shed light on the morphosemantic and pragmatic properties of four of the subsets into which this book divides pejoratives: the diminution-based, the excess-based, the resemblance-based, and the metonymization-based.

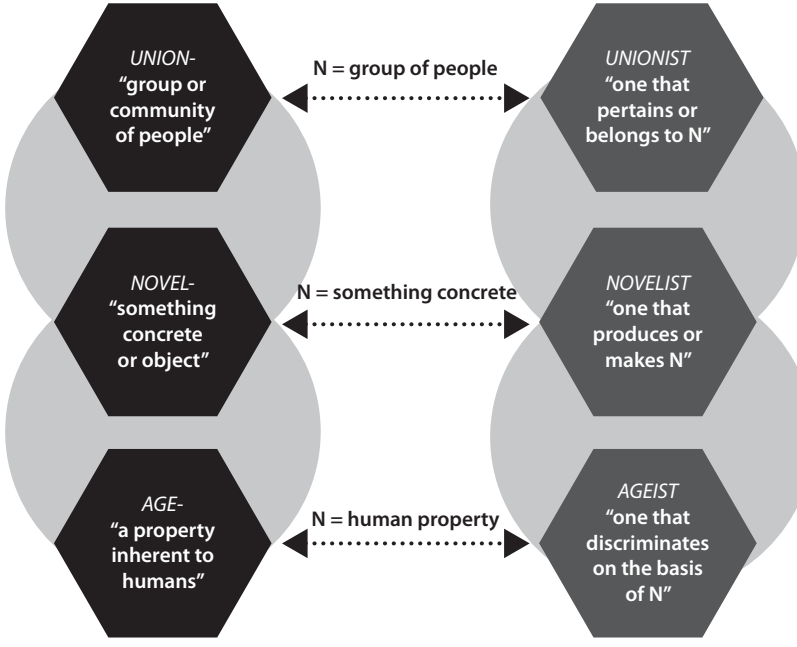

Figure 2.2 Correlation between semantic schemas of affixed words ending in *-ist* and the input semantics of bases

2.2.1 Why 'semi' in semi-suffix?

As suggested in the Introduction, this book has adopted the umbrella term 'combining form' not to leave out midway end-morphemes (e.g. *-head* in *deadhead, -itis* in *televisionitis*) that also constitute pejorative-forming units. While the so-called neo-classical morphemes (Bauer 1989: 216), as in *-maniac*, leaves no room for doubt that etymology plays a significant role in their distinction, other native forms, which are semantically and morphologically secreted from model words (*diarrhea → -rrhea → negorrhea*), pose a higher degree of conceptual fuzziness (Bauer 1989; Fradin 2000; Mattiello 2018). Originally coined as 'semi-suffixes' in Marchand (1969: 357), their (often controversial) status has taken the spotlight of derivational morphology for many years. A number of specialists agree that it is not always clear whether morphemes such as *-monger* (as in *fishmonger*), *-worthy* (as in *trustworthy*), or *-like* (as in *phonelike*) represent free or bound suffixation (e.g. Allen 1978; Bauer 1998; Prćić 2005, 2008; Booij 2009; Kastovsky 2009; Bauer et al. 2015). One of the features that contributes to this fuzzy status is that both *-head* (as in *deadhead* 'stupid person') and *head* ('part of the body') are semantically differentiated, the

former only existing in combination with other bases (e.g. *dead-* and *dick-*), never in isolation. The syntactic dependency of *-head* and its semantic differentiation (through metonymization) from *head* suggests that the boundary that exists between suffixation and compounding is permeable (or moveable).

In an attempt to avoid unnecessary terminological entanglement in the description of these units, Bauer (1989) opts for the label 'final combining form',[23] and thus the aspect of 'suffix' is avoided. However, as regards their affix-like nature, Bauer et al. claim that "[i]f (…) the bound form consistently differs in meaning from the free form, one should assume the existence of an affix" (2015: 441). The question of semi-suffixation therefore comes down to semantics, in that these morphemes occur as lexemes and as parts of compounds but "have a specific and more restricted meaning when used as part of a compound" (Booij 2009: 208). This corroborates Bauer's analysis of *-naut* formations, such as *responaut*, *chimponaut, brokernaut*, and *cybernaut*, where he stated that "the lexical meaning of *-naut* is lost at the expense of its connotations" (1989: 272).

The use of such categorizations (e.g. 'final combining form', 'semi-suffix') in the examination of *-naut* or *-head* might lead to a continuum-based approach, though this is not believed to be entirely necessary to explain the property of semi-suffixation (Kastovsky 2009). Based on the heterogeneity of the English morphological system, Kastovsky asserts that "a scale of progressively less independent constituents" (2009: 12) can be established:

compound (word)
> stem compounding (stem)
> affixoids
> affixation proper (word/stem-based)
> clipping compounds (clipping of words/stems)
> blending
> splinters
> acronyms

This scale shows the position of an affixoid and how it is interconnected with the rest of the morphological stages. Nonetheless, Kastovsky's approach towards affixoids admits that not all categories are well defined, giving rise to a scalar property that

23. The term 'combining form' has been traditionally identified as "a linguistic form that occurs only in compounds or derivatives and can be distinguished descriptively from an affix by its ability to occur as one immediate constituent of a form whose only other immediate constituent is an affix (…)" (MWD11). However, Plag asserts that neo-classical compounds should be considered compounds, not affixes, and that they can combine with bound roots (e.g. *glaciology*), with full words (e.g. *lazyitis*), or with another combining form (e.g. *hydrology*) (2018: 156).

is applied to a lesser or greater degree (Kastovsky 2009: 5). Alternatively, Iacobini & Giuliani, who have identified seven different clusters of combining forms in English, argue that "it is not opportune to hypothesize a linguistic category for [combining forms] different from the lexeme or affix" (2010: 310), since the annotated items of each cluster have specific features that are closer to either derivational affixes or lexemes.

Thus, the use of the term 'combining form', albeit conceptually vague, has been adopted in this study because it works as an umbrella term that encompasses three types of derivational formatives: neo-classical combining forms (e.g. *-maniac*), native combining forms (e.g. *-head*, *-porn*), and splinters (e.g. *-holic*, *-rrhea*). On the plane of morphology, these units can be easily distinguished due to their degree of boundness and their etymology. For instance, while *-head* and *-porn* exist as free units, *-holic* and *-rrhea* are bound morphemes; also, unlike neo-classical combining forms, which originate from Greek or Latin, native combining forms (*-head*) and splinters (*-holic*) stem from English words. Nonetheless, what links these four end-morphemes under the same category is their semantic restriction, that is there are few semantic components that are operational when they are attached to bases. Hence, the splinter *-holic*, which is attached to *poker-* in *pokerholic*, shows a dissociation with *alcoholic* 'someone who is addicted to alcohol' because only the aspect of 'addicted' or 'excessive' is retained, and there is no denotational reference to 'alcohol'. This type of semantic restriction confirms the proximity of these morphemes to affixation, which by their very nature constitute one extreme of the end-morpheme continuum.

Since our study focuses on the process of pejoration, through which complex words (e.g. *blackie, deadhead*) have gained negative values, it is presupposed that both *-ie* and *-head* contribute to pejorative paradigmaticity. In other words, the pejorative suffixes and combining forms that are explored in this book are believed to actively participate in the process of sense restriction or semantic extension. At the data-gathering stage, pejorative words are collected following the criteria of output semantics (i.e. 'pejorative', 'offensive', 'derogatory') and lexical substitution. In the case of the latter criterion, doublets made up of suffixed and suffixless words are contrasted to explore whether there are any negative connotations associated with the suffixed constituent: *black* vs. *blackard, wine taster* vs. *winie*, etc. The analysis of combining forms and splinters is more complex because it entails an examination of the combining form (e.g. *-head*) and its corresponding independent word (*head*) to see the degree of semantic secretion (or subreption) undergone by the combinatory unit. Therefore, suffixes, native and neo-classical combining forms, and splinters, as stated above, are depicted as stemming from a sense-restriction process, whereby new semantic traits impinge on the new senses, thus affecting the denotational plane and functional meaning. For instance, the noun-forming

morphemes *-ie*, *-head*, and *-holic* are strongly associated with the expression of 'person'. These three end-morphemes illustrate that on the semantic plane, suffixes, combining forms, and splinters share more commonalities than differences in the way pejoratives come into being.

2.2.2 Morphological markedness

On the discursive plane, any word is potentially pejorative. The words *interesting* and *providence*,[24] for example, show that semantics might be dependent on the intention conveyed by a communicative frame or construction to which the word belongs. At the morphological level, pejorative words may also be instantiated with derogatory connotations through the attachment of a derivational formative. This implies that a pejorative suffix or combining form might imbue the new derivative with negative connotation, resulting in marginal or offensive words. Bases, however, are also responsible for this semantic shift, which raises the question of the extent to which an end-morpheme is accountable for derogatory meaning. In this respect, two types of formatives can be identified: (a) those that are not connotatively relevant to the derivative and (b) those that partake, at least partially, in the pejoration process. For instance, *doubtful, wasteful*, and *sinful* are words conveying negative meanings, but their senses are dependent on the input semantics of their bases (*doubt-*, *waste-*, *sin-*), not on that rendered by the suffix *-ful*. The suffix merely acts as a syntactic marker (noun → adjective) and as a semantic nexus between the base and the derivative ('full of', *waste* → *wasteful* 'full of waste').

On the other hand, *druggie* ('a drug addict') and *lefto* ('a left-wing supporter'), for instance, show that the suffix is a direct contributor to these derivatives' negative connotation. Although the base (*drug addict-*) is as negative as *waste-* and *sin-*, *druggie* is more marginal and offensive than its etymon or base. The case of *lefto* is even more interesting: the base *left-* is semantically neutral, but the derivative might be highly offensive, which confirms that *-o* is actively involved in the pejoration process. However, bases and derivatives might coexist as offensive terms, but their difference lies in their particular degree of offensiveness and that of marginalization. For example, *blackie* and *black* are ethnic slurs for a person of African descent. Whilst the former is frequently offensive, the latter is used in the singular to disparagingly refer to a black person (MWD11). Hence, the base *black-* is connotatively neutral, but it gains negative values through morphological changes (*blackie*) or syntactic restrictions (*black* used as a singular noun).

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24. Specific contexts for the pejorative forms of *interesting* and *providence* are found in examples (5) and (12), respectively, in Chapter 1.

The examples of *brownie* and *wasteful* show that the involvement of bases in the pejoration process can be assessed by tracking any semantic transition from etymons to bases. Therefore, the doublet *waste/wasteful* generates no pejorative transition, unlike *brown/brownie*, which leads to the conclusion that *wasteful* does not stem from a process of semantic depreciation. However, this semantic adjustment is not always as clear-cut as the examples discussed above. In the case of *froggie* ('a French person') and *breadhead* ('someone who is obsessed with making money'), for instance, the base *frog-* is offensive and *bread-* is clearly neutral, and their output semantics is indisputably negative. What is interesting about *frog-* and *bread-* is that they also undergo a process of metaphorical reconfiguration: these two bases stand for actions that are related to the semantics of *froggie* and *breadhead*, i.e. *frog-* < *eat frogs, bread-* < *earn bread*. Bases that stem from metaphorical transference are more prone to nominal categories because hypothetical terms such as **eatie* (instead of *froggie*) and **earnhead* (instead of *breadhead*) are more opaque, and hence prone to polysemy.

In summary, bases and formatives are both actively involved in the pejoration process. The role of the input semantics of bases and derivational morphemes can be detected through the examination of doublets consisting of a base and a derivative. If the base (positive or neutral value) converts into a derivative (negative value), we can assert that (a) the term has undergone a pejoration process, and that (b) the derivative is a pejorative. Suffixes and combining forms are presupposed to be entrenched in the derivatives, acting as operators in the making of meaning. Thus, a derivational formation is studied on the basis of morphopragmatic operations, through which (morphological) elements are capable of "systematically contributing stable pragmatic effects" (Merlini Barbaresi & Dressler 2020: 408). These pragmatic effects constitute in our study the act of disparaging or contempt.

2.3 Conversion

Conversion (also known as functional shift or zero derivation) has been traditionally defined as a word-formation process of a change "in form class of a form without any corresponding change of form" (Bauer 1989: 32). This definition makes direct reference to two questions that characterize converted words: word class and word form. In addition, conversion has been subclassified as a type of derivation without any overt marking (Plag 2018: 105), although the case of derivation involves a more explicit (or overt) rule-governed and semantically complex process. However, at the level of semantics, the converted form, such as *cheat* (n.) ('someone who cheats or deceives'), as in (5), is believed to be more complex than its etymon *cheat* (v.) ('to deceive') because *cheat* (n.) imports the concept of *cheat* (v.) to which

the aspect of [+human] is added. The semantic restructuring of converted forms should be taken into account as a type of generative component, which explains why all nouns, for instance, are potentially verbs in English, and how both children and adults make use of this premise to generate new patterns spontaneously (Aronoff & Fudeman 2011: 109).

(5) I am ashamed because I know what Mr. Trump is. He is a racist. He is a conman. And he is a CHEAT. (*buzzfeednews.com*, Feb. 27, 2019)

The directionality of conversion is a controversial aspect that affects the etymological category of converted forms. Plag suggests that there are six factors in determining the directionality of conversion: (a) the first-time occurrence of a word, (b) the semantic complexity of the etymon and the converted form, (c) frequency of occurrence, (d) inflectional behavior (e.g. irregular verbs indicate deverbal converted nouns), (e) stress shift (i.e. if there is a stress shift between two identical words, the verb constitutes the etymon), and (f) predominant phonological structure of one of the words in question (2018: 107–109). Owing to the overall interplay of connotational change (i.e. from neutral/positive to negative meaning), the directionality of conversion is overtly determined by the semantic intricacy of pairs (i.e. a converted form and its etymon) and historical attestations.

A vast number of pejoratives originate from English verbs being susceptible to the verb-noun conversion mentioned above (Bauer et al. 2015: 203–204), e.g. a *crank* ('an irritable person'), a *screw* ('a sexual partner'). One type of deverbal nominalization, i.e. verb → noun (person), has been associated with the argumental structures of 'subject of X_V' (e.g. *buzzkill*) and 'object of X_V' (e.g. *roadkill*) (Quirk et al. 1985: 1560; Balteiro 2007: 50). These two processes of verb → noun conversion compete with other overt suffixes: *-er*, *-or*, and *-an* (subject-referencing), or *-ee* (object-referencing). These correlations confirm the premise that a zero-form is linked to an affix with the same function following the "overt analogue criterion" (Plag 2018: 110). In addition, some of these words show some semantic and syntactic restrictions: *kill* (meaning 'killer' or 'a person or an animal being killed') is mainly used in compounds (e.g. *buzzkill*, *roadkill*), where their leftmost bases are inanimate nouns (*buzz-* and *road-*), and where the deverbal noun (*-kill*) can be polysemous (*buzzkill* 'someone who X-s_V' vs. *roadkill* 'someone who is X-ed_V').

The process of conversion is, then, conditioned by the existence of "at least one affix that expresses exactly the same range of meanings as conversion" (Plag 2018: 110), e.g. *cheat* and *cheater*, *hack* and *hacker*. This suggests that conversion and derivation share similar word-formation properties. However, there are studies that claim that major word-formation processes call for further readjustment of their morphological statuses; for instance, Nagano (2008) argues that conversion is not a type of derivation, and back-formation constitutes a type of

conversion.[25] As regards deverbal nouns, as in *drive* in *go for a drive*, Wierzbicka (1982) attests that what we call conversion is a change of grammatical category, since *drive* (n.) is not a noun but a verbal stem. Regardless of the morphological nature of conversion, converted words generally show meaning alteration, which not only implies a full change in a word's denotation, but also an accommodation of connotative traits. For instance, *grunt* (n.) (< *grunt* [v.]) is used as a derogatory term for soldiers "deriving from the supposedly low intelligence and predilection for grumbling of the humble enlisted man or conscript" (DCS). There is manifest lack of evidence of the role played by conversion in the gaining of connotative traits. However, various examples show that disparaging traits do operate in the creation of converted pejoratives from (semantically) neutral etymons, as in *swish* 'an effeminate man', *to jew* 'to bargain', *clunk* 'a stupid person'. In these examples, conversion is believed to instantiate hilarity, mockery, and/or offensiveness, and thus, in contrast to compounding and derivation, converted elements are morphologically more predictable. Nonetheless, a number of examples show no pejorative or ameliorative transition from etymon to converted form: e.g. a *fuck* ('a sexual partner'), a *radical* ('an extremist'), a *retard* ('a foolish person'). These converted nouns do, however, share a word-formation process that is primarily based on the acquisition of [+human].

Various cases of pejoratives in fact originate from the interface between compounding and conversion. The most frequent compounds are nouns that originate from phrasal verbs, e.g. a *tearaway* 'a reckless person', a *beatoff* 'someone who masturbates excessively', or a *dropout* 'someone who quits school at an early age'. Their morphosemantic constituency is highly transparent, for the converted words are interpreted as agents of the actions inherited from verbal etymons. But perhaps the most interesting quality of converted words is the type of argumental property that is expressed by compound bases. One of these argumental relations, though infrequent, is that in which the syntactic construction of etymons (and not the semantic value) remains unchanged, as in *killjoy* and *kiss-ass*, as in examples (6) and (7) respectively. Such forms have similarly been sparingly used in pejorative words such as *cutthroat*, *pick-pocket*, *killjoy*, and *turncoat* (Rodríguez González & Knospe 2019: 247). Also, these exocentric forms coexist with affixed (non-converted), grammatical units such as *joy-killer*[26] and *ass-kisser*.

25. On the status of back-derivation and conversion, Mattiello finds that while back-formation is based on analogy (extra-grammatical), conversion is rule-governed (grammatical) (2013: 15–16).

26. While *joy-killer* and *joykiller* generate only 7 hits on the NOW Corpus, *killjoy* shows 1,164 hits.

(6) On first hearing the Buddha's diagnosis we might be tempted to object that it is overly pessimistic. Either the Buddha is mistaken or he's a KILLJOY!
(*trustinginbuddha.co.uk*, Dec. 16, 2015)

(7) There's this guy that I work with that is always being a KISS-ASS to our boss and he always makes fun of the other guys when in front of a girl trying to impress them. This guy has been there the longest out of everyone.
(*askmen.com*, 2017)

Another type of compound, which is overtly exocentric, is an N-V type, the verbal base being a converted form, e.g. *asswipe* 'a stupid person', as in (8), and *buttlick* 'a sycophant', as in (9). In these cases, the leftmost noun (*ass, butt*) represents the object of the rightmost verb (*wipe, lick*). This type of compound resembles the morphosemantic relation expressed by non-converted units such as *head-scratcher* and *jawdropper*, where the agentive suffix *-er* explicitly denotes the doer of the action (which is not necessarily 'someone').

(8) "This kid isn't a little ASSWIPE for hitting a girl, he's an ASSWIPE for hitting anyone!" And then the boy's father got upset and started being rude to Granny for calling his son an asswipe […] (Fredrik Backman, *My Grandmother Asked Me to Tell You She's Sorry: A Novel*, 2013, p. 61)

(9) "You're lucky *you* didn't get the Ag Barn."
"Bonnie likes me."
"I know, it's disgusting, you're such *a* BUTTLICK, such a sell-out."
(Paul Forster, *Final Charge to the Endzone of Chaos*, 2001, p. 100, emphasis in original)

Causative units are the least frequent because they involve the input semantics of both bases as well as of a referent, e.g. *nosebleed* ('someone who is obnoxious'), *eyehurt* ('someone or something that is not visually pleasant'). The output semantics of the composite denotes a referent that causes the speaker's nose to bleed or the speaker's eyes to hurt. Therefore, a morphological investigation of the words suggests two levels of analysis: one that takes into account the causative position of a referent, and the other that links both bases in an argumentative relationship, i.e. 'someone that causes a hearer's nose to bleed'.

2.4 Clipping

The process of clipping, also known as 'truncation' or 'shortening', implies that when a word is morphologically trimmed, a shorter version of the word might convey a slightly different meaning. Although clipping has been traditionally excluded from major word-formation processes because no change of denotation

is generally attested (e.g. *uni* < *university*), clipped words frequently express new stylistic values compared to their corresponding full words (Bauer 1994: 40). By extension, *uni* and *university* denote the same referent (i.e. 'a higher-education institution'), but the former feels more colloquial than the latter. The principle of language economy, as expressed by "la loi du moindre effort" (Tournier 1985: 297), establishes a correlation between peripheral (or marginal) speech communities and economizing communicative means. Marchand even associates such communicative means with cultural frameworks: "[t]he Anglo-Saxon mind is in the main a practical one, and such a method as word-clipping is primarily the work of a practical-minded nation" (1969: 449). What is undeniable, though, is that linguistic effort is not a single-handed principle: referents, illocutionary force, and context each play a significant role. Consequently, clipped words occur on the grounds of three main motivations: ideational, textual, and expressive (Rodríguez González & Sánchez Fajardo 2018).

The ideational function (or motive) is based on the notion that language constitutes the expression of processes and phenomena happening in the world, "including the world of the speaker's own consciousness, the world of thoughts, feelings, and so on" (Halliday 1978: 48). A clipped word is thus used to denote a new referent, which might be semantically associated with that denoted by the full word or etymon. At times, the sense conveyed by a clipped word is less specialized. For instance, while *lunch* refers to one of the meals of the day, *luncheon* is restricted to "a usually formal lunch that occurs as part of a meeting or for entertaining a guest" (MWD11). In the case of pejoratives, the ideational (or referential) motivation can also affect the full word, leaving the clipped word with a rather neutral or standard connotation, e.g. note the difference between *fan* and *fanatic*, the latter being used to denote 'excessive enthusiasm' about something or someone. A textual motive is defined by Halliday as "the function that language has of creating text, of relating itself to the context, to the situation and the preceding text" (1978: 48). This motive is essential to understand the role of context in the processes of word choice and collocate restriction. Clipped and full words that are synonymic in nature are used to avoid word repetition and stylistic redundancy. Hence, lexical doublets such as *info/information, cell/cell phone* can be used interchangeably throughout the same text.

The expressive (or interpersonal) motive, as suggested by its name, is related to emotive connotations. Clipped words are often used by speakers or writers to convey specific meanings or intentionalities, such as contempt, irony, disgust, or excitement. A vast number of clipped words are used in the main to marginalize language, that is to make it less standard (e.g. *telly* < *television*) or to relate it to a nonstandard speech community (e.g. *carnie* < *carnival*). Therefore, regardless of the context in which clipped words are used, they generally imply semantic shift, particularly marginalization and pejoration. Pejoratives originating from clipping

are indeed numerous, and their degree of offensiveness and that of morphological recognizability are as varied as the number of examples attested. For instance, *Jap* (< *Japanese*), as in (10), and *Paki* (< *Pakistani*), as in (11), show two highly offensive slurs which are easily recognizable by hearers who are not necessarily familiar with their connotation. Alternatively, the slurs *shonk* (< *shonicker* 'a Jewish person') and *coon* (< *racoon* 'a black person'), in excerpts (12) and (13) respectively, demonstrate that clipping does not always guarantee a clear-cut morphological association between clipped and full words.

(10) Sonny says, "Whatta you think of the nerve of those JAPS… dropping bombs in our own backyard." Tom Hagen says, "We should have expected it after the oil embargo." Sonny snaps," Expect it or not, they got no right dropping bombs. What're you a JAP lover or something?" (*wsj.com*, Sep. 10, 2020)

(11) Many believe 'PAKI' is a short form of Pakistani but that is not true. If you are brown-skinned. If you're anywhere from the Asian subcontinent, this term is used to racially abuse. You're called PAKI, and nobody likes it.
(*cricketaddictor*, Jun. 10, 2020, italics in original)

(12) 'Brighton?… It's full of SHONKS'.… 'Which means there are hotels with night clerks.' (ODS, 1981)

(13) I've taken it. No matter what, no matter how big, how small, I'll get some racist sh*t on a weekly basis, and I'll take it. You know, it used to be that in your face – 'You boong, you black dog, COON' kind of sh*t.
(*thechornicle.com.au*, Jun. 8, 2020)

In addition to pejoration, clipping is also associated with familiarity and fondness in less standard (or marginal) speech. For example, *ma* (< *mother*), *sis* (< *sister*), *bro* (< *brother*), and *hubbie* (< *husband*) are used as appellatives that entail positive values towards members of a family. Not only are members of a closed speech community targeted as clipping material, inanimate objects or notions that are associated with this community are also often converted into shortened terms, e.g. *Chrissie* (< *Christmas*), *choccy* (< *chocolate*). In these examples, the aspects of fondness and endearment, particularly in child talk, indicate that words are accommodated to convey a more 'softening' usage. The connotative ambivalence of clipping (i.e. pejorative, as in *Paki*, and positive, as in *hubbie*) suggests that (a) the processes of pejoration and amelioration might also share common word-formation mechanisms, and (b) situational context and pragmatic implicatures are driving factors in the activation of positive or negative values. This means that ambivalent semantics is considerably more obvious in morphological homonymy, e.g. *-ie* in *blackie* and *-ie* in *hubbie*.

Clipping should not be confused with ellipsis, the latter being defined as "a type of shortening based on the truncation of an entire lexical unit (or units)" (Rodríguez González & Sánchez Fajardo 2018: 220), e.g. *capital* (< *capital letter*). However, various informal words stem from both clipping and ellipsis, leading to a more drastic loss of morphological material and a readjustment of syntactic function, e.g. in *porny* (< *pornographic film*) the clipped adjective (*pornographic*) turns into a noun. Although one-base clipping prevails, at times both bases in a compound are simultaneously shortened, originating clipped compounds, as in *mofo* < *motherfucker*. This type of clipped compound is, though, rare in English pejoratives given that both meaningful stems or bases partake in the formation of a new term.

In the formation of both marginalized and pejorative terms, clipped words may occasionally be adapted phonetically and orthographically in order to maintain a high degree of recognizability with their full etymons. For instance, *hebe* 'Jewish' (< *Hebrew*), *vadge* (< *vagina*), *geez* 'an expletive used to express surprise' (< *Jesus*). The respelling of clipped bases can also affect the closing consonant of (generally) one-syllable lexis, as in /z/ in *lez* (< *lesbian*) and /ʃ/ in *sosh* (< *socialist*).[27] Whilst the vast majority of the examples of shashified bases (see Table 2.2)[28] pertain to marginalized or colloquial speech, various zazzified words are thought to be more ambivalent, as they can be offensive (as in *lez* < *lesbian, spaz* 'one who is inept' < *spastic*) or positive (as in *poz* < HIV *positive*).[29] Owing to their high frequency, words ending in <sh> and <z> appear to be rather templatic, associating thus <sh> and <z> with slang-sounding effect, similar to the way suffixes or final combining forms act in complex units. In spite of their seemingly paradigmatic value, word endings are not discussed in this study because their status as suffixes is still far from being recognized.

27. The processes of back-clipping and the respelling of the fricatives /z/ and /ʃ/ in final position have been named, respectively, zazzification (Wescott 1978) and shashification (Sánchez Fajardo 2019). Both processes have been associated with the creation of slang and colloquial words.

28. The data used in Table 2.2 is adapted from Sánchez Fajardo (2019: 51).

29. Note that *poz* is generally regarded as a word "around which people living with HIV/AIDS can foster community support and solidarity, and combat stigma around being HIV-positive" (Holleb 2019: 201).

Table 2.2 Ten most frequent 'shashified' bases on the NOW corpus

Shashified word	Etymon	Frequency (NOW corpus)
sesh	*session*	510
delish	*delicious*	407
fash	*fashion/fashionable*	137
pash	*passion*	92
spesh	*special*	25
profesh	*professional*	13
mish	*mission/missionary*	12
nutrish	*nutrition/nutritional*	9
posish	*position*	2
vish	*vicious*	2

2.5 Abbreviations

Abbreviated forms, such as acronyms and initialisms, are frequently left out of discussions of major word-formation processes and morphological treaties (e.g. Bauer et al. 2015) since such forms are based merely on the accommodation of their morphological and phonological features. While an acronym is a combination of initial letters of compounds or phrases that are pronounced as if it were a single word (Plag 2018: 13), e.g. *milf* < *mother I'd like to fuck*, *dilf* < *dad I'd like to fuck*, an initialism[30] is made up of initial letters that are pronounced separately, e.g. *gtfo* < *get the fuck out* 'an expression of surprise'.

Both initialisms and acronyms are lexicalized constructions that are also believed to undergo semantic shift. An archetypal change with these abbreviations, particularly initialisms, is the replacement of an offensive (or taboo) base with its initial letter, e.g. *f off* < *fuck off*. As mentioned in Section 1.6, this replacement constitutes a euphemistic device that covers up the pejorative connotation of the whole word or phrase, especially in written speech. This type of lexical remaking involves semantic amelioration, and there are various initialed constructions complying with this euphemistic motivation: (a) single (e.g. *f* < *fuck*), (b) multiple (e.g. *wtf* < *what the fuck*), (c) phrase hybrid (e.g. *a off* < *ass off*), and (d) compound hybrid (e.g. *a-hole* < *ass-hole*). The negative value of these pejoratives is thus softened by the omission of graphemes/phonemes in the original etymons, while the referential or denotational meaning is retained. Although most of these initialism-based euphemisms are used in written speech, some examples are also found in spoken language: *a-hole*, *b-girl*, *b-hole*, etc. In general, there are not many examples of

30. Initialisms are also called 'abbreviations' (Plag 2018: 13).

pejorative acronyms and initialisms in English dictionaries of slang and colloquialisms, owing perhaps to their euphemistic (or offensiveness-neutralizing) function. Some abbreviated forms originate from existing acronyms through morphological analogy, as in the case of *yuppie* (< *yup* < *Young Urban Professional*) constructions.

As also suggested in Section 1.6, *-word* constructions (e.g. *f-word, n-word, c-word*) show a clear euphemistic motivation because their leftmost unit, which is generally informal or derisive, is replaced with an initial. However, various *-word* constructions are believed to follow a route to pejoration, rather than to amelioration. For instance, *f-word*[31] might originate from a semantically neutral etymon (< *future*) that is contextually loaded with negative connotations. On analogy with *f-word* (< *fuck*), *f-word* (< *future*) seems to inherit the interdictive semantics of *f-word* (< *fuck*) through the combining form *-word*. Hence, in this case, *-word* contributes to imbuing the base *future-* (also in the case of *feminist-*) with the value of 'controversial' or 'thorny'. This generates a dichotomous semantics of *-word*, whose pejorative or ameliorative routes are dependent on the input sense of the leftmost bases: while *f-word* (< *future*) is a pejorative construction, the example of *f-word* (< *faggot*) is a euphemistic one.

2.6 Loanwords

The import of lexis from foreign languages might be motivated by the need to denote a referent which is nonexistent in the target language. This referential motive pertains to Halliday's (1978) oft-quoted semantic system of language, in which other two motivations are identified, these being the 'interpersonal' (or expressive) and the 'textual'. In the making of pejorative or offensive meaning, the expressive motivation, not the referential one, helps explain why signifiers are replaced by foreign terms to intensify their negative connotations. In particular, ethnic slurs that resort to loanwords to convey pejorative meaning are based on the semiotic plane of the linguistic sign, since a foreign sign that is associated with an ethnicity (or nationality) is used in the expression of contempt. The addition of foreignness to a word entails not only feelings of mockery and detachment, but also an expressivist association between a foreign signifier and the ethnicity/origin which it represents, e.g. *Russki* ('a Russian'), *kraut* ('a German').

Following a general classification of linguistic borrowing (Furiassi et al. 2012), foreign pejoratives in the dataset are primarily identified as non-adapted or adapted loanwords. Some examples of adapted loanwords are: *Polack* 'Polish' (< *polak* Po.), *dago* 'someone of Italian or Spanish descent' (< *Diego* Sp.), *skepsel* 'someone of

31. An example of *f-word* (< *future*) is found in example (20), in Chapter 1.

African descent' (< *schepsel* Du.), and *munt* 'someone of African descent' (< *unmuntu* Ban.), although more non-adapted forms are attested; for example, *Kraut* 'German' (< *Kraut* Ge.), *Boche* 'German' (< *boche* Fr.), *schwartzer* 'black maid' (< *schwartzer* Yid.), *bimbo* 'a male person' (< *bimbo* It.). An interesting type of borrowing is that which originates from imitation; for instance, the word *pong*, used for someone of Asian origin, is based on the imitation of the *ong* sound in Chinese (GDS). Also, the ending <o> is associated with Spanish-origin words and they are analogically used in a number of pejoratives: *fatso, homo*, (*el*) *cheapo*, etc.[32]

Interestingly, lexical borrowing has also been associated with the concept of euphemism, since speakers are not necessarily aware of the negative connotations that are carried by foreign neologisms. When a loanword is used for the first time by speakers, it is textually salient and often signals that "something out of the ordinary is going on which the reader/listener needs to figure out" (Allan 2016: n.p.). Also, at a cognitive level, taboo words logically become more interdictive if their nuances and connotations are recognized by both interlocutors, which is why a high number of taboo words are imported by English. Loanwords, being unfamiliar to users, "lack the connotations and emotive effect of a mother-tongue equivalent" (de Klerk & Antrobus 2004: 276). In this way, euphemistic expressions or words are conveniently useful to soften a negative meaning as, it is assumed that neither interlocutor is fully aware of the negative values of loanwords. According to this premise, present-day pejoratives, especially ethnic slurs, might originally have been euphemistic expressions before they were communicatively identified as offensive or pejorative.

2.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is a process that copies (fully or partially) the phonemes and graphemes of a base to create a new word. Hence, the subsets that take part in the formation of reduplicatives can undergo an exact or a non-exact morphological doubling (Widawski 2003; Lardier 2006; Kołłątaj 2016). The degree of 'exactness' leads to the general classification of reduplicatives as either: (a) real reduplication, where both bases are homophonous, e.g. *doo-doo* 'trouble'; (b) consonant reduplication, where there is ablaut between the two bases, e.g. *mishmash* 'to jumble'; or (c) rhyming reduplication, where there is rhyming between both bases, but the onset is altered, e.g. *helter-skelter* 'turmoil'.[33]

32. Further discussion on the ending <o> (as well as the end-morpheme *-o*) is found in Section 3.3.

33. This classification is taken from Bauer et al. (2015: 412–413).

Regardless of the morphological nature of reduplicatives, or indeed whether they can rightly be classed as authentic compounds, reduplication is motivated by a leading attitudinal function (Bauer et al. 2015: 411). Playfulness or humor, or even exaggeration, are the driving factors underlying the coining of these complex words. In fact, some reduplicatives are syntactically meaningful, for they are used in lieu of adverbial intensifiers or a more specific referent; for instance, whilst in (14) a speaker reduplicates the foot to convey the idea that the drink he/she means is a strong alcoholic beverage, in (15) a speaker repeats *tired* instead of *really* to intensify the quality expressed. As suggested in these two examples, the reduplicative formula is used conversationally to achieve common ground between the interlocutors, turning it into an effective communicative device for clarification. When words are used in a conversational act, they are naturally expected not to be totally precise and disambiguous (Ghomeshi et al. 2004: 308–309), which triggers an exchange of echoic (or reduplicative) elements for communicative purposes. In (16), the character of Daphne reduplicates the personal name *Roz* because he is well known to both interlocutors.

(14) A: Let's go out and have a drink.
B: Yes, but a DRINK-DRINK, not this lemonade.

(15) A: Are you ok then? You don't seem tired.
B: Believe it or not, I'm TIRED-TIRED.

(16) Frasier: Niles is up here with Roz.
Daphne: Roz? You mean ROZ-ROZ? (*Frasier*, TV series, 2005)[34]

An interesting type of rhyming reduplicative that is pejorative-forming is the use of *shm-* (/ʃm/) to replace the onset (Bauer et al. 2015: 413), as in *acting-shmacting*. This formation originates from Yiddish, and its motivation has always been associated with that of mockery and offensiveness. Pejoration is not always suggested by a morphological type of element (as in *shm-*), but it is also built on the input semantics of their bases; for instance, *nig-nog* 'an African-American person' constitutes a highly disparaging word as the leftmost unit originates from the pejorative *nigger*.

Being a productive word-formation process in slang word stock, reduplication conforms to numerous rhetorical functions that are ultimately intended to embed the language with nonstandardness and crypticism. Accordingly, slang words might resort to reduplication for (a) jocular or humorous purposes, as in *footy-footy* 'sexual foreplay', *jim-jam* 'pajamas'; (b) intensifying pejorative traits, as in *dumb-dumb* 'a foolish person'; (c) imitative, as in *hush-hush* 'secretive'; (d) child talk, as in *easy-peasy* 'easy', *pee-wee* 'to urinate'; or (e) cant words, as in *ju-ju* 'marihuana'.

34. Example taken from Kołłątaj (2016: 241).

2.8 Semantic extensions

Ultimately described as a semantic process, pejoration does not exclusively resort to morphological markedness to provide disparaging alternatives for referents, e.g. *bagel* ('a baked roll') > *bagel* ('a Jew'), as in (17); *frog* ('animal') > *frog* ('a French person'), as in (18). In fact, some of the major word-formation processes discussed in the previous sections (e.g. suffixation, compounding) might also be based on semantic mechanisms that affect the nature and typology of the base (or bases). For instance, *pisshead* might be a complex unit whose rightmost morpheme *-head* constitutes a metonymic reformulation from 'person'; *brownie* 'one of African descent', a suffixed nominalization, originates from a color (i.e. skin pigmentation) that is also used to metonymically (and also disparagingly) represent a person.

(17) He's a BAGEL. And it's not Woody Allen, it's Edward Norton doing a Woody Allen impression. (*neogaf.com forum*, Aug. 14, 2016)

(18) The late Arthur Marshall, who affected a dislike of the French, obviously thought so, and compounded the insult by using a lower-case "f". The question arose again last week when Lord Wakeham […] ruled on the Daily Star headline "FROGS need a good kicking". (*independent.co.uk*, Oct. 23, 2011)

Metonymic associations are particularly frequent in the formation of pejoratives, since there is generally one trait associated with the referent that is used to denote the referent itself. Hence, the key question in metonymy (as well as in synecdoche) is the aspect of 'association', for "[m]etonymic concepts allow us to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 39). For example, *shine* is used as an offensive term for an African-American, which "may be inspired by the appearance of black skin or contrasting white teeth", or may even originate from the stereotyping of African-Americans as street shoe polishers (DCS). Stereotypes, as in *shine*, are based on metonymic relations in that metonymy takes recognizable aspects of referents and converts them into identificatory traits, "usually for the purpose of making quick judgments about people" (Lakoff 1987: 79). Therefore, not only does metonymy allow speakers to coin offensive terms but also it disparagingly perpetuates stereotyping traits in the form of slurs. A special type of metonymy is synecdoche,[35] which is a figure of speech that has been traditionally linked to the idea of part/whole (a part for the whole or the whole for a part); yet, it is also used to convey the genus of a species or the name of the material for the thing that has been made (Whitsitt 2013: 37). When using

35. Further discussion on the concepts of metonymy and synecdoche is found in Section 6.1.

dysphemistic or pejorative terms to denote people, synecdochic forms that are based on part-for-the-whole concept can be especially productive: *egghead*, *asshole*, *cunt*, etc.

Another figure of speech that is particularly productive in the formation of pejoratives is verbal irony, that is, "the use of words to convey the opposite of their ordinary meanings" (Eble 1996: 65). The expression of ironic terms, as in *nice* in (19), is context-dependent, and it is also based on "shared background knowledge or common experience" (Barbe 1995: 5). In other words, irony is constructed through the understanding (by interlocutors) of the situational contexts in which words are used: hearers or readers need to be fully aware of the communicative situation or event to be able to decode the intrinsic meaning or function of the ironic expression. For example, interlocutors can convert terms of endearment (e.g. *honey, hun, sweetheart, darling*) into negative constructions, since they are contextually used as opposites to their original function, as in example (20). Also, some formulaic expressions such as *thank you* can convey a state of contempt or condemnation, which is reinforced by the use of adverbials as in *thanks a bunch* (MWD11). At times, ironic words or expressions are lexicalized, so they are frequently found with their offensive function, and not their literal (positive or neutral) one: a *lofty* ('a small person'), a *doozy* ('an awful thing').

(19) "I give you my word they did not speak to each other during that dinner, nor would Louise stay to the cotillon. Charlie danced it with Frankie. NICE state of affairs, isn't it?" I felt myself grow weak.
(Lillian Lida Bell, *The Love Affairs of an Old Maid*, 1893)[36]

(20) The mission orders they received from the sergeant squad leader I am sure went something like: "Okay you two clowns, stand this post and let no unauthorized personnel or vehicles pass." "You clear?" I am also sure Yale and Haerter then rolled their eyes and said in unison something like: "Yes Sergeant, "with just enough attitude that made the point without saying the words, "No kidding SWEETHEART, we know what we're doing." They then relieved two other Marines on watch and took up their post at the entry control point of Joint Security Station Nasser (*businessinsider.com*, Jan. 14, 2003)

As with the metonymic association of concepts, metaphors also partake in the semantic reconfiguration of neutral or positive words into pejorative domains. By crossing content domains, metaphors "[call] forth a likeness or analogy between things that are fundamentally different" (Eble 1996: 68). For example, the invective

36. This example is taken from MWD11, where *nice* also conveys the meaning of 'unpleasant'.

croach was particularly frequent in the 1930s (ODS) to denote an ugly woman by offensively extrapolating features of the insect. Hence, metaphorical devices constitute effective cognitive strategies that make use of concepts "from a typically concrete realm of thought that are used to comprehend another, completely different domain" (Lakoff 1995: 177). However, not only are referential strategies used in the making of metaphors, but so too are expressivist associations that are intended to convey connotative views. For instance, the use of *fairy* and *queen* for male homosexuals illustrates how the new names emerge from the transposition of neutral traits (*fairy* → 'girlie, delicate'; *queen* → 'eccentric, ladylike') from one domain into a marginalized (target) domain. Metaphors are then used to foster a negative image of the target group, objectifying "those who presumably belong to the group by stereotyping them and casting all members into the same worst-case condition" (O'Brien 2009: 35).

One frequent type of metaphor is the use of personal names to accentuate pejorative traits. For instance, calling someone a *Hitler* or a *Stalin*, regardless of their sex, can be interpreted as someone "who displays dictatorial characteristics" (COD23), as in (21). This metaphorical transposition of features (from Hitler to the referent being qualified) is only effective if all interlocutors are aware of (a) who the historical (or infamous) figure is, and (b) what features are being regarded as salient to use it as a pejorative. Maintaining common ground between interlocutors is not always an easy task; a generation chasm (or age difference) might lead to disruptive communication, that is, a personal name ceases to exist as a pejorative in the communicative event. For example, in an episode of the popular series *Friends*, as shown in (22), Monica finds out that her lover is a senior student in High School and she calls herself *Joan Collins*. Ethan, her considerably younger boyfriend in the sketch, does not get this, which signals their poor mutual understanding.

(21) While Dodes, Gartner, and others argue that Trump is a malignant narcissist, few suggest he is a HITLER or STALIN or Jim Jones. It is a matter of degree, and many say Trump falls far short of such tyrants.
(*psychologytoday.com*, May 25, 2019)

(22) Monica: Oh god, I just had sex with someone who wasn't alive during the Bicentennial! […] Oh, God. I'm like those women that you see…with shiny guys named Chad. I'm JOAN COLLINS.
Ethan: Who? (*Friends*, season 1, episode 22, 1994)

While some pejorative personal names have been coined due to historical facts and literary allusion, their present-day usage is partly caused by high frequency and contextual acceptance, e.g. *shylock* 'money lender' (< *Shylock*, a Jewish character in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*) and *Jim Crow* 'a black person' (< *Jim Crow*, a

black character in a 19th-century plantation song [DCS]). Besides, various personal names constitute ethnic slurs: *Fritz* (< *Friedrich*) 'German soldier', *Paddy* (< *Padraig* 'Irish'), *Mick* ('Irish'), *Taffy* ('Welsh' < pronunciation of *David*). These eponyms are presupposed to be recurrent personal names, and although their initial coinage might have been based on mockery and hilarity, they became offensive slurs for immigrants of various origins.

CHAPTER 3

From diminution to pejoration

3.1 Size definitely (and semantically) does matter

Diminutives play an important role in the making of pejoratives. Previous research has corroborated that there is a link between size and evaluation (Butt & Benjamin 1994; Schneider 2003; Taylor 2003; Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova 2020). In particular, affixes that pertain to the evaluative domain account for a series of cognitive and semantic processes through which morphemes undergo changes in their connotative function (Hamawand 2011; Augustyn & Gniecka 2011; Besedina 2012). For instance, *leftie*, as in (1), encapsulates a negative attitude towards *left-wing* supporters, and such attitude is expressed not only through context but also through the negative connotations contributed by *-ie*. But, has the suffix *-ie* become a derisive morpheme through context? Or are there cognitive operations underlying the transition from the sense of diminution to that of pejoration? This chapter aims at (a) unraveling the semantic contributions of diminutive morphemes such as *-ie* (as well as *-y*) and *-o* in the formation of pejoratives, and more importantly, at (b) investigating the cognitive roots that underlie the transition from diminution to pejoration.

(1) "I'm not really left – or right-wing – I get different opinions," he says. "I get called a LEFTIE and a Socialist by bitcoiners. But I've never voted Labour. I've only voted Conservative, except Green once. (*coindesk.com*, Dec. 16, 2020)

An interesting corollary that stems from the research questions above is that there is a polarity to the way suffixed words are used, which in the case of diminutives is expressed through the Diminution: endearment ↔ pejoration (DEP) scale (Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova 2020). The DEP scale is based on the extensions of meaning through the inclusion of contextual and cognitive factors that underlie the realizations of suffixed pejoratives. In other words, suffixes become morphological representations of semantic values, meaning that semantic outputs are not necessarily rendered by context but can instead be inherited through cognitive associations established between semantic categories. Consequently, an attitudinal value (such as a pejorative one) might originate from a physical one (such as a diminutive one).

According to the DEP scale, diminutive morphemes in English are inherently associated with the sense of 'smallness' in physical space (Taylor 2003: 172), but additional, evaluative senses that originate from this fundamental sense are realized

through the cognitive representation of 'smallness' in our psyche. Besides the spatial aspect, the property of 'smallness' is also responsible for the creation of two more senses: 'fondness' and 'pejoration'. The ambivalent nature of these two connotations is linked to whether 'smallness' is interpreted as 'little or helpless' (fondness) or as 'lacking significance' (pejoration). At the level of pragmatics, the activation of any of these categories (diminution, fondness, or pejoration) also involves both the speaker and the hearer being aware of the distinction there is between what is meant (nomenclature) and what is said (propositional form) (cf. Traugott 2012). Stated differently, although language users are subconsciously supplied with the transitional developments of the DEP scale, the cumulative effect of contextual cues leads to a more precise interpretation of connotational values.

For example, excerpts (2) and (3) below show two uses of *sharpie*, the former referring to 'a felt-tip pen' and the latter to 'a dishonest person'. These nouns originate from the adjectives *sharp*$_1$ ("having a thin keen edge or fine point", MWD11) and *sharp*$_2$ ("keen in attention to one's own interest sometimes to the point of being unethical", MWD11), respectively. As such, there is a clear semantic connection between *sharp*$_1$ and *sharpie* ('a felt-tip pen') in (2), and *sharp*$_2$ and *sharpie* ('a dishonest person') in (3). However, language users are also able to get to grips with the traits of offensiveness or pejoration which are felt in *sharpie* (3), and with those of a small instrument that are activated in *sharpie* (2). The built-up construal of meaning that the pejorative *sharpie* has undergone is not restricted to the lexical level, especially when suffixes such as *-ie* and *-o* are productively used in the formation of pejoratives. Hence, *sharpie*, as in (3), is identified as a pejorative by interlocutors because its constituents (including the suffix) are morphological representations of derisive attitude. If the form *sharp person* were used instead of *sharpie* in (3), the pragmatic force of the utterance would definitely be affected.

(2) As several callers told Sekulow, they'd never used a SHARPIE […] because they had been concerned that the permanent ink was bleeding through the paper ballot, or spreading outside the bubble. (*politico.com*, May 11, 2020)

(3) Andrew Davoli gives an unwittingly hilarious performance as Chris, who dresses and behaves like he's a SHARPIE from a rat pack movie. (*creativeloafing.com*, Oct. 9, 2002)

Figure 3.1 shows the likely transitions of diminutives at the level of semantics, by means of which the aspect of space is conceptualized in one or two evaluative forms. Therefore, diminutive suffixes expressing categories other than size can be abstracted as morphological units connotating "the aspects of size and attitude, and more particularly of smallness and appreciation and depreciation" (Schneider 2003: 4).

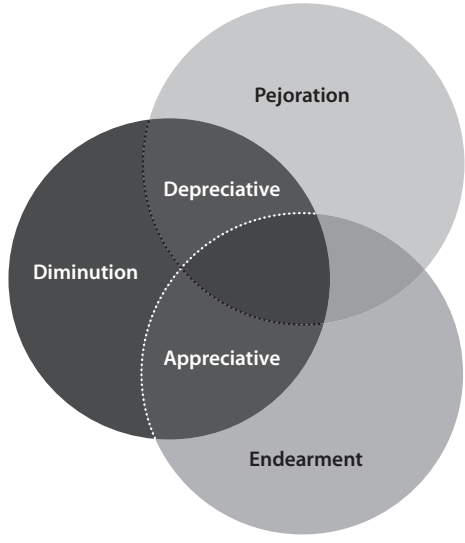

Figure 3.1 The conceptualization of evaluative diminutives out of diminution[37]

The conceptualization of diminutives demonstrates that the concept of diminutization is a complex semantic process (Schneider 2003). A general consideration of the interface between morphology and semantics shows that suffixes that have been traditionally regarded as diminutive-forming are used for both evaluative purposes (pejoration and fondness) and non-evaluative ones (size). This leads to a new perspective of the so-called hypocoristics (e.g. *kiddy*, *toughie*), according to which these types of suffixes are not simply 'embellishing' in nature (Bauer & Huddleston 2002), but stand midway between the oft-quoted coining and hypocorism (Bardsley & Simpson 2009: 49).

In the following sections, I will examine some general morphosemantic and pragmatic features of suffixed pejoratives ending in *-ie* and *-o*. These suffixes are multifunctional (or ambivalent) units which are listed in dictionaries as either diminutive-forming or pejorative-forming morphemes. I will therefore make use of datasets (and subsets) of suffixed pejoratives (extracted from dictionaries and corpora) to explore the diminutive ↔ pejorative transition. Also, the in-context examples that are used throughout the chapter can hopefully shed light on the relative contribution of bases and suffixes to the negative (or offensive) pragmatic implicature of derivatives.

37. Taken from Tarasova & Sánchez Fajardo (2020).

3.2 The suffix *-ie*

The suffix *-ie* has been traditionally regarded as the only native diminutive (Leisi 1969: 89), and is relatively productive in contemporary English. While the OED3 indicates that there are no records of the use of the suffix *-ie* as diminutive-forming until Middle English, Bauer et al. relate it to the Germanic suffix that came into being as Dutch *-tje* and as German *-chen* (2015: 389). The question of *-ie* and the varieties of English where it is most widely used can also be related to etymology. The suffix is particularly productive in ScE, which supports Marchand's theory that the earliest formations date back as far as the 15th century in Scotland (1969: 298). Also, Schneider finds that the spelling variation <ie> is particularly more frequent in ScE and AusE whereas <y> is preferred in AmE and BrE (2003: 87). Unsurprisingly perhaps, given the presupposed Germanic origin, the suffix is frequent in SAfrE, where it coexists with the Dutch diminutive as an allomorph (cf. Silva 1996).

The suffix *-ie* (as well as its variant *-y*) is described as noun-forming, and MWD11 shows three general senses that relate the suffix with the functions of diminution, belonging, and quality:

a. little one or dear little one (e.g. *birdie, sonny*);
b. one who belongs to or has to do with (e.g. *townie, preemie*);
c. one who possesses a certain quality (e.g. *cutie, toughie*).

The use of prototypical *-ie*, as suggested by Schneider (2003: 86), refers to the status of the forms <ie>, <y>, and <ey> as spelling variations of the form {ie}. However, a distinction should be made between the noun-forming *-y*, as in *tranny* < *transexual*, and the adjective-forming suffix *-y*, as in *pinky* or *sandy*. They are obviously homonymic suffixes whose etymologies and syntactic functions are dissimilar: while the noun-forming *-y* (as in *tranny*) originates from Middle English *-ie*, the adjective-forming *-y* (as in *sandy*) derives from Old English *-ig*. The latter is used to form adjectives from nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and it is far more polysemous than the former. MWD11 shows seven entries for the adjective-forming *-y*:

1. full of (e.g. *blossomy, muddy*);
2. composed of (e.g. *icy, waxy*);
3. having characteristics of or resembling (e.g. *homey, Christmassy*);
4. having negative (or pejorative) characteristics of (e.g. *stagy*);
5. that tends to (e.g. *sleepy, chatty*);
6. that causes someone to (e.g. *teary*);
7. that performs an action (e.g. *curly*).

An interesting aspect of these senses is that the denominal entries (i.e. 1–4) show an interconnection between physical properties and subjective appraisal in the

expression of quantity or resemblance. It appears that although adjective-forming suffix *-y* and noun-forming suffix *-ie*/*y* are syntactically different, they can both be used to convey the idea that certain qualities of the base are metaphorically (or metonymically) inherited from either the resulting derivative (e.g. *greenie* 'an environmentalist') or the accompanying noun (e.g. *sandy* beach). What is more, the polysemous nature of the adjective-forming *-y* and the (not so often) use of spelling variations with the same base, e.g. *Charlie*/*Charly* and *greenie*/*greeny*, adds to the fuzziness surrounding the etymology of *-ie* (Shields 2001: n.p.).

In a section dedicated to diminution by affixation, and following Schneider's (2003) description of {ie}, Bauer et al. also identify the suffix *-ie* as a prototypical form, and *-y* and *-ey* as spelling variations, the latter being far more rarely found in present-day English (2015: 388–389). Unlike the OED3, MWD11 follows Bauer et al. (2015) in their representation of *-ie* as the original suffix, which, clearly, does little to help in the discussion of suffixal etymology and allomorphy. It remains, therefore, unclear at this point if the noun-forming suffixes *-y* and *-ie* are spelling variations or simply homophonous. Since this book does not explore suffixes on the etymological plane, I follow Bauer et al.'s (2015) and Schneider's (2003) nomenclature of *-ie* as a prototypical suffix, thus readers should be aware that the pejorative value of *lezzy* is not different from that of *lezzie*. Consequently, both types of suffixed words will be included in the datasets and examined.

Although there are various pairs of doublets that constitute spelling variations (e.g. *lezzy*/*lezzie, Chinkie*/*Chinky, leftie*/*lefty*), the OED3 shows that there are far more cases of diminutive or pejorative nouns ending in *-ie* than those ending in *-y*. For instance, *greeny* and *greenie* are found in MWD11 as nouns meaning 'an environmentalist', the latter being tagged as a spelling variation of the former. A quick search on the COCA and the BNC corpora, however, shows that most of the hits for *greeny* (not the proper noun *Greeny*) are adjectives ('rather green'), often positioned in collocations such as *greeny place* or *greeny blue*, as in (4). In contrast, all the forms of *greenie* 'an environmentalist' are nouns, which are frequently used in compound units (e.g. *greenie arsonist, greenie crap*, etc.), as in (5). Hence, while dictionaries agree on the coexistence of *greeny* and *greenie* as spelling variations, the evidence suggests that the form *greenie* is preferentially used as a noun ('an environmentalist') and *greeny* as an adjectival form ('rather green'). In spite of their frequency and dialectal constraints, doublets consisting of nouns ending in *-ie* and *-y* are treated as a single pejorative-forming suffix in the present discussion.[38] Both suffixation paradigms show similar properties in regard to pejoration, and not

38. Note that only *-ie* derivatives whose output semantics is regarded as derogatory or pejorative are used in the datasets throughout the chapter. Examples of material- or resemblance-based *-y* derivatives (e.g. *sandy, wintery*, or *wintry*), for instance, have been excluded from the data.

including formations such as *lezzy* or *prossy* simply for the sake of morphological coherence would deprive readers of valuable data and analysis.

(4) Isolated, GREENY, squeezed between the forests and the hilly parts of Western Ghats, Wayanad is one of the most beautiful places in Kerala.
(*livemint.com*, Apr. 2, 2019)

(5) I'm a bit of a GREENIE, I do believe over the long-term there'll be renewable growth coming through and gas is a transition fuel, and so we will be moving to renewables. (*afr.com*, Oct. 31, 2020)

Previous studies on diminutives in various languages show that many of these formations are also related to the sense 'child' (Jurafsky 1996), which confirms Wierzbicka's (1985) claim about the pragmatic uses of diminutives. A vast number of examples in English indicate that there exists a strict (and logical) correlation between 'little' and 'child', e.g. *doggie/doggy, girlie, dollie/dolly*, etc. Shields elaborates on Jurafsky's (1996) examination of hypocoristic function to assert that *-ie* diminutives might have adopted this child-related meaning in analogy with *baby* (2001: n.p.).

In the particular case of nouns ending in *-y*, a differentiation should be made between those units that are formed by derivation with prototypical *-ie* and those that result from a conversion process. For instance, *brassy* (n.) 'a woman dressing in a sexual and style-less way' is seemingly a derivative in which the base *brass-* is attached to the suffix *-y*/*-ie*. However, *brassy* (n.) appears to have originated from a functional shift process, by means of which the adjective *brassy* converts into the nominal form. As a result, the ending <y> constitutes a covert suffix as, it conforms to the nominalizing rules of *-ie* suffixation and to the disparaging function of the derivative.

There are many doublets composed of an adjective and a converted noun: *sucky*/*suckie, drinky*/*drinkie, talky*/*talkie*. These doublets also confirm that the suffix *-ie* is inclined towards a noun-forming function, and that, because of the spelling variation of *-ie*, it is frequent to find homophonous words with other non-suffixed words. For instance, the noun *brassy* coexists with its homophone *brassie* (n.), which is both a shortened form of *brassiere* and a golf term for "a wooden golf club soled with brass or other metal" (MWD11). These homophones illustrate the (often complex) etymology of nouns ending in <ie/y>. Readers should know that all the *-ie* pejoratives used as examples in this chapter have been checked etymologically to guarantee that only suffixed forms are used. Forms that are elaborated through other word-formation mechanisms (e.g. conversion, back formation) are, though, occasionally mentioned to highlight aspects of polysemy or iconicity.

3.2.1 Forms and functions of *-ie* pejoratives

One conventional denomination of the suffix *-ie* in adult talk has been that of a 'familiarity marker' (Quirk et al. 1985: 1584), by means of which the suffix is associated with the values of informality, marginalization, or non-seriousness (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 2001: 144). These nuances reflect the semantic restriction process undergone by the suffix *-ie*, whereby speakers are not only tempted to use the suffix to reduce the size of objects and people but also to reflect humor or extra-grammatical language, particularly in certain varieties of English such as AusE and NZE (Wierzbicka 1985; Bardsley & Simpson 2009). One of these extra-grammaticalities, or marginalized properties, is linked to the function of pejoration, which, as suggested in Section 3.1, can be inherited from the blended properties of 'size' and 'insignificance'.

Without doubt, then, the suffix *-ie* possesses a complex semantic structure, although the ambivalence of the suffix has remained intact for a long time. Although pejorative traits impel users to avoid (or abhor) certain morphological units because they are clearly associated with offensiveness or hate speech, the properties of 'size', 'fondness', and 'offensiveness' co-occur without problem in the form of *-ie* derivatives. This semantic concurrence originates from the pragmatic factors that characterize the use of *-ie* derivatives in context. Therefore, when a speaker uses an *-ie* derivative in an utterance, the semantic realization (whether a positive or a negative evaluation) is not completed until interlocutors contextualize the *-ie* suffixed form. For instance, in the use of *-ie* vocatives (e.g. *sweetie, dearie*), the speaker necessarily focuses on a salient trait of the addressee, and hence, "[t]he speaker attitude towards the addressee, reflected in the selection of such a descriptor, can be positive [e.g. *sweetie*] or negative [e.g. *fattie*], depending on the quality or trait which is focussed on" (Schneider 2003: 156). The example of vocatives shows that the multifunctionality of *-ie* derivatives is found at the interface of semantics and pragmatics, which demonstrates that its ambivalence and semantic concurrence is functional. In this respect, the representation of 'size' (particularly 'smallness' in the case of diminutives) is made for a particular communicative purpose (Dixon 2004: 171).

As a result, *-ie* derivatives are not necessarily perceived as diminutives, although I treat them as such in this chapter to differentiate them from other suffixes due to their etymology. Derivatives ending in *-ie* are also functionally interpreted as either pejoratives or terms of endearment because speakers are cognitively equipped with the attitudinal meanings of suffixed units. However, some salient features of referents (e.g. 'size', 'weight', 'ethnicity') are generators of an associative meaning which has been detached from the concept of diminution. This means that there are some componential traits of meanings, such as [+small], that are part of the denotation (and are recognized as such by speakers/hearers), "while the attitudinal meaning is part of the connotation or 'associative meaning'" (Schneider 2003: 11).

These preliminary observations on the function and meaning of *-ie* derivatives suggest that pejoratives are contextually realized (and communicatively purposeful) because there has been a cognitive demarcation of their functions. Tarasova & Sánchez Fajardo's (forthcoming) study on deadjectival derivatives ending in *-ie* (e.g. *biggie, toughie*) concludes that the levels of morphology, semantics, and pragmatics are interrelated, and they allow for derivatives to be furnished with a degree of paradigmaticity and meaning construal. In Figure 3.2, these three levels are represented in the form of morphological units, semantic change, and pragmatic implicature. The derivative *softie* is used to illustrate how cognitive operations are correlated with the DEP scale in the realization of either a pejorative ('a physically weak person') or a term of endearment ('a sensitive person'). Also, the diminutive form *softie* ('a fluffy toy') shows a null evaluation or attitudinal meaning, as opposed to the endearment or pejorative form, in both of which an associative meaning is activated.

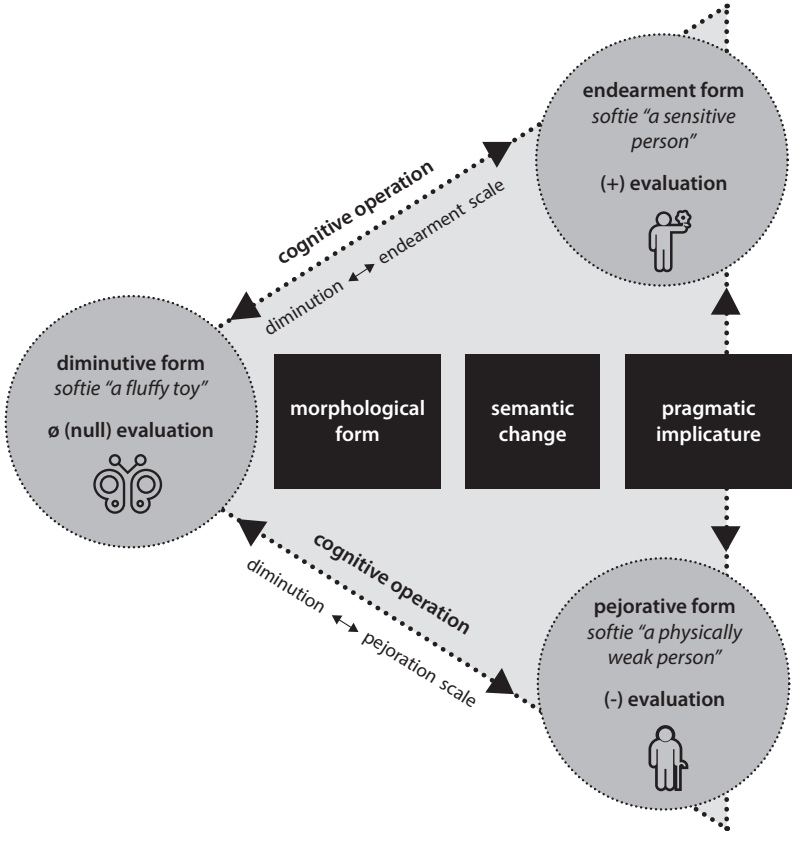

Figure 3.2 The grammaticalization of *-ie* from diminution to pejoration and endearment[39]

39. Figure 3.2 is adapted from Tarasova & Sánchez Fajardo (forthcoming).

The process of grammaticalization of *-ie* (diminution ↔ pejoration or endearment) can be used to explain its high degree of suffixal polysemy and productivity. Previous studies have shown that *-ie* is a highly productive suffix in English (Cannon 1987: 185; Bauer et al. 2015: 389), and that the suffix is not only restricted to child language, particularly in American and British English, as argued by Leisi (1969: 89). The suffix has managed to keep its potentialities as an ambivalent morpheme, which is represented by its high word-formation variability and by the typology of the bases with which it is combined. For instance, *blackie* (< adj. *black*), *winie* (< n. *wine*), *Okie* (< PcN *Oklahoma*), and *walkies* (< v. *walk*). The morphological and semantic structure of *-ie* shows that it can be less transparent than other highly productive suffixes in English, as in *-ness* (*naturalness, colorfulness*) and *-ish* (*blackish, liverish*). This semantic opacity of *-ie* derivatives does not exclusively reside in its morphological structure, but also in the evaluative process (or lack thereof) that is involved in the formation of derivatives. Therefore, speakers/hearers can disambiguate the meaning of *naturalness* and *blackish* more easily than that of *blackie* or *softie*.

However, the degrees of productivity and polysemy of different *-ie* derivatives are not homogeneous, and two subsets of paradigms can be distinguished at this point: suffixed derivatives that are [+small] (or size-related) and those that are [−small] (or evaluative). Following the premise mentioned above whereby evaluative derivatives are naturally less transparent, certain morphological paradigms appear to have a more hardline correspondence with [+small]. This is the case with denominal nominalizations such as *kiddie, doggie, horsie, girlie*, etc. In this type of paradigm, bases are strictly identified as [+human] or [+animal],[40] which is realized in the form of a size-related diminutive where no evaluation is rendered. Alternatively, in the case of deadjectival nominalizations (e.g. *toughie, brownie, flattie, oldie*, etc.), bases are characterized by showing (often physical) properties of referents which have no relationship to size or diminution, e.g. 'skin color', 'strength', 'age', etc. Their output semantics is hence dependent on what attitude there is towards the property identified, and the chances of the deadjectival derivative being size-related are less likely. Owing to their evaluative nature, deadjectival nominalizations, though less frequent (and productive) than denominal ones, tend to be more polysemous. Polysemy or semantic extension, therefore, allows for contextual multifunctionality, "thus compensating for the limited formal productivity of [deadjectival] nominalisations as compared to denominal *-ie* derivatives, which are productive" (Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova 2020: 195).

40. In a study on diminutives and hypocoristics, Mattiello et al. (2021) claim that the ambivalence (or asymmetry) that characterizes these forms in verbal communication is also influenced by conventions and social norms. Since the present study only focuses on English pejoratives, no specific reference to the anthropological roots of pejoration is provided. However, I do believe that this could be an interesting area for further research.

3.2.2 Constructional schemas of *-ie* pejoratives

While dictionaries focus on four main senses ('size', 'endearment', 'belonging', and 'quality'; see Section 3.2 for a detailed conceptualization of the suffix *-ie* by MWD11), the number and typology of *-ie* constructions appears to be more varied than might be expected. Various constructional schemas (both pejorative and non-pejorative) are itemized in the following sections to describe the generalization of form-meaning realizations.

A full list of *-ie* pejoratives can be found in Appendix 1. Pejoratives that are extracted from dictionaries are generally tagged as 'pejorative', 'derogatory', 'negative', or 'offensive'. As expected, all the nouns originate from a process of *-ie* suffixation, which means that converted forms (e.g. *brassy*) are not included in the dataset. Also, only words that are used as pejoratives are included in the table in Appendix 1; for instance, *alkie* (or *alchy*) meaning 'liquor' (or 'whisky') is not listed, whereas *alkie* 'an alcoholic person' is. The dataset in Appendix 1 is then used to illustrate the morphological nature of etymons, the semantic input of bases, and the semantic output of derivatives. In doing so, the resulting data sheds light on the morphological paradigms of *-ie* suffixed forms and on the extension of their semantic structure.

Various nouns ending in *-ie* are omitted from the dataset because their origin is unknown, which means that they resemble suffixed units but their etymology cannot confirm this. Some of the pejoratives whose origin is unknown are: *floozie* ("a usually young woman of loose morals", MWD11), *flunky* ("someone who is always keen to please or obey more powerful people", MED), and *fogy* ("a person with old-fashioned ideas", MWD11). In addition, loanwords, such as *lackey* ('a toady') and *patsy* ('a pushover'), are left out because they are anglicized imports from French (< *lacquais*) and Italian (< *pozzo*), respectively. Nouns that originate from personal names, but have not undergone a suffixation process, are also omitted; e.g. *paddy* 'an Irishman' (< *Patrick*), *noddy* 'a stupid person' (< *Noddy*),[41] and *jacksie* 'the bottom' (< *Jack*). What loanwords, personal names, and lexis with unknown etymology have in common is that although their *-ie* suffixation cannot be attested, they definitely conform to a trochaic construction in the form of pejoratives.

The schemas fall into three main categories: denominal nominalizations (DnNs), deadjectival nominalizations (DaNs), and deverbal nominalizations (DvNs). In each category, input semantics traits are highlighted, in contrast to output semantics traits, to make semantic transposition more clearly visible.

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41. While MWD11 asserts that *noddy* is possibly a short form of obsolete *noddypoll*, the OED3 establishes a connection between the meaning of 'simpleton' and the character of *Noddy*, created by Enid Blyton, who has a large head and wears a blue cap with the bell.

Nominalizations suffixed with *-ie* are not, however, restricted to these categories alone: deadverbial and deprepositional forms are also possible, but their constructions are less diverse and for this reason I decided to focus on the three most common categories by means of which pejorative suffixation and semantic extension are best exemplified. An interesting feature of deadverbial and deprepositional forms is that, because of their opaque semantics, they can be used in many different derivatives. For instance, Table 3.1 shows five forms of *outie* and *innie* which are found to convey negative meanings.[42] These senses clearly depend on the position and function of the particles/prepositions *out-* and *in-* in their original context.[43]

Table 3.1 Five pejorative forms of *outie/innie*[44]

Derivative *outie/innie*	**Sense**	**Example**
outie/innie$_1$	A female transexual who still has male reproductive organs (*outie*) or not (*innie*)	At age 70, Bill would become Kate. It was an operation he'd long ago dismissed as unattainable – but one Linda said he deserved to have. She'd travelled the arc of his life, supportive even after his bombshell confession […]. "And your goal today?" a nurse asked. "Turning an OUTIE into an INNIE," Kate answered, laughing. (*Washington Post*, 2016)
outie/innie$_2$	Someone who is either introvert (*innie*) or extrovert (*outie*) (< *introvert*)	It has been reported that a full 40% of executives describe themselves as introverts, including Microsoft's Bill Gates […]. Odds are President Barack Obama is an INNIE as well. (*Forbes*, 2009) I'm not saying an introvert and extrovert can't generate yin-and-yang bliss. It happens all the time, but the INNIE has to love the OUTIE for his outieness, not in spite of it, and vice versa. (*Washington Post*, 2001)
outie/innie$_3$	A homosexual who has come out of the closet (*outie*) or not (*innie*)	OK, sure, she doesn't say she is gay or lesbian or bisexual in so many words. She says she is "not technically out," but has brought home "men and women." ("An OUTIE or an INNIE," *dorothysurrenders.blogspot.com*, 2009)

(*continued*)

42. In a previous corpus-based study, a total of 29 senses of *innie*/*outie* were attested (Sánchez Fajardo 2020: 198–199).

43. The forms *innie* and *outie* conveying the sense 'types of navel' are considered deprepositional (Bauer et al. 2015: 391).

44. Adapted from Sánchez Fajardo (2020).

Table 3.1 (*continued*)

Derivative *outie/innie*	Sense	Example
outie/*innie*$_4$	Someone who supported Brexit (*outie*) or someone who was against it (*innie*)	About half of David Cameron's cabinet probably have Eurosceptic tendencies – here the *Guardian* offers its best guesses of their positions at the moment. ("INNIES, OUTIES, unclears: where ministers stand on EU referendum," The *Guardian*, 2015)
outie/*innie*$_5$	Someone who thinks as much information as possible should be included on Wikipedia pages (*innie*) or someone who thinks only targeted and specific information should be included (*outie*) (< *inclusionist*)	On one side are the come-one-come-all inclusionists, who argue there are no space restrictions […]. On the other side are the deletionists, who counter that the hugely popular compendium […] should focus on quality rather than quantity. ("Wikipedia's INNIES, OUTIES duke it out online," *Edmonton Journal*, 2007)

Another nominalization that appears to be deadverbial is *downie*, which is used pejoratively to refer to a person with *Down's Syndrome*. Although *down* is unquestionably an adverb, the etymon of *downie* is *Down's Syndrome*, a noun, not the adverb. The word *down* is used to make up the suffixed derivative because other possibilities such as **syndrie* would not be that semantically transparent.

3.2.2.a *Schemas of* -ie *DnNs*

There are not many *-ie* DnNs conveying derisive meaning in our data. A total of 11 schemas are modeled based on the lemmas extracted from dictionaries and corpora:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Animal	Object	Size	Fondness	Pejorative
-ie$_{a.1}$	*kiddie*	[+human]	+	−	−	+	±	−
-ie$_{a.2}$	*birdie*	[+animal]	−	+	−	+	−	−
-ie$_{a.3}$	*dolly*	[+object]	−	−	+	+	−	−
-ie$_{a.4}$	*hubbie*	[+human]	+	−	−	−	+	−
-ie$_{a.5}$	*doggie*	[+animal]	−	+	−	±	+	−
-ie$_{a.6}$	*undies*	[+object]	−	−	+	+	±	−
-ie$_{a.7}$	*telly*	[+object]	−	−	+	−	−	−
-ie$_{a.8}$	*bookie*	[+object]	+	−	−	−	−	±
-ie$_{a.9}$	*surfie*	[+pastime]	+	−	−	−	−	±
-ie$_{a.10}$	*Okie*	[+place]	+	−	−	−	−	+
-ie$_{a.11}$	*downie*	[+disease]	+	−	−	−	−	+

One possible explanation for the low number of pejorative nouns derived with *-ie* is that the primary function of nouns is to denote referents (e.g. object, person), as opposed to the expression of qualities, which is ascribed to adjectives. For this reason, adjectives (or deadjectival forms) are more prone to evaluative semantics (e.g. derisive, offensive) than nouns or verbs. However, *-ie* is particularly productive in the expression of diminutive forms originating from nouns: *doggy, girlie, dolly, birdie*. Although the concept of 'size' can, as mentioned in Section 3.1, be reconfigured as 'insignificance', this transition is less likely in the case of DnNs because they are normally related to the schema $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ie*$]_j \leftrightarrow [\text{little } X_{Ni}]_j$ where X is a noun that is scaled down in size.

Denominal pejoratives in our data (e.g. *yardie, toadie, queenie, townie*) may also comply with a size-related schema. Thus, for example, a *toadie* and a *townie* can be, respectively, interpreted as 'a little toad' ([+animal]) and 'a small town'. However, this is not completely accurate. Firstly, the bases that are used in the pejoratives *toadie* and *townie* are different from those in the diminutives *toadie* ('little toad') and *townie* ('little town'): *toadie* < *toadeater, townie* < *town-dweller*.[45] This confirms that the examples of *toadie* and *townie* are cases of homonymy because their bases have different origins. Also, the pejorative semantics of *-ie*, which is inherited from the DEP scale, is only detected when the output semantics of derivatives combines the semantic components of [−size] and [+human], as in (a.8), e.g. *bookie*;[46] (a.9), e.g. *surfie*; and (a.10), e.g. *townie* (above). Therefore, while there are various schemas where a semantic component of the bases is [+object], i.e. (a.3), (a.6), (a.7), and (a.8), the component of [+human] that is contributed by the suffix reconducts the meaning of suffixed words to [+pejorative].

Nominal bases in *-ie* pejoratives may also be metaphorical/metonymic in nature. Pejorative DnNs, therefore, can be more cryptic than diminutive ones. Pejorative DaNs, being dependent on the quality expressed by the adjective in question (e.g. *shortie* 'a short person'), are also less semantically opaque than DnNs. However, while some etymons, such as *queen-* in *queenie* ('a homosexual man') and *wrinkl*(*e*)- in *wrinkly* ('an old person') are far from opaque, other cases originate from either nominal phrases or compounds, e.g. *townie* < *town-dweller* (as well as *out of town*, as shown in footnote 45), or inherit the metaphorical reference from the etymon, as in *yardie* < *the Yard* ('a colloquial name for Jamaica').

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45. The word *townie* may also be used to refer to "a newly arrived immigrant" (GDS), which originates from the notion that 'someone is from *out of town*'.

46. The word *bookie* ('a compulsive reader') that is examined in this study is not attested in dictionaries (as opposed to *bookie* 'a bookmaker'), but it may be found in corpora (e.g. NOW, EWC20) as a pejorative or as a neutral word describing someone's interest in reading or books.

3.2.2.b *Schemas of* -ie *DaNs*

Of the 61 pejoratives in Appendix 1, 36 are deadjectival, which demonstrates the importance of adjectival bases in this type of evaluative derivation. Below are eight schemas that have been itemized from the dataset:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Animal	Object	Size	Fondness	Pejorative
-ie$_{b.1}$	*softie*	[+physical property]	−	−	+	+	±	−
-ie$_{b.2}$	*oldie*	[+age]	−	−	+	−	−	−
-ie$_{b.3}$	*sharpie*	[+personality trait]	+	−	−	−	±	−
-ie$_{b.4}$	*brownie*	[+color]	+	−	−	−	−	+
-ie$_{b.5}$	*shortie*	[+physical property]	+	−	−	+	−	+
-ie$_{b.6}$	*thickie*	[+personality trait]	+	−	−	−	−	+
-ie$_{b.7}$	*Aussie*	[+origin]	+	−	−	−	−	±
-ie$_{b.8}$	*lezzie*	[+sexual orientation]	+	−	−	−	−	+

A distinctive feature of denominal schemas is that most of them involve the output semantics component of [+pejorative] and the input semantics component of [+physical property] or [+personality trait]. This suggests that these nominalizations are based on metonymic relations, where one physical (or personality) aspect is generally taken as the morphological representation of what is depreciated. For instance, *thickie* stems from the adjective *thick* ('stupid'), which is used negatively to refer to someone who acts foolishly. Interestingly, *sharpie* 'an alert person', as in schema (b.3, above), does not necessarily function as a pejorative, but rather as a positive word that derives from *sharpie* ('acute'). In this case, the suffix *-ie* is acting as a familiarity (or informality) marker and as an agentive, not a pejorative.

Schemas (b.1) and (b.5) encompass the semantic component of [+size], particularly the original value of 'smallness', but not to the same extent. Unlike *softie* (b.1), the value of 'smallness' that is expressed in the semantics of *shortie* (b.5) is contributed by the base *short-*, not by the effects of *-ie*. This clarifies the exceptionality of *shortie* in our dataset, for almost all the schemas corroborate a dissociation between [+size] and [+pejorative]. Also, schema (b.7) has been tagged as [±pejorative] since origin-based derivatives can be used in an informal context but without the intention of contempt or offense, as in (6).

(6) The whole season was defined by the pandemic, and the closing battle in Italy between two unlikely stars arguably was the result of that. Would the young AUSSIE and Brit have been one-two if Thomas, Yates, and Kruijswijk were still around? Who knows. (*velonews.com*, Jan. 6, 2021)

DaNs are morphologically distinct from the other types because they involve the processes of lexical ellipsis and suffixation. For instance, the word *Hunky* originates from *Hungarian immigrant*, where *immigrant* is omitted (or ellipted) and the suffix *-ie* is attached to the clipped base *Hun*(*k*)-. Hence, adjectives become overt morphological components while ellipted nouns represent covert ones. Based on this premise and on the example of *Hunky*, two readings are possible here: (a) the adjectival base converts to a noun through a functional shift process in which the so-called 'embellishing' suffix is added (Bauer & Huddleston 2002: 1636), or (b) the suffix *-ie* possesses a noun-forming function, similar to, say, the suffix *-ness* (e.g. *naturalness, ugliness*). The former fits the paradigm of hypocoristics, but fails to explain how *-ie* gains pejorative values as a noun-forming suffix that is attached to adjectival bases.

At times, the input semantics trait is not specified so the base is adapted to all kinds of communicative situations. This is the case of *samesie* in which the adjective *same* can be variably used in an indefinite list of combinations: *same clothes, same name, same age*, etc. In excerpt (7), for instance, detective Jake Peralta calls his Swedish counterpart and himself *samesies* because he considers that they can both speak foreign languages.

(7) Swedish counterpart: We also speak Norwegian, Dutch, German, French, Russian, and Finnish. But not Danish. That is a garbage language for garbage people […]
Detective Peralta: Well, I have almost memorized "Gangnam Style" phonetically, so SAMESIES. (*Brooklyn 99*, Episode 9, season 3, 2015)

In their description of DaNs,[47] Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova (2020: 200–201) outline the general features of deadjectival derivatives suffixed with *-ie*. For instance, DaNs have a disyllabic trend, which means that clipped bases are generally involved to ensure the two-syllable orthographic/phonological structure, e.g. *veggie* < *vegetarian, fundie* < *fundamentalist*. On the phonological plane, when the primary stress is placed on the first syllable, the remaining vowel in the base can move from a reduced to a full form, e.g. *sussy* < *suspicious*. But perhaps the most interesting feature

47. Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova (2020) use the term of 'Adj+*ie*/*y* nominalizations' to refer to suffixed nouns that originate from adjectives. I prefer here to use the label 'DaN' to distinguish it from deverbal ('DvN') and denominal ('DnN') forms.

of DaNs is their high degree of polysemy, which is far superior to denominal and deverbal nominalizations. Accordingly, DaNs involve three lexical components: an adjectival base, an ellipted noun, and an output derivative, where the aspect of polysemy can be attributed to the semantics of the ellipted noun, rather than to the adjectival base (Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova 2020: 201). To demonstrate the role of omitted nouns in suffixal polysemy, let us take the example of *brownie* that is illustrated below:

a. dessert → *brownie* ('cake')
   [−human] [−pejorative]
b. girl scout's uniform → *brownie* ('a member of girl scouts')
   [+human] [−pejorative]
c. skin color → *brownie* ('an African descent')
   [+human] [+pejorative]

In this example, the adjectival base (*brown-*) objectively refers to the color of a dessert (a), a uniform (b), or skin pigmentation (c). It is, therefore, an inherent property that is saliently used to conceptualize the referent. As hinted above, the referents that are represented through the omitted nouns contribute to the general semantics of derivatives and hence are responsible for the polysemous nature of *brownie*. The suffix *-ie* is, then, imbued with various semantic features that are operationally defined by the ellipted noun. Although the three examples of *brownie* above are structurally similar (i.e. $brown\text{-}_{Adj}$ + *-ie* = $brownie_{N}$), more attention should be given to the cognitive operations that are triggered by the referential aspects of omitted nouns and the quality of adjectival bases. The example of *brownie* in (c) corroborates the proposition that a combination of the aspects of person and skin complexion (or ethnicity/race) leads to derisive semantics. On the other hand, the suffix *-ie* is expected to play a fundamental role in the nominalization process, not exactly as an embellishing unit, but rather as an active contributor of pejorative traits to the formation of deadjectival derivatives.

To demonstrate the role of *-ie* in the making of derivatives, particularly when attached to color-based units, we can use the examples of suffixed and suffixless deadjectival nominalizations: *white* vs. *whitey, black* vs. *blackie, green* vs. *greenie*. Although nominalizations are potentially derisive in any given context (like any other content word, in fact), the suffixed components of these doublets are more prone to pejorative semantics, irrespective of contextual use. This suggests that *-ie* DaNs are more semantically restricted than suffixless DaNs, demonstrating that the suffix *-ie* can be interpreted as an iconic morpheme in the expression of depreciative value (cf. Schneider 2003). Table 3.2 also shows that iconicity is especially salient when the aspects of [+human] and [+pejorative] are combined, particularly when the adjectival base denotes a physical property (e.g. *short-*, *black-*, *white-*). Also, as

observed by Sánchez Fajardo & Tarasova, this iconic value is seen "in the connotational correlations between nominalisations derived from basic colour adjectives (*whitey, blackie, greenie/greeny*, etc.) and non-basic colour terms (*fairie, darkie, blondie*)" (2020: 204). The polysemous nature of color-based DaNs also corroborates the idea that this type of nominalization is linked to the process of metonymy. Colors represent a visible property of referents that is used by speakers to identify (and evaluate) someone or something. The property does not necessarily need to be physical (as in the case of skin pigmentation), and it may be associated with political ideas (e.g. *green, red*) or origin (e.g. *orange*).

Table 3.2 The correlation between DaNs denoting [+human] and their pejorative/ambivalent output semantics[48]

-*ie* DaN (human)	**Etymon**	**Pejorative (+) Ambivalent (±)**
alkie (also *alchy*)	*alcoholic*	(+)
Aussie (also *Ozzie*)	*Australian*	(±)
brownie	*brown*	(+)
Chinkie/y	*Chinese* ('person')	(+)
commie	*communist*	(+)
darkie	*dark*	(+)
fattie	*fat*	(+)
flattie	*flat* ('policeman')	(+)
Frenchie	*French*	(±)
fundie	*fundamentalist*	(+)
greenie	*green* ('person')	(+)
grossie	*gross*	(+)
Heebie	*Hebrew*	(+)
Hunky	*Hungarian*	(±)
Jewy/Jewey/Jewbie[49]	*Jew*	(+)
leftie	*left* ('person')	(+)
lezzie	*lesbian*	(+)
meanie	*mean*	(+)
Okie	*Oklahoman*	(±)
oldie	*old* ('person')	(±)
Orangie	*orange*	(+)

(*continued*)

48. Adapted from Tarasova & Sánchez Fajardo (forthcoming).

49. The corpus-based data yields the fact that the form *Jewbie* is used more frequently nowadays. As suggested by Tarasova & Sánchez Fajardo, "[i]t is not clear though whether *Jewbie* is formed on analogy with *noobie* (and we are dealing with the splinter *-bie*) or whether it is formed on analogy with *Heebie* (from *Hebrew*)" (forthcoming: footnote 5).

Table 3.2 (*continued*)

-ie DaN (human)	Etymon	Pejorative (+) Ambivalent (±)
pinkie	*pink*	(+)
reddie	*red*	(+)
rightie	*right*	(+)
Scottie	*Scottish*	(±)
shortie	*short*	(+)
smoothie	*smooth* ('person')	(±)
softie	*soft* ('person')	(±)
thickie	*thick-witted*	(+)
toughie	*tough*	(±)
tranny	*transexual*	(+)
veggie	*vegetarian*	(±)
weirdie	*weird*	(+)
whitey	*white*	(+)

3.2.2.c *Schemas of* -ie *DvNs*

This type of nominalization is far less productive than those that are deadjectival or denominal. Only five schemas are modeled, one of which is pejorative (c.5):

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Animal	Object	Act	Size	Jargon	Fondness	Pejorative
-ie$_{c.1}$	*walkie*	[+locomotion]	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
-ie$_{c.2}$	*weepie*	[+act]	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
-ie$_{c.3}$	*stabbie*	[+physical aggression]	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
-ie$_{c.4}$	*wedgie*	[+act]	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
-ie$_{c.5}$	*slammy*	[+verbal aggression]	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

Because of their verbal origin, DvNs are generally based on the input semantics component of an action (e.g. locomotion, physical/verbal aggression, or act in general). The aspect of [+object], as in *weepie* (c.2), *stabbie* (c.3), and *walkie* (c.1), dominates the schemas. Like DnNs and DaNs, deverbal forms also demonstrate a strong association between [+human] and [+pejorative], as in *slammy* ('one who criticizes severely').

The example of *weepie* ('a tearjerker') constitutes an interesting case of a causative schema, that is one where the verbal base designates what effect the object has on someone. Although the form of this nominalization suggests a case of homonymy in which *weepie* could also denote 'someone who weeps', all the cases found correspond to causative units. All contexts thus point to a slight specialization of *weepie*, which is used to refer to either 'a sad book', as in (8), or 'a movie', as in (9).

(8) The Fault in Our Stars is a novel by John Green which deals with love, loss and life through the eyes of a teenage cancer patient and her life changing relationship with a young man called Augustus Waters. It's a truly great book, not just a WEEPIE but one that's designed to make you laugh (and also cry) in its treatment of the harsh realities of terminal illnesses.
(*clickonline.com*, Apr. 24, 2014)

(9) The comic WEEPIE, starring Jennifer Aniston and Owen Wilson, was adapted from John Grogan's novel about a couple's trials with a disobedient dog; the new TV version for NBC will follow them a few years on, complete with new puppy and teenage sons. (*theguardian.com*, Oct. 23, 2014)

Alternatively, the word *stabbie*, as in (10), does not show a causative construction, rather its semantic configuration stems from the notion that the object (a vest) is an instrument to prevent its user from getting hurt (or, more specifically, from getting *stabbed*). So, the base *stab-*, as opposed to other potential deverbal bases such as *protect-* or *hurt-*, clearly embodies the purpose and benefits of the police vest.

(10) Back at the nick I hang up my STABBIE and a colleague tells me he's leaving after obtaining qualifications elsewhere. He's the latest in a long list of people getting out. (*theguardian.com*, Oct. 15, 2016)

The word *cutsie* ('the act of cutting in line'), as in (11), should not be confused with *cutsie* (< *cute*), as in (12), also found as *cutesie* or *cutsy*. Besides stemming from different grammatical categories, i.e. *cutsie* (< *cut*) is a noun and *cutsie* (< *cute*) is an adjective, and they are obviously homographs.

(11) Cam, your behavior was completely juvenile…and I don't think it set a very good example for…Hey! Hey! No CUTSIES. For Lily.
(*Modern Family*, season 5, episode 7, 2013)

(12) But the water is so cold Joannie. I can't feel my legs. Shivers. Ar, I'm sorry, who's Shivers? Is that my CUTSIE name for you, or something, cause it feels like such a weird time that I'd be saying it knowing that my leg would be […]
(*Hannah Montana*, season 3, episode 7, 2009)

3.2.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-ie*

A general examination of the *-ie* schemas shows that (a) denominal and deadjectival forms are far more polysemous than deverbal ones; and that (b) [+human] is a common component that characterizes the output semantics of *-ie* nouns, particularly those conveying pejorative meaning. Also, as shown in Figure 3.3, derivatives conveying the senses of [+animal] and [+object] are less likely to be pejorative than those conveying the sense of [+human]. Nonetheless, most of the object-related (e.g. *oldie* 'old film', *softie* 'a stuffed toy') or animal-related (e.g. *scottie, westie*)[50] derivatives are classified as either colloquialism or jargon.

	pejorative	informal	neutral	fondness
human	a8, a9, a10, a11, b4, b3, b4, b5, b6, b7, b8, c5	b3	a1	a4
object		a7, b2, c2	a3, b1, c1, c3	a6
animal			a2	a5
act		c4		

Figure 3.3 Distribution of *-ie* constructions according to their output semantics

Figure 3.3 also demonstrates that there are three meta constructional schemas expressing pejorative attitudes, which can be elaborated by abstracting the schemas into templatic or generalizing shapes. Meta constructions are theoretically made up of a morphological plane and a semantic one. In these constructions, X stands for the base and 'j' represents the form-meaning correspondence between the two planes.

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ie*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by relating to $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *queenie, yardie*
ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ie*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by being $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *shortie, darkie*
iii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-ie*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *slammy*

50. Dog breeds, also known as a *Scottish terrier* and a *West Highland* terrier respectively.

The process of understanding schematic regularities in order to elaborate meta constructions is what is known as schema unification (cf. Booj 2010; Hoffmann 2017). Through unified schemas, morphological and semantic traits can be more rigorously assessed. For instance, the three meta constructions above show the common traits of [+human] and negative appraisal through the semantic plane of [one who is offensively characterized by X]. The reconfiguration of the semantic plane, based on the key role played by syntactic context in the interpretation of nominalizations (Bauer et al. 2015: 207), shows that deadjectival schemas are dependent on a stative construction ('being X_{Adj}'), denominal schemas are based on a relational construction ('relating to X_N'),[51] and deverbal schemas are based on an actional one ('X-ing$_V$').

Relational constructions, as illustrated in (i) above, demonstrate a more opaque semantics because the base is not restricted to one semantic category. Also, bearing in mind that the schema $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ie*$]_j$ is frequently linked to the semantic value of [little $X_N]_j$ (as in *doggy, girlie, birdie*), relational types are presupposed to be more ambiguous than other constructions. As a result, one can misinterpret that *townie* or *queenie* refers to 'a little town' or 'queen' ('a homosexual man' not 'a monarch'), but the semantic value that connects someone with the base is not size-related but merely relational. Thus, *townie* relates to the attributes of 'native of a town', not the dimensions of a town. Interestingly, all the hits of *townie* ('small town') are used in compounds, as in *townie friends* in (13). On the other hand, *townie* ('native of a town') is found in isolation, but not strictly in a pejorative sense. Examples (14) and (15) show two contexts in which *townie* ('native of a town') is used either informally or disparagingly.

(13) "We came up with this idea of the brilliant kid and his TOWNIE FRIENDS, where he was special and the government wanted to get their mitts on him," Affleck explained at the time. (*usmagazine.com*, Nov. 4, 2020)

(14) I'm in Sag Harbor. I'm a TOWNIE, not a summer person. I have a lot of friends here. We used to have dinner parties, go to restaurants. (*nytimes.com*, Nov. 6, 2020)

(15) One evening, a Black student walked into the crowded bar, ordered a beer and sat at a corner table. A white TOWNIE who'd had too much to drink ordered the Black student to leave the bar and opened his coat to reveal a revolver. (*eu.usatoday.com*, n.d.)

51. The label 'relational' used in Cognitive Linguistics has been ascribed to all types of functions that are established within clauses which can provide "spatial or temporal information or indicate thematic relations such as instrument, recipient, agent, cause, beneficiary, and so on." (Svorou 2012: n.p.). In my study, 'relational' is restricted to denominal constructions in which the derivative in question is related to some categories of the base (or referent).

The semantics of stative constructions (e.g. *greenie, newbie, meanie*), as schematized in meta construction (ii) above, is linked to one quality or condition which is used as a kind of 'designation tag' that characterizes the referent. Although it has been suggested that the suffix *-ie* contributes a sense of offensiveness, which has been configured through cognitive operations (i.e. diminution → pejoration), communicative force or speaker's intentionality has also an impact on whether the quality or condition is used to offend or disparage. So while *greenie* 'a discharge matter ejected from the throat', as in (16), and *greenie* 'an environmentalist', as in (17), share the quality of color, what distinguishes them is (a) what the color stands for (literally or figuratively) and (b) what communicative intentions are pursued by the speaker. As a result, the color *green* in *greenie* 'mucus' shows a stative construction (but with a literal reconfiguration of meaning) whilst *green* in *greenie* 'an environmentalist' results from a metaphorical makeup. Also, *greenie* 'an environmentalist' is not necessarily doomed to pejoration, so it is also possible to find contexts in which *greenie* is used to express a sense of pride or self-assurance, as in (18).

(16) It's not the germs I am afraid of […] it's the part where I anticipate hours of sleep deprivation taking care of two sick children simultaneously, who proceed to hawk GREENIES on me or in my hair, and vomit on me, and shit on me.
(*dailykos.com*, Jul. 6, 2015)

(17) People use the rail trail for its peace and quiet and uniqueness. Thousands use it each year. There are some things that have value, even above that of gold. BTW, I am not an old hippy or an ardent GREENIE! But I do know the proposed mining area. (*sunlive.co.nz*, May 11, 2020)

(18) The issue of course, is what is the long-term demand? I'm a bit of a GREENIE, I do believe over the long-term there'll be renewable growth coming through and gas is a transition fuel, and so we will be moving to renewables.
(*afr.com*, Oct. 31, 2020)

Actional constructions, as represented in (iii), are similar to stative ones in the sense that one action is interpreted as a bad quality, and then used to create a pejorative. For example, the argumental construction of *slamming* ('criticizing someone severely') is negatively employed in *slammy* ('someone who criticizes other people harshly'). In excerpt (19), *slammy* constitutes a vocative that is also used to point out the offensive qualities representing the attitude of one of the speakers.

(19) A: That's what they said about Sam's great grandfather. But then he died.
B: A heart attack?
A: No, wrestling a bull.
B: Stupid baby.
A: Hey, easy there, SLAMMY. (*icarly*, season 2, episode 5, 2008)

In addition, the vast majority of *-ie* units originate from non-pejorative bases [–pejorative], e.g. *townie, brownie, oldie*. This (unexpected) fact accentuates the intrinsic nature of *-ie* as a pejorative-forming morpheme. Figure 3.4 illustrates the proportion of pejorative words that have undergone a non-pejorative transition, that is words whose bases are already pejorative, and what is modified is their grammatical category. For example, in the cases of *meanie* and *cheapie*, the bases *mean-* and *cheap-* are denotationally more salient than non-pejorative bases. It is safe to assume that having pejorative bases reinforces the degree of derisive meaning; yet the degree of offensiveness depends not so much on the meaning of bases, but on the conceptualization of taboo. While *Dutchie* and *brownie* are formed with non-pejorative bases, their derisive qualities are much higher than *meanie* or *cheapie* because they constitute race or ethnic slurs. Thus, the semantic shift undergone by pejoratives is not proportional to the degree of offensiveness conveyed by the resulting derivatives.

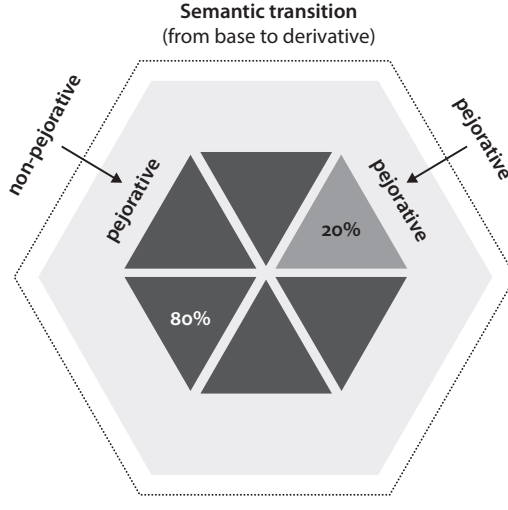

Figure 3.4 Proportion of *-ie* pejoratives stemming from pejorative and non-pejorative bases

An interesting aspect of *-ie* pejoratives is the morphological construction of bases. With the exception of *Orangie*, all the bases are monosyllabic. This feature implies that many of the bases have been back-clipped, e.g. *Aussie* < *Aus*(*tralian*), *tranny* < *tran*(*sexual*). The process of clipping might also generate morphological alterations in order to guarantee that the phonological structure of the resulting base resembles that of the etymon, e.g. *alkie* < *alc*(*oholic*), *Heebie* < *Heb*(*rew*), *conchie* < *consc*(*ientious*). In the cases of *toady* and *hoodie*, full bases of compounds are clipped (e.g.

toad[*eater*] and *hood*[*ed sweatshirt*]), and the remaining bases (*toad-* and *hood-*) are homonymic to the full words *toad* and *hood*.

Besides the spelling forms of *-ie* (e.g. *townie*), *-y* (e.g. *tranny*), and *-ey* (e.g. *whitey*), which are conceptualized as the prototypical *-ie*, there are some types of suffixal allomorphs that are particularly unusual in the derivatives under study: *-bie* (as in *newbie, Jewbie*), *-sie* (as in *jacksie*).[52] In regard to the form *-sie*, Schneider claims that hypocoristics such as *jacksie* or *momsie* originate from (already) diminutive bases *jacks-* and *moms-*, to which the suffix *-ie* is added (2003: 108).[53] These allomorphs should be distinguished from cases of morphological alteration such as *conchie* and *Heebie* because additional or different spellings (e.g. <ch> for <sc> in the example of *conchie* < *conscientious*) correspond to the base and not to the suffix as such. A plausible explanation for *-bie* and *-sie* is that these allomorphs appear to be exclusively found in a specific environment, which is also known as 'complementary distribution' (Plag 2018: 29). According to this state of affairs, we can assume that *-bie* is used after vowel endings (e.g. *new-* /nju:/ or /nu:/; *free-* /fri:/) and *-sie* follows plosive consonant clusters (e.g. *jack-*, *pop-*).[54] However, as frequently happens in semantic relations, potential homonyms, as sources of linguistic ambiguity, are avoided. Therefore, *newbie* ('a rookie') and *newie* ('something new')[55] both exist in present-day English but their semantic differentiation is perhaps more dominant than the argument of complementary distribution. Another interesting feature of the spelling forms *-sie* and *-bie* is that they are not attached to a specific grammatical category, although *-bie* appears to be more limited to adjectival bases (e.g. *newbie, freebie*). In contrast, *-sie* is more frequently linked to bases that are nominal (e.g. *jacksie*) or verbal (e.g. *cutsie*).

52. I follow Bauer's understanding of an allomorph, which is defined as "a phonetically, lexically or grammatically conditioned member of a set of morphs representing a particular morpheme" (1989: 16).

53. This is known as double diminution, which also includes examples such as *Stevio* < *Stevie* + *-o* (Schneider 2003: 111).

54. The word *popsie* is not a pejorative, it has simply been used here to demonstrate the correlation between plosive-ending and the allomorph *-sie*.

55. Note that *newsy* ("filled with news", MWD11) also exists in English but its base is *news-* not *new-*, which means that *-sy* in this case is not an allomorph of *-bie*.

3.3 The suffix *-o*

The suffix *-o* pertains to a small group of suffixes that are not considered diminutives in the narrow sense of the word, "but should be referred to as expressive, affective or evaluative suffixes, since they express an attitude, while they do not denote smallness" (Schneider 2003: 108). Examples such as *rugger* < *rugby* (*-er*), *Babs* < *Barbara* (*-s*), *Bobbles* < *Robert* (*-le*), *acca* < *academic* (*-a*) suggest that these diminutive suffixes are generally used for the formation of hypocoristics that denote familiarity and informal speech, but where the property of size is not explicitly conveyed.[56] The suffix *-o* is less ambiguous than the suffix *-ie*, for it is only used to form hypocoristics or pejoratives, while the suffix *-ie* is still used in the formation of diminutives. The absence of 'smallness' in the equation of *-o* derivatives does not contradict the aforementioned correlation between the properties of 'smallness', 'insignificance', and 'pejoration'. At the cognitive level, hypocoristic forms imply an imitation of child talk, which leads to an implicit association between hypocorism and smallness. The answer to the question of why *-o* is not used to form size-related diminutives lies in the etymology of *-o* as such, since it has never been attested in the expression of size. However, the interplay of pejoration, endearment, and size should be regarded as a broad continuum along which suffixes, which are related to at least two of these properties, are cognitively associated with each other.

Although less frequent than diminutives ending in *-ie*, derivatives ending in *-o* are particularly common in Australasian varieties of English (Bauer et al. 2015: 392). In fact, a number of hypocoristic-forming suffixes are particularly productive in the formation of jargon or slang words in AusE and NZE (e.g. *preggers* < *pregnant, journo* < *journalist*), while others have moved into standard word stock, e.g. *rego* < *registration, compo* < *compensation* (Bardsley & Simpson 2009: 49). To make things even more (etymologically) complex, the OED3 shows that *-o* might have been adopted through Romance-origin words (i.e. from Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese) where the grapheme <o> is a frequent ending of final syllables, particularly in masculine nouns. This explains why the origin of *-o*, especially in AmE, is associated with Italian or Hispanic migration to the United States (Hamans 2020: 152). The noun-forming suffix *-o*, according to MWD11, is also traced back to the English interjection *oh*. As such, *-o* constitutes an interesting case of morphological polygenesis,[57] since it is related to various etymologies. Coincidently, all

56. There are exceptions to this rule, such as *knobble* < *knob* 'small knob' (Marchand 1969: 324).

57. Morphological polygenesis has conventionally been related with the morphological process by means of which a word "receives a discontinuous reading by a non-conventional analysis of its morphologically complex structure" (Geraeerts 1997: 66), perhaps in analogy with the so-called semantic polygenesis.

of them point towards marginalized or informal language, but some instances in AmE are believed to be intentionally derisive, e.g. the use of *-o* in mock Spanish[58] (as in *no problemo, stinko, el cheapo*) to create a jocular (and often pejorative) tone in a parody imitation of Spanish (Breidenbach 2006: 5).

3.3.1 Forms and functions of *-o* pejoratives

Although *-o* is represented as a noun-forming suffix in this book, readers should be aware that this is not entirely accurate. There are two morphological structures related to the ending <o>: the suffix *-o* (e.g. *fatso, stinko*) and the non-suffixal ending <o> (e.g. *homo* < *homosexual*). While the latter does not constitute a suffix, morphologically speaking, it seems to be the product of a process of induced suffixation, in which the grapheme/phoneme resembles the suffix *-o*. Thus, the ending <o> in *homo* conforms to the general paradigmaticity of words suffixed with *-o* (often, for example, a disyllabic, trochaic structure), which explains why *homo* is preferred over *hom* or *homosex*. Therefore, the non-suffixal ending <o> and the suffix *-o* are both examined under the prototypical form of *-o* in this study.

According to the OED3, the suffix *-o* (not the induced ending) is linked to various syntactic functions, which can be summarized as three main entries:

1. forming interjection, as in *whacko*;
2. forming informal nouns and adjectives from either clipped word-forms, as in *aggro*, or from full words, as in *cheapo*;
3. forming personal nouns from non-personal ones, as in *milko*.

However, structurally speaking, the evidence suggests that there are five general groups that are characterized by the ending <o>, and not necessarily by the suffix *-o* alone: (a) unadapted loanwords of chiefly Italian or Spanish origin, e.g. *loco, cazzo*; (b) adapted loanwords, e.g. *hogo* < *haut goût* (Fr.); (c) a clipped base ending in <o>, e.g. *demo* < *democrat*; (d) a (generally clipped) derivative suffixed with *-o*, e.g. *anarcho* < *anarchist*; (e) a full base suffixed with *-o*, e.g. *fatso*. This grouping corroborates both the etymological variability of disyllabic nouns ending in <o> and the notion of induced suffixation. Only groups (c), (d), and (e) are used in the present study because they originate in English, unlike adapted (b) and unadapted (a) loanwords.

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58. Mock Spanish does not merely constitute a subset of slang vocabulary, so it is defined as "a set of tactics that speakers of American English use to appropriate symbolic resources from Spanish" (Hill 2008: 128).

In actual fact, there are a number of pairs of derivatives that demonstrate the morphological competition between the suffixes *-o* and *-ie*, e.g. *weirdie*/*weirdo, fattie*/*fatso, lezzie*/*lezzo*. A closer look at these pairs suggests that although *-ie* and *-o* are both noun-forming suffixes that equally convey [+human] and [+pejorative] in a rather strict correlation, the former appears to generally convey positive attitudes and the latter, negative ones (Schneider 2003: 111). The ambivalence of attitudes only comes about in the analysis of competing derivatives: pejoratives such as *blackie* or *reddie*, which are not currently correlated with **blacko* or **reddo*, are not meant to convey positive attitudes.

Bauer et al. (2015: 393) outline three general features of derivatives ending in *-o*:

– most are denominal (*reffo* < *refugee*), but there are also cases that are deverbal (*weirdo* < *weird*) and dephrasal (*Salvo* < *member of the Salvation army*);
– the suffix *-o* is integrated phonologically onto a (generally) monosyllabic base;
– the initial (or first) base syllable is frequently used in the formation of derivatives, even if the second syllable of the base is primarily stressed, as in *obno* (< *obnoxious*).

A significant number of pejoratives ending in *-o* originate from clipped bases, particularly adjectives. Appendix 2 shows that 83 out of 135 *-o* pejoratives are clipped words. The function of clipping is twofold: impelling marginalization and informality (Mattiello 2005), and guaranteeing the disyllabic templatic shape of derivatives. In fact, only eight (out of 135) pejorative words in Appendix 2 are non-disyllabic. Derivatives with *-o* are generally back-clipped (e.g. *devo* < *deviant*), but cases of parallel clipping (e.g. *mofo* < *mother-fucker*) and syncope (e.g. *bando* 'an abandoned house used for drug dealing' < *abandoned*) are also found, though to a lesser extent. The so-called 'supremacy of back-clipping' (Jamet 2009: n.p.) allows for the better recognition of the etymon from which the clipped base originates, particularly when such bases are also made up of one or two morphemes that may lack lexical semantics. For instance, if *deviant* were hypothetically front-clipped (rather than back-clipped), the resulting form **ant-* (and then **anto*)[59] would be overtly ambiguous and not recognizable enough.

Only four monosyllabic units are found in the dataset. Monosyllabic units are characterized by homonymy since one clipped form can originate from multiple etymons, not necessarily pejoratives: *bo* < *boy, bo* < *hobo, bo* < *Colombian marijuana, bo* < *bohemian*. While these examples appear to break the disyllabic template of *-o* pejoratives, monosyllabism is also the expression of the property of linguistic

59. This hypothetical example is used in contrast with the word *devo*.

crypticism that characterizes marginal speech, particularly that which is derisive. By instantiating semantic ambiguity in offensive lexis, speakers are aware that *pro* (< *prostitute*) or *mo* (< *homo*) may come across as an expression of contempt in disguise. The use of pejoratives does not need to be psychologically restricted to offending interlocutors, and might also involve the need (of a speaker) to cryptically express resentment or abhorrence.

Previous studies on the function of *-o* derivatives agree on their generally 'unlovable' attributes (Wierzbicka 1986; McAndrew 1992; Simpson 2004), which confirms that *-o* derivatives are not just restricted to offensive and derisive language. To exemplify this premise, McAndrew (1992)[60] proposes a five-category classification in which words suffixed with *-o* can express: (a) 'terms of contempt and ridicule' (e.g. *abo* 'an aboriginal'), (b) 'terms of laziness and carelessness' (e.g. *demo* 'a demonstrator'), (c) 'terms of excess' (e.g. *wino* 'a drunkard'), (d) 'mirage suffixes' (e.g. *gyno* 'a gynecologist'), and (e) the so-called 'Tall Poppy Syndrome'[61] (e.g. *presbo* 'a Presbyterian'). Although these categories are quite useful to corroborate the trend of *-o* as a pejorative-forming morpheme, the classification does have "fairly fuzzy boundaries that seem to resist neat categorisation" (Kidd et al. 2011: 361). However, this shows the multifunctional nature of *-o* and how the semantic components of bases contribute to pejoration, e.g. *wine* → 'addiction', *aboriginal* → 'race/ethnicity'.

While North-American speakers of English might interpret a depreciative value in foreign *-o* derivatives, such as *journo* (< *journalist*) and *muso* (< *musician*), these are in fact non-derogatory words which are used by (chiefly) Australians to show familiarity with the concepts. Thus, a matching reformulation for these non-pejoratives would be: "talking about it I don't want to use long words (as people who think of it as something special do)" (Wierzbicka 1986: 362). In this line, it would be interesting to see how loanwords of this type, with a non-pejorative value, operate in AmE. My assumption is that even though the suffix *-o* is widely used in AusE and AmE as a familiarity marker, the particular "cultural significance of expressive derivation" (Wierzbicka 1986: 362) that exists in each sociolinguistic variety is what determines the type of pragmatic perception interlocutors take from words. Following this line of thinking, *journo* and *garbo* might well be doomed to the pejorative plane of connotation should Americans own them.

60. As cited in Kidd et al. (2011).

61. According to the CED4, a *tall poppy syndrome* [written in lowercase in the original entry] is used in informal contexts in Australia to denote a "tendency to disparage any person who has achieved great prominence or wealth".

3.3.2 Constructional schemas of *-o* pejoratives

Appendix 2 presents examples of *-o* pejoratives that have been used in the elaboration of constructional schemas. Like in the case of *-ie* pejoratives, and as mentioned in Section 3.2.2, only derivatives that originate in English are itemized and examined. The parameter of 'Englishness' excludes loanwords and words whose etymology is unknown, as shown in Table 3.3. These words are not used in the analysis since they are not acknowledged as derivatives, but their two-syllable structure (whose rightmost syllable is <o>) demonstrates that certain shapes can be templatic in marginal speech, even for words that are not native.

Table 3.3 Loanwords and etymologically unknown words that are excluded from the dataset in Appendix 2

Loanwords	Words with unknown etymology
boko < Fr. *beaucoup* 'too much'	*boffo* 'one dollar'
bono < Pol. 'a husband'	*bozo* 'a fool'
cozo < Yid. *chazer* 'a police officer'	*chongo* 'a black person'
crappo < Fr. *crapaud* 'a Frenchman'	*dillio* 'ugly'
dago < Sp. *Diego* 'a Hispanic immigrant'	*gismo, gizmo* 'the vagina; a fool'
hogo < Fr. *haut gout* 'stinking'	*goffo* 'free ride on a bumper of a car'
honcho < Jap. *han'cho* 'a leader'	*hanktelo* 'a foolish person'
jaro < Ma. *whauraura* 'to scold'	*hygelo* 'a drug addict'
kojo < Fa. *kodwo* 'a violent person'	*jalino* 'a disadvantage'
maco < Fr. *ma co*(*commere*) 'a gossip'	*jojo* 'the penis'
maco < Fr. *maquereau* 'a foolish person'	*mo* 'a foolish person'
matzo < Heb. *motzer* 'a Jew'	*mungo* 'a black person'
	narbo 'a boring person'
	paro 'a gang member'
	pego 'the penis'
	rhino 'money'
	scripto 'crazy'
	silko 'a thief'
	skibo 'a person of color'

In parallel with *-ie* derivatives, this book is interested in *-o* nominalizations used as pejoratives, which conforms to the description of *-o* in MWD11: "one that is, has the qualities of, or is associated with". Although some of these derivatives might be found functioning as adjectives in speech (e.g. *buggo* 'absurd'), they are still nominal units, since grammatical (or functional) categories also inherit correlates of form and function as "there is a one-to-one mapping of form and grammatical function" (Behrens 2009: 202). For the sake of clarity and consistency, I follow MWD11's classification of *-o* suffix as a noun-forming unit.

There are three main types of construction schemas of *-o* nominalizations being modeled from the data: denominal (e.g. *demo* < *democrat*), deadjectival (e.g. *presbo* < *Presbytarian*), and deverbal (e.g. *smacko* < *to smack*). The first two categories are more frequently used than the last one, the denominal type being the most frequent (accounting for 58.5% of the total number of pejoratives that are itemized in Appendix 2).

3.3.2.a *Schemas of* -o *DnNs*

There are 22 denominal schemas with *-o*. The most outstanding feature in the models is that the aspect of size is omitted because it does not show a decisive relevance to the general semantics of these nominalizations. The wide variety of models reflects the varied nature of nominal bases, ranging from activities (e.g. *convo* < *conversation*) to concrete nouns denoting objects (e.g. *bombo* 'a cheap wine') or people (e.g. *commo* 'a communist'):

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Object	Trade	Activity	Attitude	Ethnicity/race	Animal	Sufferer	Place	Membership	Sexual orientation	Appreciative	Pejorative
-$o_{a.1}$	*kiddo*	[+human]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{a.2}$	*whammo*	[+activity]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{a.3}$	*mago*	[+trade]	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.4}$	*bizzo*	[+trade]	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.5}$	*convo*	[+activity]	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.6}$	*demo*	[+activity]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.7}$	*mayo*	[+object]	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.8}$	*compo*	[+object]	−	+	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.9}$	*lavvo*	[+place]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.10}$	*skeeto*	[+animal]	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
-$o_{a.11}$	*combo*	[+activity]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.12}$	*bombo*	[+place]	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.13}$	*beano*	[+object]	+	−	−	−	−	±	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.14}$	*boho*	[+human]	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.15}$	*muso*	[+human]	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	±
-$o_{a.16}$	*commo*	[+human]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
-$o_{a.17}$	*secko*	[+leisure]	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.18}$	*gyppo*	[+place]	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.19}$	*sypho*	[+disease]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.20}$	*imo*	[+human]	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.21}$	*hypo*	[+human]	+	−	±	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{a.22}$	*homo*	[+human]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+

The number of clipped bases is very high, particularly in the case of pejoratives, e.g. *homo* (< *homosexual*), *commo* (< *communist*). However, 46% of denominal pejoratives originate from full (or non-clipped) bases, e.g. *squasho, dubbo, eggo*, which also comply with the prosodic template of this type of derivative. Interestingly, there are two units made up of two clipped bases whose final structure conforms to the disyllabic shape of *-o* nominalizations: *bobo* (< *bohemian* + *bourgeois*) and *mofo* (< *mother* + *fucker*). Trisyllabic forms are scarce and only two derivatives are attested: *sherlocko, delinko*. These forms, albeit rare, are justified since their hypothetical disyllabic forms can be homophonous to existing bases in English: **sherro* (< *sherry*?) and **delo* (< *deli*?).

Although *-o* is not traditionally associated with positive meanings, it is possible to find derivatives expressing the quality of either [+fondness] or [+appreciative] as in *kiddo* and *whammo* ('a muscular man'). The connotational components of [+informal] and [+pejorative] predominate in the model, with the exception of schema (a.7), which is a word-formation model for standard lexis, e.g. *intro, mayo*. Bases that are characterized by the semantic component of [+human], [+object], or [+activity] account for nearly 60% of the schemas. However, an interesting feature of these schemas is that they are mostly connotationally affected, that is the referent does not change but the connotational value does. For instance, *compo*, as in (a.8), and *compensation* denote the same referent but the former is more informal in any given context. Alternatively, some models can express a conspicuous change of denotation, which is expected to be highly metaphorical and cryptic. There are two kinds of denotation-changing model: (a) those in which the type of semantic component does not change, and (b) those in which the semantic component shifts to a totally different one. An example of the former (a) is (a.12), where the aspect of [+object] is present in the base and in the derivative, but both words denote different referents, e.g. *bombo*, where the base *bomb-* refers to the explosive device, but the resulting *-o* derivative means 'a type of wine'. As for (b), this change is even more acute, as shown in (a.2): the base *wham-* refers to a violent and noisy action, *whammo* possesses the component of [+human].

The most frequent transitions are those in which the semantic traits of [+attitude] and [+mental state] are involved, accounting for approximately half of the lemmas included in Appendix 2. Examples are represented in schemas (a.14), (a.20), and (a.21), the latter two being almost identical, only differing in the type of base: unlike (a.21), schema (a.20) originates from a pejorative base, thus conveying a pejorative meaning is a predicted property. One understandable question that may therefore arise at this point is what makes *lusho* and *pervo* more pejorative than *lush* and *pervert*. Both pairs are made up of two pejorative bases (*lush-*, *perv*[*ert*]-) which are felt to be highly offensive. However, the suffix *-o* contributes (a) to the marginalization of the etymon (e.g. *lusho* and *pervo* are more informal) and (b) to the semantic explicitness of *-o* suffixed derivatives ('someone who is negatively

appraised'). Thus, the suffix *-o* reflects an iconic value that makes readers and hearers identify the authentic intention of speakers even in context-less situations. This type of morphological iconicity allows for the semantic specificity of 'evil' words. Thus, pejorative words, even if they are as disparaging as *lush* and *pervert*, can transition to a higher degree of offensiveness where the 'unlovable' derivatives ending in *-o* are "coarse, vigorous, excessive" (McAndrew 1992: 174).

Less frequent examples of *-o* DnNs are those that originate from [+activity] (e.g. *convo* < *conversation*), [+trade] (e.g. *garbo* < *garbage collector, journo* < *journalist*), [+membership] (e.g. *soro* < *sorority* [*member*], *commo* < *communist*), [+sexual orientation] (e.g. *homo* < *homosexual, lezzo* < *lesbian*), [+place] (e.g. *gyppo* < *Egyptian, cholo* < *Chololl*án), and [+leisure] (e.g. *secko* < *sex*). Most of these semantic components are sensitive to mockery and offensiveness because they revolve around taboo topics such as ethnicity, sexual orientation, or political ideas. On the other hand, categories such as 'trade' (or 'occupational terms'), which are less taboo, are not so susceptible to pejoration although they might imply carelessness, roughness, or anti-intellectualism (cf. McAndrew 1992; Cervi & Wajnryb 1992; Collins 2012), which is why they may be used in newspaper headlines to engage readers, as in (20).

(20) GARBO sobs as he appears in court charged with dangerous driving after he allegedly reversed over and killed a grandmother who was taking her grandson, 2, for a walk. (*dailymail.co.uk*, headlines, Apr. 24, 2020)

While a significant number of DnNs are made up of the aspect of [+human], some schemas may denote: [+object], as in (a.12), (a.7), and (a.8); [+trade], as in (a.4); [+place], as in (a.9); [+activity], as in (a.5); and [+animal], as in (a.10). These schemas are more transparent than those involving [+human] as an output semantics component because the referent remains unchanged; for example, *rabbo* and *rabbit* both denote the same referent (i.e. animal), but the former is obviously restricted to informal contexts, which affects the connotational plane only. In the case of *bombo*, in (a.12), the schema shows a transition of the type [+object] → [+object], which fits the general structure of the schema to which it pertains. The truth is, though, that *bombo*, as mentioned earlier, has also undergone a denotational shift since the base *bomb-* conveys a referent that is different from the sense expressed by *bombo* ('a cheap wine').

One type of denominal construction that stands out from the rest is the so-called "CoCo template" (Gorman & MacKenzie 2009), in which the two syllables ending in *-o* are purposefully blended to express marginalization and/or pejoration: *boho, bobo, homo, mofo, po-po, povvo, soro, yobbo*. Following the inherent nature of the prototypical *-o* that is used in this study, these syllables might be part of the same base (e.g. *homo* < *homosexual, soro* < *sorority, povvo* < *impoverished*) or made up of two different ones (e.g. *bobo* < *bourgeois* + *bohemian, mofo* < *mother* + *fucker*).

3.3.2.b *Schemas of* -o *DaNs*

A total of 16 schemas are identified. A problematic aspect of deadjectival schemas is that the adjectives from which the *-o* derivatives originate generally make up nominal phrases, so it would not be unreasonable to claim that various DaNs stem from nouns or nominal phrases. However, I classify the schemas based on the grammatical categories of the most immediate etymons, not necessarily on the function operated by these words at the syntactic level. Thus, *nasho* and *pro* originate from the adjectives *national* and *professional*, not from the respective nominal phrases *national service* and *professional player*:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Object	Activity	Attitude	Ethnicity/race	Belief	Place	Membership	Sexual orientation	Appreciative	Pejorative
-$o_{b.1}$	*suavo*	[+attitude]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{b.2}$	*pro*	[+attitude]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{b.3}$	*primo*	[+quality]	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{b.4}$	*wide-o*	[+mental state]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{b.5}$	*jollyo*	[+attitude]	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{b.6}$	*hardo*	[+physical property]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
-$o_{b.7}$	*nasho*	[+membership]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
-$o_{b.8}$	*nego*	[+attitude]	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.9}$	*bando*	[+quality]	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.10}$	*lefto*	[+belief]	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.11}$	*pinko*	[+color]	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.12}$	*hypo*	[+purpose]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.13}$	*sicko*	Neg[+mental state]	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.14}$	*dimbo*	[+mental state]	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.15}$	*paro*	[+physical property]	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
-$o_{b.16}$	*remo*	[+quality]	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

Similar to DnNs, the vast majority of deadjectival *-o* derivatives are disyllabic, and 35% of the deadjectival pejoratives in Appendix 2 stem from full (as opposed to clipped) bases. Therefore, a distinctive feature of deadjectival forms is not their morphological structure, which generally conforms to the standards of *-o* nominalizations, but is, instead, their semantic compositionality. DaNs ending in *-o* are generally metaphorical or metonymic representations of a referent, by means of which an attribute (e.g. a color, a mental state, a physical property, etc.) denotes an object (e.g. *primo*), an activity (e.g. *jollyo*), a place (e.g. *bando* < *abandoned*),

or a person (e.g. *pinko*). Clipping also constitutes an important process that guarantees the morphological template of *-o* derivatives. Most shortened words are back-clipped; though it is also possible to find, as discussed in Section 3.3.1, cases of syncopes (*bando* < *abandoned, povvo* < *impoverished*) or median clipping (*gonzo* < *gone crazy*), but to a much lower degree.

Interestingly, although pejorative schemas predominate in the analysis, ranging from (b.8) to (b.16), there are six appreciative DaN schemas. This number, albeit lower than for pejorative constructions, is significant because it demonstrates that *-o* is not restricted to offensive lexis, but can operate in the form of appreciatives, e.g. *hardo, wide-o, primo*.[62] Thus, adjectives expressing positive meaning transition into derivatives by retaining one of the positive attributes, that is *prime* and *suave* derive into *primo* and *suavo* without losing their original (positive) connotation. An interesting case in which this transition is broken, however, is the pejorative *rumbo*, which derives from the adjective *rum* 'first-rate', but is ironically used to denote 'a prison', so its morphological product is a negative word.

As for the semantic compositionality of bases, the attributes of [+mental state], [+quality], and [+physical property] are the most frequent. The semantic transitions expressed by the schemas (i.e. negative attribute → a referent that is negatively appraised) are generally predictable templates. That is, bases such as *negative, sick*, or *twisted* are expected to undergo a relatively bright-line shift into *nego, sicko*, or *twisto*. The presence of [+pejorative] in a base is marked in (b.13), for instance, to differentiate it from the similar schema (b.14), where the attribute in the base is not necessarily pejorative. Cases such as (b.14) abound: *hypodermic → hypo, left → lefto, pink → pinko, remedial → remo*. All of these derivatives show that the standard attributes of bases are used by speakers to connote derivatives with offensive meaning. The fact that their resulting forms fall within the taboo fields of politics, addiction (or obsession), race/ethnicity, or sex, contributes to a more transparent (and effective) pragmatic goal. Curiously, not all attributes are metonymically encoded into derivatives at the same rate. The explicitness of *sicko* contrasts with the crypticism of *hypo*, the latter being an attribute of an injection of a drug using a *hypodermic* needle and syringe. In like manner, *squasho*, a highly derogatory word for a black person, is believed to derive from a stereotyped assumption that black people like to eat squashes and melons (GDS).

62. The degree to which *-o* is limited to pejoratives is also dependent on sociolinguistic factors: most of the appreciatives that are extracted from dictionaries are frequently used in AusE while they appear to be uncommon in AmE.

3.3.2.c *Schemas of* -o *DvNs*

Deverbal schemas are far less frequent than denominal and deadjectival ones. There are four schemas of DvNs, which are generally characterized by full bases:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Object	Activity	Attitude	Ethnicity/race	Place	Body part	Sexual orientation	Appreciative	Pejorative
-$o_{c.1}$	*looko*	[+act]	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
-$o_{c.2}$	*boilo*	[+act]	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
-$o_{c.3}$	*jumpo*	[+act/ locomotion]	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
-$o_{c.4}$	*rape-o*	[+physical aggression]	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

An interesting aspect of deverbal schemas is that a single template can involve two different types of verbs, as in (c.2) and (c.4). In the case of (c.2), for instance, while *smacko*$_1$ stands for a car (an object) that has been severely damaged (or *smacked*), *smoko* refers to marijuana and how it can be taken. Consequently, *smacko*$_1$ constitutes a causative template, and *smoko*, an instrumental one. Yet they both fit schema (c.2) because the semantic components of their bases and their derivatives coincide. As for (c.4), a schema in which the semantic component of [+physical aggression] is specified, the semantic differences between *rape-o* and *spanko* lie in whether the person is, respectively, a grammatical agent or patient of the action. That is, whilst *rape-o* denotes an agent or someone who performs an action, *spanko* refers to someone who receives an action. At times, distinguishing the grammatical roles of a nominalization through the way the output semantics is constructed can be rather blurry. For instance, *blotto* (< *blot out* 'drunkard') falls into (c.4) on the morphosemantic plane, but what has been *blotted out* (because of the act of heavy drinking) is not the person per se, but their mind or consciousness.

3.3.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-o*

Schemas of *-o* nominalizations indicate that denominal and deadjectival templates are particularly polysemous and frequent. Figure 3.5 shows that the aspect of [+pejorative] is also linked to [+human], as opposed to [+object] or [+activity], which can be present in informal or standard lexis.

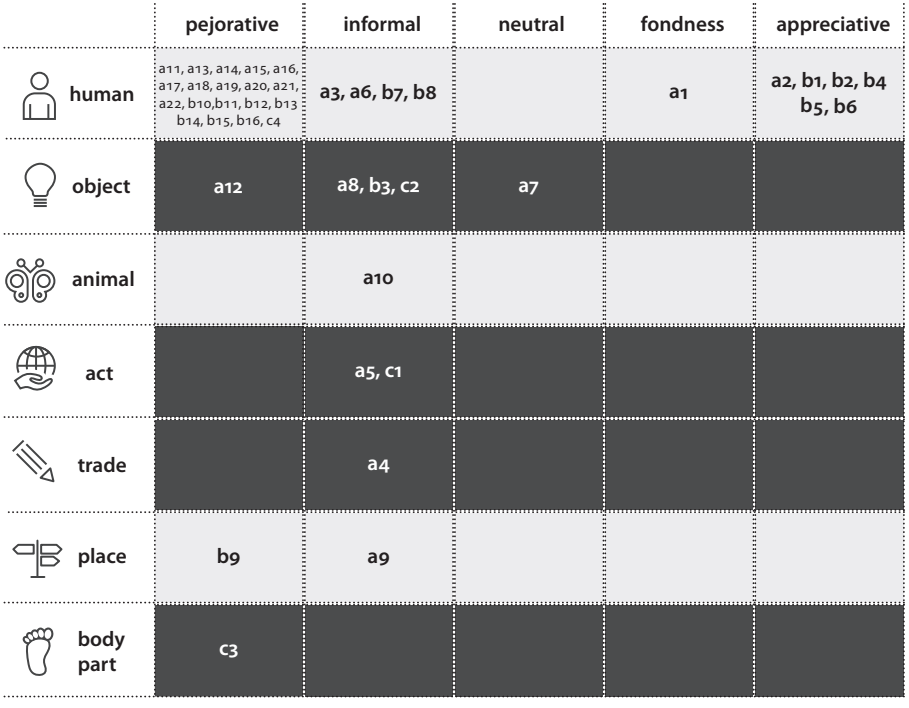

Figure 3.5 Distribution of *-o* constructions according to their output semantics

Following the procedure of schema unification, there are three meta constructions that are elaborated based on the semantic planes of pejoratives. These unified constructions, as shown below, also confirm the connection between the grammatical typology of schemas and the output semantics relation: denominal schemas (i) → relational construction ('relating to X'), deadjectival schemas (ii) → stative construction ('being X'), and deverbal schemas (iii) → actional construction ('X-ing').[63]

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-o*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by relating to $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *presbo, beano*
ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-o*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by being $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *single-o, twisto*
iii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-o*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *spanko, rape-o*

63. For a more detailed account of the categories of stative, relational, and actional constructions, see Section 3.2.3 on the meta constructions of *-ie* pejoratives.

Relational constructions are definitely less transparent than stative ones. They are made up of two notions that are semantically related to each other through the general appraisal of the property for which the etymon stands. For instance, *remo* and *sypho* denote someone who is negatively appraised for 'attending educational special needs (remedial) classes' or for 'suffering from syphilis' respectively. There is, then, a multifunctional connection between a person and the notion to which they are being related through their role as an 'attendee' (*remo*) or a 'sufferer' (*sypho*). However, various schemas show that the aspect of [+human] is present in the etymon, which implies a less complex relational role than the one represented in *remo* and *sypho* because there is no change of referent. As shown in *commo* (< *communist*), *boho* (< *bohemian*), *hypo* (< *hypochondriac*), and *homo* (< *homosexual*), words suffixed with *-o* are more pejorative than their etymons because they imply that the relatively standard status or property of the etymon is used by speakers to disparage those exhibiting this property. So, pejorative-users resort to the one-attribute model to let targeted hearers know that 'of all your features, this one, which relates you to X_N, is the one I least approve of'. The value of X_N in a schema depends on whether a speaker refers to 'attitude' (e.g. *bohemian*), 'membership' (e.g. *communist*), 'mental state' (e.g. *hypochondriac*), or 'sexual orientation' (e.g. *homosexual*). Relational models thus confirm the role of *-o* in the expression of contemptuous attitudes towards properties that are socially taboo.

Stative constructions involving *-o* are also dependent on an attribute (i.e. a quality or state) that denotes the referent. Most of the attributes that partake in the derivation process are non-physical properties, and they generally fall into either [+mental state], [+quality], or [+attitude]. Therefore, *-o* appears to be semantically restricted to attributes related to personality traits, which explains why, for instance, color-origin pejoratives ending in *-o* are scarce.[64] However, what seems to be unquestionable is the pejorative contribution of *-o* to the resulting derivatives. Although this feature is felt more realistic or natural in cases in which the original attribute is not meant to disparage or belittle interlocutors, as in *single* > *single-o*, most etymons convey negative meanings (e.g. *depressed* > *depresso, cracked* > *cracko, sick* > *sicko*). So what is it that makes the suffix *-o* imbue *sicko* with a more pejorative sense than the meaning conveyed by *sick*? When a language user takes an attribute (e.g. 'mental abnormality') to represent a person, this can be interpreted as an act of negative generalization;[65] that is, he or she is only known for being *sick, cracked*, or *depressed*. This one-attribute stigmatization of a person results in a powerful

64. Only *pinko* is attested.

65. Negative generalizations are neutralized when etymons have positive meanings, as in *primo, suavo*.

expression of contempt or mockery. As a result, the suffix *-o* accentuates the semantic transposition (i.e. quality/attitude/mental state → person) of derivatives, and the fact that the generalization is stigmatized as offensive.

Actional constructions that are expressed in *-o* schemas are highly transparent because an action that qualifies an agent is also negative or taboo. In the cases of *rape-o* and *spanko*, for instance, someone is being characterized by 'raping' or by 'being spanked (for pleasure)'. Actional constructions can be more semantically effective than relational or stative ones because a person (not necessarily an interlocutor), who is negatively qualified as *rape-o* or *spanko*, is made participant (agent or patient) to an action that is socially condemned.

Most *-o* derivatives expressing derisive attitude originate from non-pejorative bases, but this difference is less acute than in the case of *-ie* pejoratives. Figure 3.6 shows the percentages of *-o* pejoratives stemming from both pejorative and non-pejorative bases. In parallel with the semantic transition of *-ie* schemas, the degree of offensiveness conveyed by words made up of non-pejorative bases (e.g. *lefto* < *left*) is not necessarily higher than words made up of pejorative ones (e.g. *stupo* < *stupid*). The pragmatic force of pejoration or contempt that a word entails is in fact correlated to how uneasy interlocutors feel about certain taboo topics. For instance, *pervo* and *pinko* should have a more impactful reaction on hearers than *unco* and *sherlocko* because the former fall into the taboo topics of sex and politics.

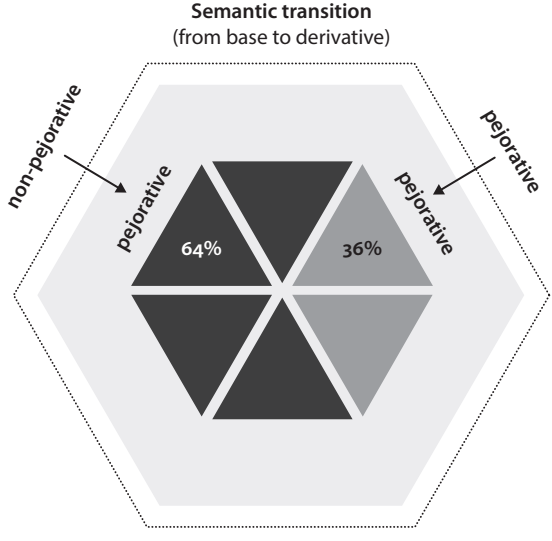

Figure 3.6 Proportion of *-o* pejoratives stemming from pejorative and non-pejorative bases

At times, when the suffix *-o* (not the non-suffixal ending <o>) is added to full bases, the grapheme of the suffix is not fused into the spelling of the base in order to guarantee their phonological recognizability. Thus, *single-o* and *strange-o* are preferred over **singlo* or **strango*. Another peculiarity is that of two allomorphs, i.e. *-bo* (as in *crumbo*) and *-so* (as in *fatso*), which resemble their synonyms *-bie* and *-sie*,[66] that are less frequent in the data. Some *-bo* units are, however, not really suffixed with the allomorph *-bo*; <b>, in fact, forming part of the base: *lesbo* < *lesbian, nebo* < *inebriated, presbo* < *Presbyterian*. It is, in general, infrequent to find bases with spelling variation, and any graphemic changes are intended to keep the phonological template recognizable by users (as in *delinko* < *delinquent*), or to marginalize bases by turning the grapheme of a voiced sibilant /z/ from <s> into <z>, as in *spazzo* (< *spasm*).[67]

The semantic component of [+mental state] is an interesting one, particularly when the referent is someone who is considered 'foolish' or 'mad' by their interlocutors. As shown in Table 3.4, a total of 25 words are compiled under these two semantic components.

Table 3.4 Nominalizations ending in *-o* and conveying the senses of 'foolish' or 'mad'

***-o* derivatives meaning 'foolish'**	***-o* derivatives meaning 'mad'**
dumbo < *dumb* (adj.)	*cracko* < *cracked* (adj.)
dimbo < *dim* (adj.)	*crazo* < *crazy* (adj.)
dippo < *dip* (n.)	*maddo* < *mad* (adj.)
dopo < *dope* (n.)	*nutso* < *nuts* (adj.)
dozo < *dozy* (adj.)	*paro* < *paranoid* (adj.)
dubbo < *dub* (n.)	*psycho* < *psychopath* (n.)
eggo < *egg* (n.)	*schizo* < *schizophrenic* (n.)
(*el*) *dorko* < *dork* (n.)	*strange-o* < *strange* (adj.)
imo < *imbecile* (n.)	*twisto* < *twisted* (adj.)
remo < *remedial* (adj.)	*weirdo* < *weird* (adj.)
sappo < *sap* (n.)	*whacko* < *whacky* (adj.)
schmo < *schmuck* (n.)	
stupo < *stupid* (adj.)	
thicko < *thick* (adj.)	

66. For more details on allomorphy (and spelling variations) in diminutives, and particularly on the forms *-sie* and *-bie*, see Section 3.2.3.

67. This process, as commented in Chapter 2 (footnote 27), is known as zazzification, and it also affects phonological changes, e.g. a voiceless sibilant /s/ changes into a voiced one /z/, as in *biz* < *business* (cf. Wescott 1978).

A closer look at the examples in Table 3.4 corroborates the fact that there seems to be a templatic shape at the levels of morphosyntax and semantics. Below is a constructional reformulation of how these words can be interpreted. Bases are either adjectival or nominal, and their semantic interpretation is based on either a stative model ('person being [X_{Adj}]' as in *stupo* < *stupid*) or a relational one ('person resembling [X_N]' as in *schmo* < *schmuck*). Both templates agree on the notion that someone is depreciated for possessing negative qualities that fall into the category of mental state. The three constructions can be abstracted as follows:

Denominal constructional schema:
$[[X]_{Ni}\ \{o\}]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [person resembling $SEM_i]_j$
Deadjectival constructional schema:
$[[X]_{Adji}\ \{o\}]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [person being $SEM_i]_j$
Unified constructional schema:
$[[X]_{Adj/Ni}\ \{o\}]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [person perceived as possessing negative $SEM_i]_j$

Regardless of the sociolinguistic factors (e.g. English variety) that affect suffix productivity and frequency, there appears to be a clear connection between the semantics of bases and the choice of a diminutive suffix. Color- and origin-based words, as shown in Section 3.2, for instance, have a bright-line preference for *-ie* (e.g. *Dutchie, blackie*) whereas bases that depict someone's mental state tend to suffix with *-o*. This morphological affinity responds to morphopragmatic rules, whereby a templatic shape is cognitively associated with a given communicative goal. This rule guarantees effective communication, interlocutors being able to decode meanings and pragmatic functions in a more natural fashion. However, the standardization of these rules might also lead to the loss of pragmatic force, which is why speakers can simply break them and use nonce words or neologisms that involve either suffix being attached to a base which it normally avoids. For instance, *blacko* < *black*, as in (21), and *maddie* < *mad*, as in (22), are rarely found in English but their choice in these two examples, instead of the well-established pejoratives *blackie* and *maddo*, suggests that their use is intended to regain a more derisive attitude than their corresponding paronyms.

(21) "He's a BLACKO", "going for a chinky", "the paki shop" – still words that I hear to this day. "It doesn't mean anything, it's just what we say", I get told when I challenge them […] These words however are degrading, racist and above all "…names can never hurt you" was a lie. (*life-of-fai.com*, Oct. 4, 2019)

(22) Let faster vehicles behind you pass if you are travelling at 20mph on a single track road – and steer clear of Hamish MacDonald, he's a MADDIE. (*gamal.co.uk*, Dec. 2011)

CHAPTER 4

From excess to pejoration

4.1 Too much can be bad

The expression of excess, at the level of morphology, has been explicitly associated with the effect of some prefixes, such as *super-*, *ultra-*, *mega-*, and *hyper-*, on the input semantics of bases (Plag 2018: 98). Thus, in the cases of *hyperactive* and *megastore*, there is a clear augmentation of the value of *-active* and *-store*, though it is not necessarily negative. This is why these prefixes are generally called 'augmentatives' and their function is to indicate that the size, value, or quality of a base goes beyond what is considered standard (Bauer et al. 2015: 404–406). However, although words prefixed with *maxi-*, *mega-*, *ultra-*, and *super-* tend to convey positive meaning, *hyper-* can express the meaning of "large in a negative, pathological sense" when it is used in technical terms or in science fiction contexts (Bauer et al. 2015: 409). Therefore, units that are made up of any of these prefixes may also be referred to as 'excessives' (Schneider 2003: 17), which successfully entails the semantic tags of 'extremely', 'too much', and 'over the top'. As readers might expect, this chapter does not, however, revolve around prefixes, but rather suffixes and final combining forms that convey the sense of excess in a pejorative way. The examples of prefixes are used solely to help understand the semantic development of excess-based morphemes.

How, though, does an excessive sense lead to a pejorative one? Is there a connection between what is extremely augmented and how people feel about such augmentation? The answer to these questions might lie in an analogy to the Mae West quote "too much of a good thing is wonderful": *too much of a bad thing can be dreadful*. As mentioned in Chapter 3, diminution and evaluation are correlated because what is diminutive can also be insignificant, and hence appraised negatively. If we extrapolate this proposition to the case of excessives, we find that the semantic value of formatives can intensify the semantics of bases to the extent that the derivatives may result in the ultimate output semantics involving 'extremely' or 'excessively'. An interesting aspect of semantic change is that the original sense of the base is not necessarily negative. For instance, the prefix *ultra-*, as in *ultra-Catholic* in (1) or *ultranationalist* in (2), suggests that these are radical attitudes because there is a degree of excessive devotion to, respectively, a religious faith and a political ideology. The devotion implicit in being a *Catholic* or a *nationalist* is not, however, by

its very nature negative, although both terms do fall into the sensitive (or taboo) scopes of religion and politics. Therefore, bases that are originally either negative (or derisive), as in *-nerd* in (3), or potentially susceptible to taboo, as in *-Catholic*, are prone to the semantic structure of [characterized by being [X_{Adj}] (or an [X_N]) to excess], which implies that they can definitely be excessives with a pejorative sense. On the whole, the 'bad thing' (in *too much of a bad thing can be dreadful*) is actually dependent on the extent to which a referent is susceptible to negative appraisal by interlocutors.

(1) A former mayor who knew him well adds: "He's an ULTRA-CATHOLIC! A radicalized. Is it republican to have supported the faithful who prayed in front of the churches illegally, to protest against the gauge of 30 people by place of worship? […]" (*archyde.com*, Dec. 28, 2020)

(2) The budget, approved in February, stated that diversity was a cornerstone of Canadian identity threatened by the rise of "ULTRANATIONALIST movements and protests against immigration, visible minorities and religious minorities." (*washingtonpost.com*, Apr. 1, 2018)

(3) Because Julian admits he isn't just a nerd: he's an ULTRA-NERD. He decorates his bedroom walls with posters of the periodic table and Stephen Hawking, and his after-school forte is inventing high-tech pranks like fart flares and stink ink […] (*theglobeandmail.com*, Sep. 25, 2009)

In social studies, the whole idea of having too much of something can be paradoxically framed as toxic because the notion of 'excessive' is located at one extreme of a conceptual trichotomy, i.e. scarcity, abundance, and excess (Abbott 2014: 2). These extremes are in line with Aristotelian postulates on deficiency and excess as sources of vice, whereby "every virtue of character lies between two correlative faults or vices (…), which consist respectively of the excess and the deficiency of something of which the virtue represents the right amount" (Williams 1985: 36). It is, then, part of human nature to categorize excessives as 'unrightful' and 'negative' because they do not conform to the 'right amount' or a standard. Morphological units, as part of a linguistic system, also show how lexis can be changed to express 'excess' through syntactic intensifiers (e.g. *too much, extremely*) or excessive affixes. The examples of *ultra-* above corroborate the idea that excessive prefixation results in both a denotational change ('one who is a radical devotee') and a connotational one ('one who is depreciated for being a radical devotee').

Figure 4.1 shows an outline of how excess-based affixes operate at the level of semantics. To be consistent with the categories of excessives mentioned earlier, I have used various examples of *ultra-* in the figure to elaborate on the ambivalent nature of the prefix. Clearly, the input semantics of the base is important to be able to predict whether derivatives prefixed with *ultra-* convey a positive or a

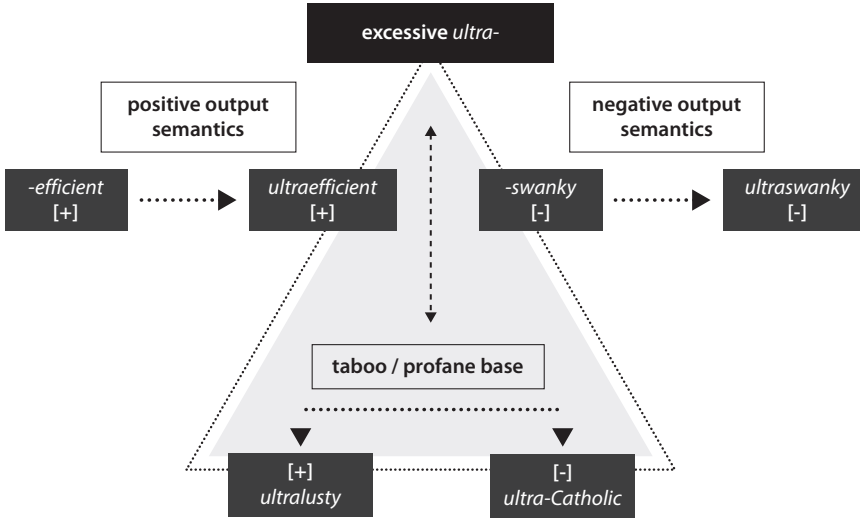

Figure 4.1 Semantic tendencies of *ultra-* derivatives according to the value of the base

negative sense. An excessive increase of positive values results in a positive word (e.g. *ultraefficient*) whereas excessive properties of a negative base turns it into a more pejorative one (e.g. *ultraswanky*). In the case of bases that are neither positive or negative but, which are characterized by profane or taboo traits, as in *-Catholic* and *-lusty*, their semantic route depends on the stance a speaker might have towards the topic. For instance, if the taboo topic is sex, the chances of a neutral word being pejorative are lower than they would be for a word connected with profanity that is linked to religious matters.

Excessive suffixes and combining forms are, in essence, similar to prefixes in the way the parameters of 'excessive' or 'too much' are added to a base, which may be either positive (e.g. *loveaholic*), negative (e.g. *drunkard*), or neutral (e.g. *biblio-later*). However, a particular feature of excess-based suffixed forms is that their output semantics is less ambivalent than that of prefixed forms, and hence there is no strict correlation between negative bases and pejorative semantics. That is, the semantic value of a suffixed base is not as relevant as that of a prefixed one. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that prefixes do not change the syntactic categories of etymons, and their function is limited to adding a semantic trait, as in negators (e.g. *un-*, *il-*, *non-*) (Dixon 2014: 34). That suffixes are more prone to pejorative derivation is, then, perhaps related to their class-changing property (Bauer 1989: 31), whereby a new class, as in the noun *sluggard*, is constructed upon the verbal semantics of the base (*to slug*) and the agentive traits of [+human]. This proposition does not deny the evaluative content of prefixes, but it does set boundaries that explain the limited effects of prefixation on the evaluative-changing process.

The formatives (suffixes and combining forms) that are examined in this chapter are: *-ard*, *-later*, *-holic*, *-maniac*, *-rrhea*, *-itis*, and *-porn*. With the exceptions of *-ard* and *-itis*, they are all combining forms.[68] Although they are morphologically and etymologically dissimilar, they all have the common thread of indicating that some qualities or values are excessive or extremely augmented. An interesting feature of excessives as evaluative morphemes is that none of them have examples of size-related augmentation, as opposed to diminution-based suffixed forms such as *doggie* and *girlie*.

The commonality of excessive or (extremely) augmented qualities/values, used as a grouping aspect, also allows for a series of differentiating traits on the morphological plane. Whereas *-ard* and *-later* were imported from French in the formation of excessive pejoratives, *-itis* and *-rrhea*, being originally borrowed from Latin and Greek, respectively, in the formation of medical terms, generate nonce words that have nothing to do with the medical technicalities that words such as *bronchitis* or *leukorrhea* convey. In this line, nonce formations such as *televisionitis* and *wordarrhea*, besides inheriting a rooted sense of excess, retain some analogical components that connect *televisionitis* with a disease, or *wordarrhea* with nonstop flow. The presence of these features is unquestionable, and they constitute remnants of a technical past that are metaphorically reused for the sake of mockery and lexical innovation. Accepting that *wordarrhea* has no denotational connection with *diarrhea* (or *leukorrhea*) is denying the primal effect of analogical extension on nonce formations. The impactful semantics of *wordarrhea* relies on this connection. In the following sections, I will discuss how pejorative traits emerge from such cases of excessive suffixes and combining forms.

4.2 The suffix *-ard*

According to the OED3, *-ard* is first found in Middle English words that originated from Old French, and its current sense is "one who does to excess, or who does what is discreditable", as in *drunkard, sluggard*, and *dullard*. The suffix has also been etymologically related to the morpheme *-hart* (in Old High German) in the formation of personal names, as in *Gerard* < *Gērhart* (MWD11). The forms *-art* (as in *braggart*) and *-ar* (as in *beggar*) constitute allomorphs of *-ard*. There are not many *-ard* derivatives in English, and some of the early derivatives are not even analyzable

68. As suggested in Chapter 2, I have adopted the umbrella term of 'combining form', which includes neo-classical combining forms (e.g. *-maniac*), native combining forms (e.g. *-porn*), and splinters (e.g. *-holic*), for the sake of conceptual generalization. For more details on the terms of semi-suffix and combining form, see Section 2.2.1.

in English, e.g. *bastard, coward* (Dixon 2014: 51). That *-ard* has a derogatory or pejorative meaning is an accepted fact, which could indeed have been modeled on *bastard* and *coward* (Dalton-Puffer 1996: 145).[69] This depreciatory sense is still felt in some of the French words that exist in the present, as in *chauffard* 'bad driver' and *motard* 'dangerous motorcyclist' (Armstrong 2005: 209). In general, there is little research on *-ard* derivatives as, major works on English derivation and morphology (e.g. Bauer 1989; Lipka 2002; Bauer et al. 2015; Plag 2018) do not explicate how *-ard* derivatives, particularly evaluative forms, are coined. This lack of theoretical foundation might be down to either the limited cases of *-ard* derivatives that are found in English or the difficulty of tracing their etymological routes.

It has been possible to extract only seven *-ard* pejoratives from English dictionaries and corpora (see Appendix 3). The short list also confirms that the suffix is characterized by low productivity in contemporary English, in that it is not used to make new words with the meaning referred to here.

4.2.1 Forms and functions of *-ard* pejoratives

Whether *-ard* might have resulted from an analogical construction from *bastard* and *coward*, or that its degree of offensiveness is inherited from the bases to which it is attached, the fact is that it is less ambivalent than other pejorative suffixes. That is, the resulting *-ard* derivatives are unambiguously expected to convey the idea of someone who "is characterized by performing some action, possessing some quality, or being associated with some thing especially conspicuously or excessively" (MWD11). A problematic feature of examining a French-origin morpheme is that there might be English pejoratives ending in *-ard* that might have originated from French etymons through a metaphorical extension of meaning. For instance, the adjective *haggard,* as in (4), is used to depict someone who looks tired or anxious; however, this meaning has nothing to do with *-ard* itself but with Fr. *hagard* used to refer to birds that are caught and caged at an adult age. As suggested by MWD11, the meaning for wild birds could have been extended to people, which would confirm that the pejorative sense of *haggard* is not contributed by the suffix, but by the semantic shift of its etymon. Also, some units are morphologically deceptive because their <ard> spelling does not in fact refer to the suffix, but to a base that has evolved into the form of *-ard*. The unit *gozzard*, for instance, originates from the Middle English compound *goose* + *herde* 'herdsman', whereby <ard> is the resulting

69. The suffix *-ard* that is examined in this section is different from the splinter *-tard* (< *retard*) used in the formation of offensive terms such as *leftard* ("a left-wing supporter", COD23) and *celebutard* ("[a] celebrity of no worth or value other than being in the limelight", COD23, pending investigation).

alteration of the base *-herde*. Two further examples of morphological respelling are *blaggard* 'a rude person' and *dizzard* 'a foolish person', which are alterations of *blackguard* and *diseur* respectively, and whose ending <ard> is non-suffixal.[70] Both units *blaggard* and *dizzard* are homophones to their etymons. Although the examples of *blaggard* and *dizzard* are not used in our data, they confirm the role of pejorative templates in the process of morphological alteration or respelling.

(4) In that particular instance, in the first two parts she's a HAGGARD old witch and in the second two she's this glamourous woman, but obviously, still the same character. (*reviewsbyjudith.com*, Aug. 5, 2020)

Another type of derivative that poses a problem is lexical borrowings, e.g. *clochard* 'a tramp', *canard* 'a false story'. These are in fact *-ard* pseudo-derivatives whose word-formation process takes place in French, not in English. Given that *-ard* is a fully assimilated suffix in English, it is not surprising that words such as these undergo no morphological adaptation. Nonetheless, French loanwords have been excluded from the dataset.

All the data used in the study are nominalizations, either deadjectival (DaN), denominal (DnN), or deverbal (DvN). Given the low number of cases of *-ard* derivatives, all the schemas are modeled and examined in a single section, i.e. Section 4.2.2.

4.2.2 Constructional schemas of *-ard* pejoratives

There are four schemas of *-ard* nominalizations in English. Three of them are pejorative models whose output denotation component is always [+human]:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Origin	Quality	Appearance	Attitude	Excessive	Pejorative
-ard$_{a.1}$	*Spaniard*	[+place]	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
-ard$_{b.1}$	*dullard*	[+personality trait]	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
-ard$_{b.2}$	*blackard*	[+physical property]	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
-ard$_{c.1}$	*sluggard*	[+act]	+	−	+	−	+	+	+

70. Note that unlike the case of non-suffixal <o> as in *homo*, <ard> in *blaggard* stems from a complex process of morphological alteration or respelling that affects the full word. Also, not only does *homo* differentiate from *homosexual* on the morphological plane, but also on the semantic one: *homo* is an offensive term whereas *homosexual* is standard or neutral.

The schemas above confirm the realization of pejorative traits through a stative model (e.g. *dullard*) as well as an actional one (e.g. *sluggard*). The only relational model found (i.e. *Spaniard*) does not convey a pejorative sense, perhaps because it is not frequent to associate someone with a place excessively. In the case of stative and actional models, however, a person is interpreted as someone who excessively performs an action or possesses a certain value in excess, respectively. These particular values and actions, in line with the preliminary formulation of excessives discussed in Section 4.1, convey negative meanings (e.g. *dull-*, *slug-*), or they are susceptible to pejoration because they fall within the category of 'race/ethnicity' (e.g. *black-*). Pejorative schemas can therefore be unified as:

i. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ard*$]_j \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by being excessively $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *dullard*
ii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-ard*$]_j \leftrightarrow$ [one who is offensively characterized by compulsively $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *sluggard*

4.3 The combining form *-holic*

The combining form *-holic* constitutes the most productive unit in the formation of derivatives conveying the meaning of excess. A quick search of the NOW Corpus, for instance, yields over 300 *-holic* word types in the first 1,000 hits of words ending in <holic>. Most of the words that are excluded from the dataset for the current work are lemmas in which *-holic* merely constitutes a spelling cluster <holic> such as *Catholic, melancholic*, and *alcoholic*. Also, adjectives such as *assholic* are discarded because they have no relationship with the formative *-holic*; *assholic* is the adjective form of *asshole*. As indicated by Mattiello, corpus-based studies confirm that there are some well-established words such as *workaholic* and *chocoholic*, and a great number of 'occasionalisms', e.g. *fruitaholic, fatheraholic* (2018: 10). The form *-holic* (also attested as *-aholic* or *-oholic*) is rarely found in isolation, and although there are studies suggesting that these clipped combining forms are unlikely to become independent units (Lehrer 2007: 125), we cannot deny that a high profitability and a clear semantic specialization might trigger "a life as a free form" (Bauer et al. 2015: 528). Proof of this type of lexemization is found in the use of *aholicness* as a synonym for 'addiction', as in (5).

(5) First paragraph is correct, R we all need to see some evidence of you serve and volleying if you use gut. Meags, that last paragraph sums up the AHOLICNESS in us all perfectly! (*tt.tennis-warehouse.com*, forum, Feb. 1, 2012)

Likewise, this finding confirms the morphological trend of using word-final elements (e.g. *-gate*, *-holic*) to productively create nonce words and neologisms (Szymanek 2005: 436). The *-holic* formations originate from the word *alcoholic*, so the formative is considered a splinter. Splinters, albeit acknowledged as "non-morphemic portions of a word that have been split off" (Bauer et al. 2015: 459), inherit a specialized meaning from their etymon (here, *alcoholic*). In the case of *-holic*, the meaning received by the morpheme is not linked with *alcohol* or *drinking*, but with the notion of becoming addicted to something or to an activity. And it is this addiction or excessive consumption that explains why the morpheme *-holic* forms part of this chapter devoted to excess-based pejoratives. Although this type of morphological paradigm appears to be motivated by humor and mockery, the result is a word that depicts negative attitudes or tendencies towards a thing or a performance. Of course, there is a difference between 'being addicted to coffee' and *coffeeholic*, as in (6), the former showing a deep-rooted pathological trait and the latter conveying the idea of addiction but in a less serious or medical context. However, *-holic* also has a pejorative effect on bases that are hardly ever used as offensive words, such as *loveaholic* in (7).

(6) Tea is delicate, uplifting, optimistic. Like having a breath mint instead of a cigarette […] But it is not what a COFFEEHOLIC has in mind for bracing him to tackle the day. (*washingtonpost.com*, Feb. 20, 1977).

(7) Other sources close to Hilton claim she's a LOVEAHOLIC who's desperate to tie the knot. "She's kind of emotionally insecure, and the one thing she wants more than anything is to be loved unconditionally," says one source of Paris. (*ohnotheydidnt.livejournal.com*, Jun. 23, 2005)

On the whole, there are two senses for the morpheme *-holic*: (a) "one who feels compulsively the need to (do something)" and (b) "one who likes (something) to excess" (MWD11). Both meanings confirm the excessive (or compulsive) nature of liking something or finding pleasure in an activity. Hence, words derived with *-holic* are nouns, and a common output semantics component in all derivatives is [+human]. The morpheme *-holic* is also found as *-aholic* and *-oholic* in the corpora; in fact *-aholic* is found in MWD11 as the main entry and *-oholic* is described as a less frequent spelling variation. I have adopted the form *-holic* as a prototypical morpheme because it succeeds in encompassing the three spelling variations. There are no rules for the spelling of *-holic* derivatives in English, except for the case of leftmost bases ending in a vowel, in which case *-holic* is preferred over *-aholic* or *-oholic*, as in *coffeeholic* and *movieholic*. Besides, there seems to be a preference for bases ending in <r> to combine with *-holic*, as in *beerholic, twitterholic*. At times, since there are no fixed spelling rules, a word can have up to four types of spelling

template, e.g. *workaholic, work-o-holic, work-aholic*, and *work-a-holic*, although the form *workaholic* is preferred.[71]

4.3.1 Forms and functions of *-holic* pejoratives

As discussed in Section 4.3, *-holic* shows a high degree of productivity and frequency (Mattiello 2018: 10), which is reflected in the high number of nonce words or occasionalisms that have been compiled from the corpora. In the examination of *-holic* schemas, no distinction has been made between nonce words and dictionary-attested words. The vast majority of these forms do, though, comply with the following template:

$$[[X]_{Ni}\ \textit{-holic}]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow [\text{one who likes SEM}_i \text{ to excess}]_j$$

The semantic transition of *-holic* (from the lexeme *alcoholic* into the combining form *-holic*) exemplifies how analogical formations are necessarily modeled "on one already existing lexeme" (Bauer 1989: 96), which can lead to profitable or productive morphemes. Therefore, although analogy does not make derivation patterns strictly predictable, it does show a high degree of permissiveness as to the types of structures and syntactic categories that take part in a word-formation process. By permissiveness, I refer to the relatively unlimited nature of certain units to create new lexis, which plays a considerable role in language change and word-formation (Mattiello 2016: 7). In the case of *-holic*, early attestations, particularly *workaholic*, constitute the oft-termed 'leader words' (Malkiel 1966), that is the derivational pattern on which new words are modeled. What makes *-holic* permissive is the fact that upcoming derivational paradigms would expand to other types of bases such as nouns (e.g. *chocoholic*), personal names (e.g. *Zackaholic*), brand names (e.g. *Appleholic*), or nominal phrases (e.g. *studioarthoholic*).

On the morphology plane, it is interesting to point out that not all combining forms can be examined equally. Following the concept of 'reanalysis' (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003; Booij 2007), the forms *alc-* and *-oholic* are referred to, respectively, as a meaningless cluster and a potential combining form. Besides, the cluster *alc-* does not constitute a full word in itself, nor does it partake in the morphosemantic choice of bases to which *-(o)holic* is attached. In contrast, in the case of the combining forms *-cott* (< *boycott*) and *-burger* (< *hamburger*), the leftmost segments that are originally chopped off (i.e. *boy-* and *ham-*) are meaningful morphemes

71. The form *workaholic* yields 5,467 hits in the NOW Corpus while the rest of forms only have one or two hits each.

(unlike *alc-*), and are relevant to the semantic categories of the series of combinations that may arise: *boycott → girlcott, dogcott, momcott*; *hamburger → cheeseburger, beefburger*.[72]

Although *alc-* does not contribute directly to the analogical combinations of *-holic* derivatives, the etymon *alcoholic* indicates that there are certain denotational and connotational features that are exported into *-holic*. Figure 4.2 shows the semantic components that are transferred into the combining form. From a cognitive perspective, this type of transition does not operate on a permanent basis when new words are created. Leader words inherit the new semantic restrictions, which explains why the leader word *workaholic* was never identified as a blend denoting, for instance, 'someone who works while being drunk'. Thus, analogical word formation is expected to develop through a pattern "that abstracts away from specific model words" (Booij 2010: 90).

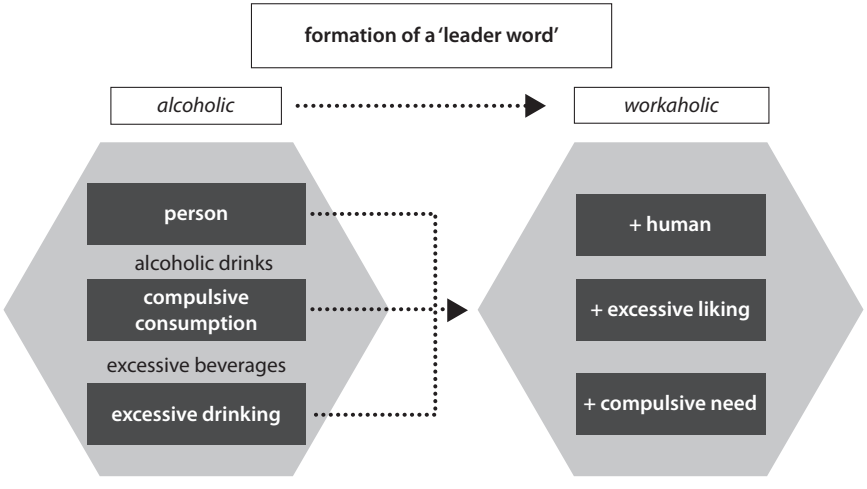

Figure 4.2 Semantic abstraction of the leader word *workaholic* in the formation of *-holic* as a combining form

Such an abstraction is what inherently characterizes *-holic* schemas. In Figure 4.2, the features of [+human] and [+compulsive need] (or [+excessive liking]) are embedded in the new derivatives and no connection is made between 'alcohol consumption' and the type of addiction that one may suffer from. This templatic 'fixation' of form and meaning (i.e. {*holic*} → 'one who is addicted') is what some researchers identify as an affix-like constituent (Fradin 2000: 37). However, as argued

72. The examples of *-burger* and *-cott* are taken from Mattiello (2016: 9).

by Mattiello, although this generalization can create a productive series, its level of abstraction is different from that of an affix because its models are concrete forms (2016: 11).

There are, though, instances where *-holic* formations do not convey the meanings of 'addiction' or 'compulsive', but simply act as intensifiers of value, quality, or the repetition of an action. For instance, *Revoholic* (< *Revlon*) and *cinnaholic* (< *cinnamon*) show that one, respectively, likes *Revlon* products or *cinnamon* cakes very much, and the pragmatic function of neither points to disparaging. In fact, *Revoholic* and *cinnaholic* can be used to refer to a fashionable 'trend of using eyeshadow' or 'an enthusiast of baked goods or baking'. In such cases, which will be examined in more detail in Section 4.3.2, *-holic* constitutes an augmentative, but not an excessive. The companies that have reappropriated this combining form to name franchises or products (e.g. *Cinnaholic, Shoeholic*) resort to this type of non-pejorative transition. By referring to consumers as *holic*, they are therefore suggesting that their followers are rightful enthusiasts and not necessarily wrongly addicted. Thus, augmented (but not excessive) enthusiasm becomes a sign of pride and camaraderie.

4.3.2 Constructional schemas of *-holic* pejoratives

Appendix 4 shows a list of *-holic* pejoratives, which includes both well-established units and occasionalisms. An interesting feature of the dataset is that their output semantics structure is quite regular, and it can be unified in these two templates: [one who likes X_N excessively] and [one who X-s_V compulsively]. Due to the high number of *-holic* forms in the dataset, the discussion of the regularities of pejoration that follows is divided into three subsections based on the grammatical category of the bases: denominal (DnN), deadjectival (DaN), or deverbal (DvN).

4.3.2.a *Schemas of* -holic *DnNs*

Denominal nominalizations ending in *-holic* are the most frequent and productive group. For instance, the NOW Corpus shows a total of 98 denominal pejoratives in the first 1,000 word forms that are yielded through the search query string [*holic]; spelling variations (e.g. *choc-a-holic*), which are less frequent than the lemma listed, are not itemized in the dataset. There are eight schemas of DnNs, three of which are not pejorative because they do not convey the semantic component of 'excessive':

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Enthusiasm	Addiction	Attitude	Excessive	Pejorative
-holic$_{a.1}$	*cinnaholic*	[+edible]	+	+	−	+	−	−
-holic$_{a.2}$	*Roverholic*	[+product]	+	+	−	+	−	−
-holic$_{a.3}$	*dogaholic*	[+animal]	+	+	−	+	−	−
-holic$_{a.4}$	*phoneaholic*	[+object]	+	+	±	+	+	+
-holic$_{a.5}$	*Jerichoholic*	[+celebrity]	+	+	±	+	+	+
-holic$_{a.6}$	*droidholic*	[+product]	+	+	−	+	+	+
-holic$_{a.7}$	*cheesaholic*	[+edible]	+	+	±	+	+	+
-holic$_{a.8}$	*rodeoholic*	[+pastime]	+	+	±	+	±	±

Limiting the degree of offensiveness that a DnN might arouse strictly depends on contextualized use of the *-holic* formations. Unlike schema (a.2), where *-holic* derivatives are used to bond a community of enthusiasts who like a certain product (e.g. *Revoholic, Roverholic*), derivatives in (a.6) are used to denote consumers who demonstrate or admit to being addicted to a product, as in (8) and (9), for the examples of *lostaholic* (< *Lost* 'TV series') and *Ikea-holic* (< *Ikea*). Also, *-holic* derivatives in (a.3) are functionally associated with the idea of being a lover of the animals that are conveyed by bases, e.g. *orca-holic, owl-holic, dogaholic*. Yet, the only instance in which an animal-based derivative is found to convey a rather negative meaning is in the case of *cat-holic* (also *cataholic*), as in (10), which might be in connection with the image of solitude and insanity of single cat-owners that is projected in the media.

(8) Hi, My name is Jason and I'm a LOSTAHOLIC. I've got an unhealthy addiction. (*jsignal.com*, May 6, 2006)

(9) My name is Maureen, and I am an IKEA-HOLIC. Sure, I laughed knowingly at The Narrator's "slave to Ikea" speech as much as the next *Fight Club* fan. But the awful truth is, I've got a Beddinge in my bedroom. (*wnyc.org*, Jul. 2, 2013)

(10) You are officially diagnosed as a CAT-HOLIC! Not to be confused with anything religious, because being CAT-HOLIC simply means you are addicted to all things [related to a] cat. (*ibtimes.co.in*, Aug. 8, 2016)

It is not surprising to find a huge variety of edible-based etymons, which describe a compulsive need to consume a particular type of food, e.g. *cheeseaholic, espressoholic*. Interestingly, edibles (and beverages) might also refer to lifestyles which are considered healthy, and followers (or enthusiasts) of such lifestyles are negatively appraised because of their excessive consumption or enthusiasm. Also, addiction

to some of these products can turn into a kind of psychological problem, as in *aquaholic* in (11).

(11) Andrew Else was an AQUAHOLIC for 30 years, an inquest into his death heard. Yesterday his brother, Stephen, said he should not have been left alone near free-flowing water. (*theguardian.com*, Oct. 31, 2008)

In general, DnNs originate from semantically neutral bases (e.g. *Apple-*, *friend-*), which makes *-holic* connotationally effective in the formation of pejoratives. However, some bases may also denote taboo notions (*sex-*, *gun-*, *boob-*) or addictive beverages or drugs (*coffee-*, *coke-*, *beer-*). The output semantics in these types of bases is less ambivalent, for one can predict that someone who likes *sex* or *coke* excessively is more prone to compulsive or addictive attitudes than in the case of someone who likes *Apple* products or *cars*. Hence, although the words that have been itemized as pejoratives in Appendix 4 have been checked in context to confirm the pragmatic force of offensiveness, they can also express non-pejorative meaning, ranging from a sense of enthusiasm or community to humor and hilarity. One example of this pragmatic multifunctionality is the case of derivatives that comply with the semantic structure of [one who likes [pastime]$_N$ (to excess)]. In accordance with this structure, a genuine fondness for a pastime (e.g. *rodeo, baseball*) generates a positive appraisal, which makes *baseball-holic* and *baseball fans* synonyms, as in (12). In contrast, an excessive liking of a pastime can lead to pejorative traits, which can also be used to lay the groundwork for humorous or sarcastic frames, as in *footballholic* in (13).

(12) Watching Lacey Middlebrooks perform at Liberty-Eylau High School for four years should have turned some BASEBALL-HOLICS into softball fans. (*texarkanagazette.com*, Mar. 21, 2013)

(13) I agreed to go because I love the mountains, but under the condition that we could stop a day and watch football in a hotel room. Yes, I do admit that I do have a problem, and the first step for any addiction is acknowledgement. Right? Is there a FOOTBALLHOLIC anonymous chapter in my area? (*collegefootballcrazy.com*, n.d.)

4.3.2.b *Schemas of* -holic *DaNs*

There are not many *-holic* deadjectival derivatives in English; in fact, only four examples are extracted from the corpora: *pinkaholic* ('one who likes to wear pink clothes at all times'), *prettyholic* ('one who is obsessed with beautifying therapies and plastic surgery'), *singleaholic* ('one who sabotages relationships because they prefer to be single'), *right-aholic* ('one who is obsessed with being right'). There are two general schemas, both of which convey pejorative meaning:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Enthusiasm	Excessive	Addiction	Compulsive	Pejorative
-holic$_{b.1}$	*prettyholic*	[+physical property]	+	+	+	+	+	+
-holic$_{b.2}$	*right-aholic*	[+attitude]	+	−	+	−	+	+

The low frequency of deadjectival nominalizations is well reflected in dictionary entries of *-holic*, since no reference is made to excessive qualities, only to things that are liked to excess or to the compulsive need to perform an action. None of the bases attested express negative meanings; they are either neutral (e.g. *pink-*, *single-*) or positive (e.g. *right-*, *pretty-*). As expected though, *-holic* contributes to the depreciation of these non-pejorative meanings by informing that the qualities or attitudinal traits are compulsively observed, as in *right-aholic* in (14).

(14) I could call myself, and have called myself, a recovering RIGHT-AHOLIC. I needed and loved and thrived on being right for a very long time. In my personal life, training to be "right" started early – right answers on tests, right study habits, right decisions after school, the right course selection to get into the right college to follow the right path. I even played right field. That's how much I wanted to be right! (*proverbs31.org*, Apr. 15, 2019)

4.3.2.c *Schemas of* -holic *DvNs*

Deverbal nominalizations ending in *-holic* are also far less frequent than denominal ones. An interesting feature of DvNs is that actional models can be highly cryptic because there is no explicit reference to the object of the action itself. Verbs can hence generate multiple meanings, leading to the need for contextualized information. For instance, *clipaholic*, which is used as a DnN to call someone who is obsessed with *porn clips* on the internet, can be associated with an actional model in the case of 'someone who likes *clipping* a design, particularly on pets', as in *clip-a-holic* in (15).

(15) I have clipped a few hearts on some pony bums and it's easier to clip your own basic "popped-out" design than you think! ("Confessions of a CLIP-A-HOLIC: Clipping a Design", *breechesandboatshoes.com*, 0ct. 30, 2016)

There are four general schemas of *-holic* DvNs, one of which is identified as non-pejorative because it describes modern attitudes towards, say, either getting acquainted with your audience more directly (i.e. *shareaholic*) or decluttering your wardrobe to get some money (i.e. *shareaholic*). Both nonce concepts are obviously coined after analogical extensions of *-holic* derivatives, but they were first introduced as online tools, which implies a semantic detour from excess to augmentation:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Enthusiasm	Excessive	Addiction	Personality	Offense	Pejorative
-holic$_{c.1}$	*shareaholic*	[+act]	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
-holic$_{c.2}$	*talkaholic*	[+act]	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
-holic$_{c.3}$	*fishaholic*	[+pastime, act]	+	+	±	−	−	−	±
-holic$_{c.4}$	*stabaholic*	[+offense, act]	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

A significant number of DvNs are made up of intransitive verbs, which is convenient for the expression of unambivalent meanings, e.g. *readaholic* → 'one who reads too much', *run-aholic* → 'one who runs too much'. Those cases of DvNs that are based on transitive verbs are of a more difficult nature because, unless hearers/readers are familiar with the word, the object of the action is necessary. For instance, the word *popaholic* might be referring to any type of action where one is obsessed with popping things, such as 'bubble wrap', but the fact is that the word has been popularized by those who find pleasure in popping or squeezing blackheads and cysts, as in (16). The example of *blockaholic* is even more semantically ambiguous because the verb *to block* is used to express the idea of 'one who is obsessed with blocking social networking sites',[73] particularly due to their unacceptable comments or invasive attitude, as in (17).

(16) Of this pimple popping fascination, a new online video trend was born. The removal of blackheads, cysts, ingrown hairs, and more have attracted millions of views of YouTube, with POPAHOLICS tuning in to watch both expertly filmed medical extractions and at-home squeezing alike.
(*berksplasticsurgery.com*, Mar. 15, 2019)

(17) Hello, my name's Dave and I'm a BLOCKAHOLIC […] It started with easy stuff, blocking porn, that made sense, gotta to (sic) think of the children. Then once you've had that first hit, well you just have to come back for more.
(*forums.theregister.com*, Dec. 20, 2013)

73. A slightly different meaning is posted by *Urban Dictionary*, in which *blockaholic* is defined as "[a] person who seems to thrive on getting blocked in social networking sites, by posting upsetting comments, remarks and opinions on others' posts or pictures" (available at *www.urbandictionary.com*, Jan. 28, 2011). Five hits of *blockaholic* with this meaning have also been found in the corpora.

4.3.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-holic*

An outstanding feature of *-holic* pejoratives is that the vast majority of the nominalizations originate from non-pejorative bases. This fact confirms the semantic impact of excessive *-holic* in the formation of pejoratives. The combination of neutral/positive bases and *-holic* might have been triggered by humorous motives, and it certainly denies Mae West's postulate, as mentioned in Section 4.1, of 'too much of a good thing is wonderful'. Both a humorous motive and a non-pejorative base contribute to the more ambivalent semantics of pejoratives ending in *-holic*. Hence, most *-holic* derivatives are not entirely pejorative because they can fit other pragmatic frames such as hilarity, mockery, or even an intensification (though not to the extent of excess) of positive qualities. This pragmatic and semantic ambivalence (or multifunctionality) has led users to adopt many of these forms to brand products, websites, or forums (e.g. *shareaholic, autoholic, lostaholic*). Despite the etymological value of *-holic* as an expression of excessive consumption or compulsive attitude, these non-pejorative *-holic* forms convey an idea of camaraderie and group cohesiveness that turns those who like *cars* or the TV series *Lost* into special members of a given community.

On the constructional plane, there are three unified schemas that represent the relational model of denominal schemas (i), the stative relations of deadjectival schemas (ii), and the actional models of deverbal schemas (iii).[74]

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-holic*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by relating to SEM_i to excess$]_j$
   e.g. *twitterholic, shoeholic*
ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-holic*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by being excessively $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *singleholic, pinkaholic*
iii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-holic*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by compulsively $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *talkaholic, stabaholic*

Relational models predominate, while stative ones are rare. All three models, however, agree on the negative perception that interlocutors might have of one's excessive likings and need to perform an activity. Most of the semantic components of bases that partake in denominal derivational patterns are related to the aspects of [+pastime], [+edible], and [+object], which is not surprising since most of these bases represent the object of what is liked. Although the semantic relation of [one who is offensively characterized by relating to X_N to excess] does not explicitly

74. For more information on the schematic representation of relational, stative, and actional models, see Section 3.2.3.

show the notion of 'fondness' or 'being keen on', we assume that one is related to something (e.g. *shoes, cars*) through the implicit template of [one who likes X_N].

There are not many clipped bases in *-holic* derivatives, perhaps because the degree of combinability is so flexible. However, since the forms *-aholic* and *-oholic* are trisyllabic, there is a preference for one-syllable bases to conform to the fundamentals of language economy, and possibly by analogy with the morphological template of the leader word *workaholic*, e.g. *bagaholic, foodaholic*. Some of these one-syllable bases are clipped units, as in *chocoholic* (< *chocolate*), *carboholic* (< *carb* < *carbohydrates*), *droidaholic* (< *droid* < *Android*). There are a number of cases in which clipping is not an option because the morphological recognizability between a derivative and its etymon would be lost, e.g. *hardware-a-holic* (**hardaholic* might imply a deadjectival model), *espressoholic* (**esproholic* shows a less recognizable connection with *espresso*). Also, clipped bases such as *carb-* and *droid-*, as opposed to **hard-* and **espro-*, have become lexicalized, which increases their combinatorial properties. Interestingly, if the base ends in a vocalic sound, *-holic* is added and then a standardized four-syllable template is maintained, as in *Alfaholic* (< *Alfa Romeo*), *photoholic, pizzaholic*.

4.4 The combining form *-rrhea* and the suffix *-itis*

The forms *-rrhea* and *-itis* have been traditionally placed under the classification of neo-classical combining forms because "they are originally borrowed from Latin or Greek, but their combinations are of modern origin" (Plag 2018: 72). Accordingly, the original meanings of 'discharge' (as in *-rrhea*) and 'inflammation' or 'disease' (as in *-itis*) are still used to create neo-classical compounds in the medical field, e.g. *leukorrhea, conjunctivitis*. However, while *-rrhea* is currently tagged in dictionaries as a combining form, *-itis* is attested as a noun-forming suffix. These units, as with the form *-holic*, retain some of the semantic components expressed by their neo-classical compounds in the form of secreted morphemes (Fradin 2000; Mattiello 2016). That is, in the nonce words they are morphological constituents of, the meanings of 'inflamed tissue' or 'discharge' are no longer operational, e.g. *televisionitis, snowarrhea*. Morphological secretion guarantees that combining forms that come into being as splinters (e.g. *-holic*) or neo-classical roots (e.g. *-rrhea*), reach high levels of generalization and combinability. Thus, secreted units can be attached to free native bases, as in *telephonitis*, and trigger a series of analogical words. Both units are examined in the same section because their etymological routes are quite similar: they are secreted morphemes of Latin/Greek origin whose neo-classical forms are used in the creation of (non-pejorative) medical terms.

Besides, the leadoff semantics of *-rrhea* and *-itis* points to the notion of 'excess or abundance' of discharge in the former and that of swollen tissues in the latter.

With regard to *-rrhea*, the OED3 explicitly states that the resulting terms denote "(usually excessive) flow or secretion", e.g. *logorrhea, mucorrhea*. However, there is no lexicographical reference to the formation of nonce words in present-day English denoting 'a great (usually excessive) amount of non-bodily things'. An interesting way of looking at how *-rrhea* partakes in a number of nonce words, as in *bangorrhea* in (18) and *negorrhea* in (19), is by considering *-rrhea* a splinter that detaches from the word *diarrhea*,[75] and then makes up blends whose leftmost base is a native morpheme, e.g. *bang-*, *neg-* (< *negative*). The word *diarrhea*, in actual fact, is also used in English compounds to denote an excessive flow of something (as in *verbal diarrhea*), far removed from the "abnormal intestinal evacuations" (MWD11) to which the medical term refers. Whether *-rrhea* is semantically secreted from a long list of neo-classical compounds or is formulated through the metaphorical form of *diarrhea*, the truth is that it has managed to add excess-related traits to native bases in the formation of pejoratives.

(18) Many of those "suffering" from BANGORRHEA would argue that exclamation marks are an attempt to achieve lightness of tone or emotional emphasis.
(*bbc.com/news*, Aug. 21, 2013)

(19) We are obsessed with this programme in our house, and particularly enjoy it when guests invited on the airwaves to opine about recent releases and events unloose a staunchless torrent of NEGORRHEA in order to appear clever-clogs, just as I had about The Magic Flute. (*standard.co.uk*, Apr. 13, 2012)

The suffix *-itis* is semantically and etymologically more complex. Similar to *-rrhea*, it is currently used in the formation of names of diseases or affections, which generally involve an inflammation of a specific body part, e.g. *bronchitis, tonsillitis*. Both the OED3 and MWD11 indicate that *-itis* is also used to form nonce words denoting a disease-like condition, such use dating back as early as the 1900s, e.g. *fiscalitis* [1903], *suffragitis* [1906]. This parallelism between inflammation-based diseases and states of mind and tendencies (OED3) is linked to the notion of 'compulsive' (or 'obsessive') attitudes towards something. Consequently, *-itis* is associated with nonce words expressing an obsessive state of mind which is constituted by either an excessively strong regard for someone or something, e.g. *founderitis*, as in (20), or fear or apathy towards something or someone, e.g. *examitis*, as in (21). Both output semantics suggest that what someone feels about something or someone else is regarded as abnormal, thus conveying a sense of pejoration.

75. According to the OED3, the earliest *-rrhea* attestation in English corresponds to *diarrhea* [14th century], and then *gonorrhea* [16th century].

(20) All too often, one or more founders become afflicted with FOUNDERITIS, a my way or the highway approach to running a business that can destroy a startup.
(*forbes.com*, Apr. 21, 2014)

(21) This disease is dangerously contagious, and should be treated as so. I was discussing it with a friend today, and we admitted we can even feel ourselves becoming infected […] The person is in their own horrible bubble of EXAMITIS, so be patient and understanding if possible.
(*thoughtsandsports.wordpress.com*, Jul. 10, 2012)

4.4.1 Forms and functions of *-itis* and *-rrhea* pejoratives

In contrast to *-itis*, *-rrhea* requires a linking vowel or infix to ensure the morphological articulation of *-rrhea* derivatives, i.e. *-a-* as in *snowarrhea* (< *snow* 'a heavy snowfall') or *-o-* as in *bangorrhea* (< *bang* 'overuse of exclamation points'). The need for this type of vocalic infixation could be a reminder of the phonological template of the etymon *diarrhea*. Alternative forms such as **bangrrhea* and **snowrrhea* would not have the same effect because the phonological patterns would be less proximate to *-arrhea* /əˈriːə/ (from *diarrhea*).

Both forms are quite dissimilar in terms of frequency and productivity. Whilst there are only 10 *-rrhea* pejoratives in the NOW Corpus, there are 39 *-itis* words conveying pejorative meaning in the first 1,000 word types yielded by the search query string [*itis].[76] As in the case of *-holic* formations, an often pragmatic motive that underlies the emergence of these types of derivatives is hilarity, as in *glue-arrhea* in (22). Regardless of the hilarious situation to which the word contributes here, the semantic expression of *glue-arrhea* implies a type of obsessive behavior, which in a less hilarious context could be easily understood as an offensive term for 'stalking someone'. Also, in (23), a series of *-itis* forms are employed to describe the writer's apathetic attitude towards house chores, but in a humorous context. So, what makes these words fit in humor-based contexts is the idea of turning everyday chores (e.g. *laundry, shop for groceries*) into humdrum activities by suggesting a kind of disease-like apathy. Lexical innovation, especially through the making of nonce words, contributes to overstating feelings and attitudes, so neutral (or standard) bases such as *laundry-* or *shop for groceries-* become depreciated or negatively appraised.

(22) Lois: Oh my God. I gotta follow him. Find out where he's really going.
Donna: Good idea. If I was you, I'd stick to him like GLUE-ARRHEA.
(*Family Guy*, episode 20, season 15, 2017)

76. For full lists of *-rrhea* and *-itis* pejoratives, see Appendices 5 and 6 respectively.

(23) Is there a point in your life when this hits again? Say when you're 33, a housewife, and stay at home Mom? I wish I could pinpoint and say that it is LAUNDRYITIS, COOKINGITIS, BATHING THE CHILDRENITIS, CLEANING THE SHOWERITIS, PACKING THE BACKPACKITIS, RETURNING THE EMAILITIS, SHOPPING FOR GROCERIESITIS and dare I say even a little BLOGGINGITIS?
(*kisshugsqueeze.blogspot.com*, Mar. 1, 2008)

With regard to lexical innovation, there are various forms of *-itis* derivatives that resemble suffixes of high productivity such as *-ness* in the formation of nonce words regardless of the grammatical and syntactic category of bases. Similar to the doublet *-ity*/*-ness* in English, in which *-ness* is less restrictive (and hence more productive) than *-ity* (Bauer et al. 2015: 32; Plag 2018: 92), *-itis* also constitutes a less restrictive end-morpheme. Hence, the excessive *-itis* is likely to combine with bases of multiple origins, including verbal phrases, nominal phrases, and clauses, e.g. *got-to-get-there-itis* < *got to get there* and *get-home-itis* < *get home*, as in (24), *thinkihaditis* < *think I had*, as in (25).

(24) He said Zobayan should have turned around or landed but may have felt the pressure to reach his destination, an occupational hazard for pilots often referred to as "GOT-TO-GET-THERE-ITIS" or "GET-HOME-ITIS."
(*denverpost.com*, Jan. 28, 2020)

(25) Did it occur to [you] (sic) that "THINKIHADITIS" mocks those wondering if they had coronavirus? Most wonderers (I'm one + not in USA) had multiple symptoms. We're curious, not childishly hoping we're immune when no proof of herd immunity even exists, not mock-worthy. (*twitter.com*, May 7, 2020)

The most interesting features of *-rrhea* and *-itis* reside in the way their semantic transition takes place, departing from standard or medical jargon and moving into informal or marginal lexis. Figure 4.3 shows that in the formation of pejoratives, there is just one semantic component that is retained in the combining forms: [+excess]. In the case of *-rrhea*, the original aspects of [+disease], [+discharge], or [+flow] are left out, which confirms the high degree of monosemantization that splinters (or combining forms in general) acquire when detached from their etymons. The semantic transition in *-itis* is slightly more complex because there are two semantic routes that lead to pejorative words: (a) the formation of pejoratives that convey a feeling of obsession (e.g. *whatsappitis*), and (b) the formation of pejoratives that are used to express that something or someone evokes negative feelings in the speaker, e.g. either that of anxiety as in *schoolitis*, that of tediousness as in *review-itis*, or that of nostalgia as in *Novemberitis*.

Unlike *-rrhea*, the suffix *-itis* is also associated with the idea of an abnormal mental state, so it is logical to ascertain that *-itis* (in its transition to pejoration) also

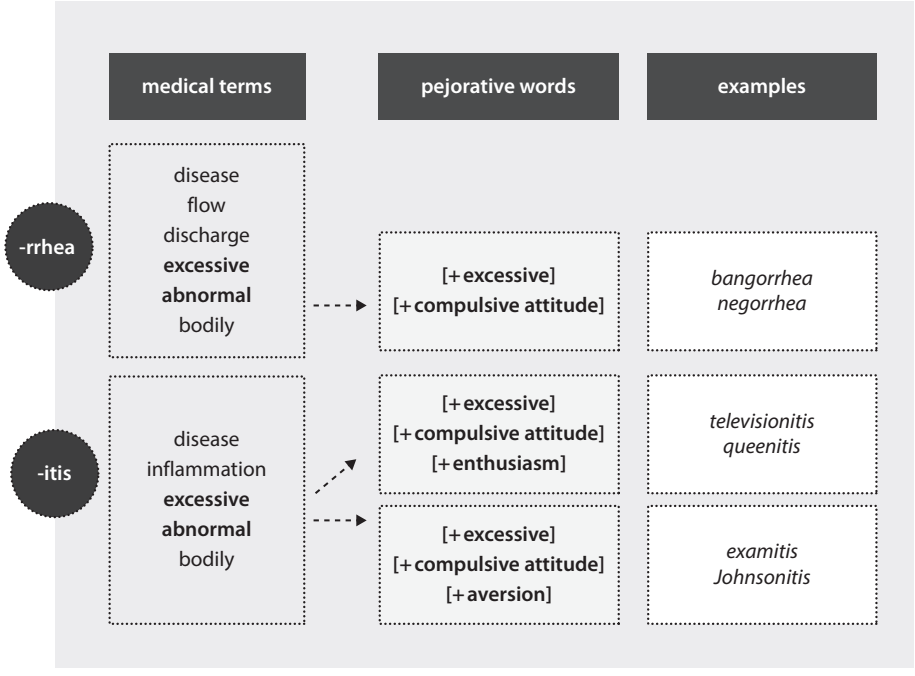

Figure 4.3 Semantic abstraction of *-rrhea* and *-itis* in the formation of pejoratives

transposes the component of [+disease] into the resulting derivatives. The transposition of the feature of [+disease] is not static either, for it moves from physical condition (i.e. inflammation) into a mental state, as in that of obsession. Although *-itis* is overtly seen in medical terms that indicate that a body part is affected or inflamed, it is also possible (though infrequent) to see *-itis* in combination with a native base conveying the source of the ailment; for instance, in (26), the neologism referring not to a mental state but to skin rashes caused by wearing face masks during the COVID pandemic. This example is interesting because the word *maskitis* combines two templates: one that describes a physical ailment (as in *appendicitis*) and one that refers to the cause of the abnormal state (as in *examitis*).

(26) Are you suffering from 'MASKITIS'? A-list skincare expert warns of painful, flaky rash caused by face masks that is often confused with maskne – and can spread quickly if left untreated. (*dailymail.co.uk*, Jan. 27, 2021)

What is unquestionable is that *-itis* and *-rrhea* show distinct combinatorial patterns, which results in dissimilar degrees of frequency and productivity, and also to a suffix-like status in the case of *-itis*. However, both show a similar semantic reassignment that departs from strictly medical (or bodily) terms and results in abstract

processes or tendencies (e.g. *lie-arrhea, opinionitis*) or mental states (e.g. *negorrhea, queenitis*). This might indicate that certain templatic models, i.e. [+excessive] [+disease] → [+excessive] [+pejorative], can generate a series of word-formation patterns that are easily adjusted to other suffixes and combining forms. In the abstraction of word-formation models, a morphologist should never settle for simply looking into what a single derivation process indicates, instead they should go further and see how the process analogically integrates into an overreaching system of derivational networks. Hence, analogy should be extrapolated from a morpheme-based to a word-formation status because derivational models, like the ones conveyed by *-rrhea* and *-itis*, guarantee language economy through standardized semantic templates.

4.4.2 Constructional schemas of *-rrhea* pejoratives

Appendix 5, as pointed out above, contains a list of 10 *-rrhea* pejoratives that are identified in the corpora. Given the low number of nonce formations, it is not surprising to find that only four schemas of pejoratives ending in *-rrhea* can be modeled:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Discharge	Disease	Attitude	Jargon	Compulsive	Excessive	Pejorative
-rrhea$_{a.1}$	*mucorrhea*	[+discharge]	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−
-rrhea$_{a.2}$	*bangorrhea*	[+object]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
-rrhea$_{a.3}$	*Hillarrhea*	[+human]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
-rrhea$_{a.4}$	*snowarrhea*	[+precipitation]	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
-rrhea$_{b.1}$	*negorrhea*	[+personality trait]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+

A dictionary- and corpus-based search yields a high number of medical terms that follow the input and output semantics of (a.1): 'an excessive discharge or flow', suggestive of a medical condition or ailment. This (literal) semantic compositionality of *-rrhea* units confirms that there is a strong preference for them over bases of Greek and Latin origin, e.g. *leuko-*, *sebo-* (OED3). The pejorative schemas (a.2), (a.3), and (b.1) indicate that excessive or compulsive tendencies (e.g. *emojarrhea* 'overuse of emojis in text or online messages') or obsessions (e.g. *negorrhea* 'compulsive tendency towards negative or pessimistic thoughts') generate attitudes of disapproval towards these off-putting behaviors. Obviously, these formations might also be used in humorous contexts, as in (27), where the writer establishes a parallelism between comic writers and politicians. The word *lie-arrhea* in (27), although it is wittily

(and hilariously) used to answer the question of 'who makes you laugh?', is also meant to convey a negative appraisal towards politicians. So, humorous contexts do not necessarily soften the connotation of pejoratives, but they create a fruitful environment in which nonce words (as well as neologisms), such as *lie-arrhea*, trigger backlash from critics.

(27) Who makes you laugh? Oh god, so many great comics. Stewart Lee, Nick Revell, Andy Zaltzman, Doug Stanhope, Chris Rock, Glenn Wool, Greg Proops – too many to list. And then there's a lot of politicians that make me laugh more than most comics. So f**king amazing to watch LIE-ARRHEA spray out of the face of a red-faced moron in a suit. (*newint.org*, Jun. 25, 2013)

4.4.3 Constructional schemas of *-itis* pejoratives

There are 12 schemas of *-itis* derivatives, two of which denote affections or ailments. These schemas are also grouped according to the category of their etymons (i.e. denominal, deadjectival, and deverbal):

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Inflammation	Disease	Attitude	Jargon	Compulsive	Enthusiasm	Excessive	Aversion	Pejorative
-itis$_{a.1}$	*bronchitis*	[+body part]	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
-itis$_{a.2}$	*maskitis*	[+object]	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
-itis$_{a.3}$	*Novemberitis*	[+season/time]	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
-itis$_{a.4}$	*baseballitis*	[+pastimes]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	±
-itis$_{a.5}$	*queenitis*	[+human]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
-itis$_{a.6}$	*Ipoditis*	[+object]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
-itis$_{a.7}$	*hipsteritis*	[+human]	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+
-itis$_{a.8}$	*Johnsonitis*	[+human]	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
-itis$_{a.9}$	*examitis*	[+object]	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
-itis$_{b.1}$	*lazyitis*	[+personality trait]	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
-itis$_{b.2}$	*seconditis*	[+quality]	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
-itis$_{c.1}$	*give-upitis*	[+act]	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+

Most of the schemas are clearly denominal, and there are only two non-pejorative schemas, i.e. (a.1) and (a.2), both of which are linked to the formation of medical terms denoting a specific body part which is inflamed or damaged. Whilst schema (a.1) is particularly productive in the medical domain, in contrast, there has been only one example in the dataset complying with the template in (a.2), i.e. *maskitis* in (26). The word *maskitis* is differentiated from the medical conditions covered

by (a.1) in the sense that the base refers not to a body part, but to the cause of the inflammation or ailment (i.e. *mask*-).

Pejorative DnNs account for schemas (a.3) to (a.9). A particular feature of these schemas is that the input semantics of bases, particularly on the denotational plane, is varied. Because of the limitations of the word-form frame, the number of schemas is only used here as an indicative parameter of the strong combinatorial property of *-itis*, and as a generalization device to trace the semantic transitions these suffixed forms can undergo. For instance, there are bases denoting [+object], as in (a.6) and (a.9), as well as [+human], as in (a.5), (a.7), and (a.8). Interestingly, no one input semantics trait seems to be predominant, although what does appear to be regular is the type of output semantics that characterizes the pejorative schemas. There are four output semantics components that are relevant to the sense of pejoratives: [+enthusiasm], [+aversion], [+attitude], and [+excessive], the last three being the most frequent in the dataset. The feeling of excessive enthusiasm about something or someone, alternatively, points to a type of fanaticism that is negatively appraised by others. Hence, while an object, such as an *Ipod* in *Ipoditis* (28), evokes excessive enthusiasm, *examitis* (which also originates from an object) involves a feeling of apathy or aversion, as in (29). These two possible interpretations of the combination of [+object] or [+human] with *-itis* result in rather ambiguous patterns that are contextually dependent. For instance, *Corbynitis* (< *Jeremy Corbyn*) might denote either excessive enthusiasm (a.5) or apathy (a.8).

(28) [W]ith all inventions that have the potential to become vices, moderation is key, lest users find themselves unable to turn a key or twist a doorknob because their thumbs are too sore from typing and pressing buttons.
("IPODITIS: Increase in overuse injuries from handheld gadgets", *huffpost.com*, Mar. 28, 2008)

(29) Kids today complain of EXAMITIS. It's not a new condition. I got six good O levels, but didn't pass Maths. I hated Maths, I couldn't do it; I could add up and take away and do mental arithmetic quickly.
(Peter Sissons, *When one door closes*, 2011)

Schema (a.7) denotes a compulsive tendency to act or behave as a particular type of person, which is conveyed by the base, as in *hipsteritis* in (30). This schema is particularly productive and it is presupposed to stem from (a.5) in the sense that one is firstly an enthusiast and then starts to compulsively behave like the person (or idol) to whom they look up. The correlation between schemas (a.5) and (a.7) suggests that denominal schemas might sometimes pertain to a network of schemas. Besides having a common input semantics component (i.e. [+human]), they may inherit general traits, such as that of 'compulsive tendency', which helps understand

the transition from excessive enthusiasm to fanatical imitation. Schema (a.3) shows a particular case of attitudinal mental state, which is caused by the semantic traits implicitly conveyed by the base. For instance, this mental state may be perceived as 'sadness', as in *Novemberitis* in (31), 'work life', as in *Decemberitis* in (32), or 'government exhaustion' as in *third-termitis* in (33).

(30) It's called HIPSTERITIS, where things only bring you pleasure when it's esoteric And you can feel like you are special. There is no known cure, but you can get help before you move to Seattle to pursue a career in graphic design.
(*forum.level1techs.com*, Apr. 2017)

(31) NOVEMBERITIS is an acute condition that targets the soul. This seasonal malady spikes during the fall, like a gust of cool wind that shakes the last leaves from the branches of a lonely tree, and involves a rotation of focus from outside to inside, which can be painful. (*myperfectresume.com*, n.d.)

(32) Let your staff know that you're aware of DECEMBERITIS – that this month is king when it comes to phony absences as employees juggle work, shopping, holiday tasks and family obligations. (*instoremag.com*, Dec. 13, 2018)

(33) There will be intense debate about whether he has got it right; so it's unfortunate that as we head into budget week the government is exhibiting premature signs of the affliction known as THIRD-TERMITIS. (*stuff.co.nz*, May 10, 2020)

Completing the list of schemas, two are deadjectival models and only one is deverbal. The DaNs can show either a quality or attitudinal trait that is compulsively demonstrated, as in *lazyitis* in (34), or aversion (or fear) to a certain quality, as in *seconditis* in (35). These two tendencies resemble denominal models in their two-fold semantic abstraction: 'excessive enthusiasm' and 'aversion'. The deverbal schema presents no problems semantically: it generally denotes a compulsive tendency to perform an action, as in *give-upitis* in (36).

(34) [I] was suffering from LAZYITIS but today was the day and it actually wasn't raining for a change. I was a bit late in setting off so I didn't get started till 10:50. Out on my own as usual which works well when you have LAZYITIS […]
(*walkhighlands.co.uk*, Jun. 8, 2011)

(35) [Sorolla] can leave a serious boot of SECONDITIS solidly behind by landing the Cork Racecourse 10th Anniversary Maiden at the track this evening.
(*irishexaminer.com*, May 18, 2007)

(36) The British seemed to suffer fewer difficulties than the Americans with 'GIVE-UPITIS.' Resignation and adjustment to the inevitable are British national characteristics. (Max Hastings, *The Korean War*, 1987, p. 417)

4.4.4 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-rrhea* and *-itis*

What stands out from the models above is the bright-line transition from bodily excess (as in 'inflammation' and 'abnormal discharge') to excessive enthusiasm or apathy, i.e. from (a.1) to the rest of the schemas. Both *-rrhea* and *-itis* undergo a strict process of monosemantization whereby the output semantics component of [+excessive] predominates. Inflammation, understood as an anomalous swelling of tissues, indicates a clear association between the medical term and the suffix *-itis*. The combining form *-rrhea* is even more transparent than *-itis* given that the meaning of excessive is also used in the formation of medical terms. The formatives *-rrhea* and *-itis* are, though, not necessarily in competition because while the general semantics of the former leans towards an overuse of something (e.g. *bangorrhea*), the latter denotes a type of mental state or attitude: 'obsession' (e.g. *facebookitis*), 'apathy' (e.g. *examitis*), or 'sadness' (e.g. *Novemberitis*). However, both excessives share one type of deadjectival model whereby, a personality trait or quality is abstracted into a compulsive attitude:

[+personality trait] + *-rrhea*/*-itis* → [+attitude] [+excessive] [+pejorative]
e.g. *lazyitis, negorrhea*

Like the combining form *-holic*, the excessives *-rrhea* and *-itis* might also originate from humorous contexts. Nonce words ending in *-rrhea* and *-itis* are effective tools to embed texts and speech with hilarity in the expression of excessive qualities or tendencies. However, the new words are inherently meant to mock and/or disparage the attitude of the speaker towards something or someone; for example, speakers can use the word *queenitis* to denote a sense of mockery through 'an obsession with memorabilia related to Queen Elizabeth II', or to describe 'a feeling of anxiety caused by meeting Her Majesty in person', as in (37).

(37) Helen Mirren has revealed that she got "QUEENITIS" when she met Queen Elizabeth II where she couldn't think of anything to say. The 68-year-old Academy Award winner said that she was "terrified" […]
(*business-standard.com*, Jul. 13, 2014)

Unlike *-holic*, however, *-rrhea* has been found with quite low frequency. One reason for this might be that it coexists with a competing phrasal construction *a diarrhea of*, as in *a diarrhea of thoughts* in (38), *a diarrhea of money* in (39), and *a diarrhea of words* in (40). Unlike the non-phrasal forms *logorrhea* and *wordarrhea*, which are synonyms of *a diarrhea of words*, the potential words **thoughtorrhea* and **moneyrrhea* have not been found in the corpora. Nonetheless, their coinage might not be entirely arbitrary and speakers might be able to analogically predict their meanings.

(38) Whenever he is on the verge of meeting a person of the opposite sex he suffers from constipation of speech and DIARRHEA OF THOUGHTS. The constipation of speech prevents him from moving forward in establishing a relationship and DIARRHEA OF THOUGHTS transports him to towns that terminate in no man's land. (*blog.reedsy.com*, Aug. 27, 2020)

(39) That is where all new money comes from these days: an international DIARRHEA OF MONEY. Maybe that is why the great nations of the West feel like shit. (*businessinsider.com*, Jun. 11, 2012)

(40) The very short summary, excerpted from the DIARRHEA OF WORDS arising from a constipation of thought (as my old history professor would put it), is intended to characterize the response, giving the whole discourse a certain slant. (*bworldonline.com*, Jul. 31, 2017)

There are three unified schemas for the pejorative constructions of *-rrhea* and *-itis*:

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-rrhea/-itis*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [notion that is negatively characterized by relating to SEM_i to excess$]_j$
e.g. *bangorrhea, queenitis*
ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-rrhea/-itis*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [notion that is negatively characterized by being excessively $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *negorrhea, seconditis*
iii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-itis*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [notion that is negatively characterized by compulsively $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *give-upitis*

Unlike *-itis*, *-rrhea* is only involved in relational and stative models. No deverbal forms or actional models have been found for *-rrhea*. One of the major difficulties of unifying the schemas is that they are not restricted to one type of semantic component as is the case with *-holic*, where all pejoratives are represented by the feature of [+human]. The word 'notion' used in the semantic plane of the schemas shows that the output traits could be an emotion (e.g. *examitis*), a tendency (e.g. *bangorrhea*), or an attitude (e.g. *hipsteritis*). The word 'notion' is an inclusive term that can be interpreted differently in order to conform to each and every one of the schemas in Section 4.4.3. Relational schemas are perhaps the most ambiguous because the resulting notion semantically relates to the base in multiple ways, e.g. *bangorrhea* → 'overuse of exclamation points', *baseballitis* → 'excessive enthusiasm for baseball', *examitis* → 'fear or apathy towards exams'. All these semantic routes are underscored by a strong connection between the base (e.g. *baseball-*) and what is implied in the formulation of the derivative *baseballitis* (e.g. 'excessive enthusiasm').

Stative schemas show that the resulting notion inherits the property (personality trait or quality) from the base following a metonymic strategy. That is, the words

lazyitis and *negorrhea* denote negative appraisal because the properties of 'being *lazy*' and 'being *negative*' are excessively extended to suffixed forms. Likewise, *-itis* also conforms to an actional model in which the idea of 'compulsive tendency' underlies the negative connotation of, say, *give-upitis* and *fumblitis*.

That *-rrhea* and *-itis* overtly originate from non-pejorative bases, particularly denominal ones, is a general trend. In fact, all denominal schemas show a transition from a non-pejorative (or neutral) etymon to a pejorative lemma, as in *television* (non-pejorative) → *televisionitis* (pejorative) and *tweet* (non-pejorative) → *tweetarrhea* (pejorative). This transition from null-evaluative units confirms the contribution of [+excessive] or [+compulsive] in the formation of pejoratives. In contrast, deadjectival and deverbal schemas can either stem from bases conveying negative meanings (e.g. *lazyitis* < *lazy-*, *fumblitis* < *fumble-*), or positive/neutral ones (e.g. *upgraditis* < *upgrade-*, *got-to-get-there-itis* < *got-to-get-there-*).

4.5 The combining forms *-later* and *-maniac*

Although not entirely competing combining forms, the units *-later* and *-maniac* are semantically related because they both convey the sense that someone shows an excessive enthusiasm about something or someone in the form of behaving like an addict or a worshipper. The targets of such enthusiasm constitute the base to which these forms are attached; for instance, *bibliolater*[77] refers to someone who has an excessive devotion to books or the Bible (MWD11), and a *sex-maniac* denotes someone who is obsessed with sex. However, their actual denotation is relatively different, for *-maniac* goes beyond enthusiasm and refers to a type of obsession (or addiction) while *-later* is restricted to worshipping or blind admiration.

Their etymologies and combinatory patterns are also significantly different. While the combining form *-later* originates from French, and its earliest attestations (i.e. *artolater, iconolater*) date back to the 1600s, the formative *-maniac* was coined in English through a process of functional shift from the noun *maniac*, and their earliest forms came into being in the early 19th century (e.g. *bibliomaniac*) (OED3). In addition, as suggested by the OED3, the form *-later* might have inherited its combinatory value from the model word *idolater*. This explains why the infix *-o-* is found in a number of complex words, such as *Mariolater* (< *Mary*) and *bardolater* (< *Bard*).

Both forms also have abstract nouns in the forms of *-latry* (e.g. *idolatry*) and *-mania* (e.g. *sex-mania*), but only the combining forms showing the aspect of

77. A synonymic form is *bibliomaniac*, which demonstrates that these excessive end-morphemes can have a competing status.

[+human] are examined in this section.[78] Also, *-later* is far less frequent and productive than *-maniac*. Such combinatorial discrepancy might reside in the morphological and phonological template of *-maniac*, which adapts more easily to all kinds of bases in open or hyphenated formations; on the other hand, *-later* is more restricted and it only admits solid derivatives. Likewise, the form *-later* generally combines with neo-classical bases (e.g. *biblio-*, *idol-*), which obviously has an impact on its frequency index.

Semantically speaking, there are also considerable differences between these two combining forms. Whilst the form *-later* is unequivocally used to denote "a worshipper of, or a person with excessive reverence for, what is denoted by the first element" (OED3), *-maniac* is used to form "nouns denoting sufferers from mental illnesses, fervent admirers of things or persons, and fervent partakers in activities" (OED3). As such, the latter is clearly more polysemous, and its 'compulsive' or 'obsessive' attitude is linked to the primal sense of the end-morpheme in the naming of mental illnesses or ailments.

The formative *-maniac* coexists with the noun *maniac* (and its adjectival form),[79] which is also found conveying the sense of "a person who has an obsession with or excessive enthusiasm for something" (OED3). Thus, the combining form *-maniac* ('one who is obsessed with something or someone') can be morphologically interpreted as the rightmost base of a compound, as in *Beatlemaniac* or *Netflixmaniac*. This leads to the controversial matter of the fuzzy boundaries between compounding and derivation, and the formation of midway lexical units (cf. Marchand 1969; Dalton-Puffer & Plag 2000; Bauer et al. 2015). However, there are some syntactic and semantic features that make the formative *-maniac* ('obsessive enthusiast') stand closer to the combining form typology than that of compounding.

On the syntactic plane, a distinctive feature of *-maniac* ('excessive or obsessive enthusiast') is its strong combinatorial property. The form *-maniac* is, therefore, more frequently used in the construction [X_N *-maniac*] ↔ [an obsessive enthusiast] than in [a *maniac* of X_N] ↔ [an obsessive enthusiast]. This syntactic restriction could also be inherited from its homophonous combining form *-maniac* ('a sufferer of a mental illness'). On the other hand, there is no significant semantic change from *maniac* (n.) into the formative *-maniac* since they both convey the sense of

78. The choice of examining *-maniac* and *-later* instead of *-mania* and *-latry* also has a practical reason: most of the pejorative nonce words that have been extracted from the corpora end in *-maniac*. Clearly, this is important since varied examples of derivatives can be more productive in the elaboration of constructional schemas. Using the same schemas, along with a change in the syntactic category, to explain forms and functions of *-mania* derivatives might be repetitive and pointless.

79. A paronym of *maniac* is *manic*, which is found as an adjective and noun, but not as a combining form.

'obsessive enthusiast'. Other native combining forms in English, such as that of the formative *-man*, as in *discman* or *walkman*, show a more drastic change of meaning since the aspects of [+adult, male, human], for instance, are not activated in *-man* (Kortmann 2020: 66). However, as shown in Figure 4.4, the combining form *-maniac* 'a fervent admirer of things and persons' imports the semantic value of the noun *maniac* 'one who has an excessive enthusiasm (or obsession) for something'. This semantic transposition, then, indicates a semantic 'softening' from 'obsession' into 'fervent admiration', which also opens up the combining form *-maniac* to less derisive forms such as *Obamaniac* or *Pottermaniac*.

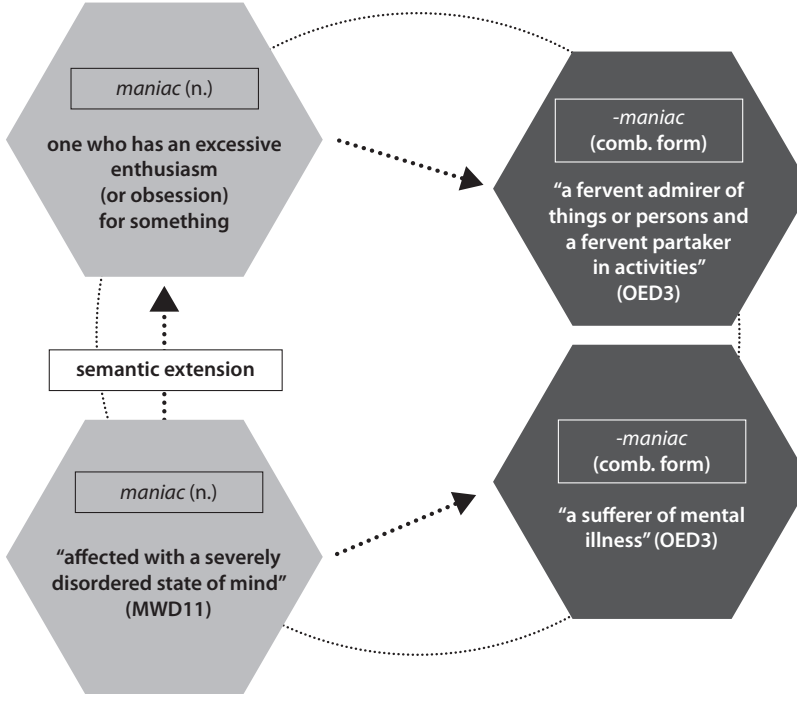

Figure 4.4 Semantic changes underlying the formation of the combining form *-maniac* 'an obsessive enthusiast'

4.5.1 Forms and functions of *-later* and *-maniac* pejoratives

There are no relevant spelling variations for the derivatives ending in *-later* and *-maniac*. For instance, the form *-lator* (e.g. *idolator*) is a nonstandard form of *-later*; and while *-maniac* is found in different orthographic shapes: open (e.g. *power maniac*), hyphenated (e.g. *mint-maniac*), and solid forms (e.g. *iconmaniac*), it is the first two types that overtly prevail throughout the corpora.

There are only seven forms of *-later* pejoratives and all of them point to the notion that 'one is an excessive enthusiast of something or someone' (see Appendix 7). They are majorly characterized by neo-classical forms such as *biblio-*, *zoo-*, and *helio-*. The case of *bardolater* ('one who worships Shakespeare's works') was coined by Bernard Shaw based on the epithet by which Shakespeare was known (*the Bard*) and the combining form *-later* (MWD11).

In contrast, *-maniac* derivatives are far more frequent, especially because, as commented in Section 4.5, *-maniac* is more polysemous and combines with both neo-classical and native bases to denote mental conditions (e.g. *megalomaniac, nymphomaniac, sex-maniac*). This generates a host of syndrome names that are primarily used to describe conducts of obsessive affection which are "manifested by mental and physical hyperactivity, disorganization of behavior, and elevation of mood" (MWD11).[80] This type of disorder, similar to the constructions made up of *-itis* and *-rrhea*, opens up a whole new range of pejoratives, which do not convey the idea of a physiological condition, but that of the semantic notions of overexcitement and obsessive attitude. So, pejoratives, such as *movie-maniac* in (41) and *Obamaniac* in (42),[81] originate from a hyperbolic reconfiguration of meaning, through which medical symptoms ('obsession', 'excessive fondness') are used in the formation of negative words. In cases such as *Obamaniac, supermaniac*, and *Germaniac*, there is an overlapping of both bases because one of their syllables (e.g. <ma> in *Obama-* and *-maniac*) facilitates both units being fully recognizable and integrated.

(41) I claim to be a MOVIE-MANIAC and have built a sizeable collection of movies without having watched many of them. (*cuttingthechai.com*, Mar. 23, 2006)

(42) You don't even have to be an OBAMANIAC to attend. The performances will benefit homeless shelters and injured veterans' associations, and the comedians will focus on the new president's commitment to social service and inclusion. (*nbcchicago.com*, Aug. 27, 2009)

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80. The 1916 film *The Matrimaniac* (also found as *The Matrimoniac*, and starring Douglas Fairbanks and Constance Talmadge), confirms that the use of *-maniac* was trivially used (and blended) by the emerging film-making industry to describe an obsessive conduct (towards marriage).

81. A full list of *-maniac* pejoratives is in Appendix 8. This dataset does not include psychiatric and mental health terms since the combining form *-maniac* that is examined in this section conveys the meaning of 'an excessive or fervent enthusiast', not 'a sufferer of a mental illness'. For the categorization of psychiatric disorders, I follow dictionaries of English (e.g. MWD11, OED3) and scientific glossaries of medical terms (e.g. *Lexicon of psychiatric and mental health terms*, 1994, published by the WHO, and available at https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/39342). In addition, a medical term can be used as a pejorative word to refer to someone with an obsessive attitude; for instance, the word *nymphomaniac* might be used to refer to someone who is promiscuous. This use of *nymphomaniac* in a non-medical context is not attested in Appendix 8.

Derivatives ending in *-maniac* can be perfectly predictable because when the combining form is attached to neo-classical bases (e.g. *klepto-*, *nympho-*), one can easily foresee that the resulting unit indicates a type of mental disorder (e.g. *nymphomania*) or non-figurative compulsive attitude (e.g. *graphomania*). In contrast, when *-maniac* is used to describe an excessively enthusiastic (or fervent) attitude (not necessarily a worrying one) towards the leftmost base, and this base is a native formative, the notion of a physiological ailment can be discarded, as in *wrestle-* in *wrestlemaniac*, in (43), and *Potter-* in *Pottermaniac*, as in (44). Hence, this semantic predictability is shaped by the nature of the base, the property of lexical frequency, and the process of monosemantization.

(43) This is me thinking out loud. But I'm running from a maniac, whether it be a WRESTLEMANIAC or some other type, and I'd like to think I have presence of mind to go somewhere where I have at least two exits, if not more.
(*bigstupidtommy.blogspot.com*, Apr. 23, 2008)

(44) Debbie Allen will be playing the principal, and watch for Charles S. Dutton, Kelsey Grammer, Megan Mullalley, and Bebe Neuwirth. Trav may be a POTTERMANIAC, but I will be at the theater with my leg warmers on Sept. 25!
(*talkbusiness.net*, Aug. 12, 2009)

4.5.2 Constructional schemas of *-later* and *-maniac* pejoratives

There are eight schemas involving the formatives *-later* and *-maniac*, the neo-classical bases being represented as 'Nclass' to facilitate the generalization and understanding of schema constituents:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Disease	Enthusiasm	Jargon	Obsession	Compulsive	Excessive	Pejorative
-later$_{a.1}$	*zoolater*	Nclass[+object]	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
-maniac$_{a.2}$	*egomaniac*	Nclass[+quality]	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	±
-later/maniac$_{a.3}$	*Obamaniac*	[+human]	+	−	+	−	±	+	+	±
-later/maniac$_{a.4}$	*movie-maniac*	[+object]	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	±
-maniac$_{a.5}$	*fitness-maniac*	[+pastime]	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
-maniac$_{a.6}$	*euro-maniac*	[+place]	+	−	+	−	±	+	+	+
-maniac$_{a.7}$	*sushimaniac*	[+edible]	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	±
-later/maniac$_{c.1}$	*walk-maniac*	[+act]	+	−	+	−	±	+	+	+

The formatives *-later* and *-maniac* only share two derivatives (*bibliolater*/*bibliomaniac, idolater*/*idolmaniac*), where those ending in *-maniac* convey a more pejorative sense. As shown in schemas (a.1) and (a.2), both combining forms are also attached to neo-classical bases in the formation of non-pejoratives. Neo-classical forms are used particularly in the naming of mental disorders or serious compulsive conditions, and these coexist with their pejorative forms; for instance, *sex-maniac* is generally used as a dysphemistic form of *nymphomaniac* because it is also used in non-professional contexts where someone is (non-medically) characterized as having an obsession with sex. There are, though, occasions on which *-maniac* derivatives can modulate their meaning, that is, where an excessive enthusiasm about something is a source of pride and community belonging, as in the case of music or collectible fandoms, e.g. *Beatlemaniac*, as in (45), and *Gizmaniac* (< *Gizmo*), as in (46). Alternatively, in (47), *Beatlemaniac* is used by the writer to convey the sense of obsessive admirer in contrast to 'a Beatle fan'.

(45) Don remains dedicated to the big sell, and that's why he'd certainly be a BEATLEMANIAC – if a secret one. The Beatles transformed pop marketing as much as music. (*npr.org*, May 8, 2012)

(46) Hi GIZMANIACS: We just double checked all the animations to make sure they were working with both iOS and Android systems. All good. (*kickstarter.com*, Oct. 15, 2013)

(47) I was to be a BEATLEMANIAC for the rest of my life, only three decades too late. Now, I would like to say I was a Beatle fan of the standard, respectable variety. Someone who appreciated the band's music and influence on culture and society, but who also maintained a normal lifestyle while doing so. (*ndsmcobserver.com*, Feb. 17, 2004)

4.5.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-later* and *-maniac*

One important aspect that can be drawn from the schemas made up of *-maniac* is the complex nature of formatives attached to native and neo-classical bases since in these cases it is not always easy to distinguish between compounding and derivation. On the other hand, this sort of morphological intricacy constitutes a great opportunity to explore how the fuzzy boundaries there are between these word-formation processes constitute a natural hallmark of the continuum-based nature of language development. Specifically, the combining form *-maniac* ('an excessive enthusiast') results from the semantic extension of *maniac* (n.) ('a fervent admirer') and the combinatorial property of *-maniac* ('one who is mentally ill'). This leads to a native combining form (or derivational formative) which is attached to

a series of native bases to create pejoratives that are dissociated from the meaning of [+disease]. Appendix 8 shows a full list of *-maniac* pejoratives, which are well established in the denominal schemas, especially from (a.3) to (a.7), as well as in the deverbal schema (c.1).

The schemas listed above are predominantly denominal, which implies the supremacy of relational models, in which an obsessive attitude or behavior relates to what is conveyed by the leftmost base. For instance, in *fitness-maniac* and *sushi-maniac*, someone is considered too enthusiastic about *fitness* or *sushi*. The relational schema below, as illustrated in (i), is less complex than other excessive combining forms because *-maniac* and *-later* pejoratives are generally characterized by a fervent (or obsessive) liking or admiration for something or someone. In contrast, *-rrhea*, *-holic*, and *-itis*, for instance, are more polysemous in that they might denote 'excessive enthusiasm', 'aversion', or even 'sadness'. Therefore, the unified schemas of these latter three formatives are represented through the general notion of 'relating to' whilst those involving *-maniac* and *-later* are modeled on the (more specific) aspect of 'liking to excess'. There is only one deverbal model (c.1) and only two examples have been extracted from the corpora. No deadjectival model has been found in the dataset. The two unified schemas (denominal and deverbal) can be represented as follows:

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-later/-maniac*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by liking SEM_i to excess$]_j$
   e.g. *bibliolater, sex-maniac*
ii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-maniac*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by compulsively $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *walk-maniac, squandermaniac*

A closer look at the examples of *-maniac* pejoratives (and also the schemas) confirms the pejorative value of the native combining form. The vast majority of the bases (e.g. *Obama-*, *cricket-*, *movie-*, *football-*) convey neutral meaning, which is depreciated by an excess of enthusiasm for them. Consequently, the absence of deadjectival models explains why inherent properties are not used to negatively denote an object or a person, as happens in other excessives such as *negorrhea* (< *negative*), *prettyholic* (< *pretty*), *dullard* (< *dull*). Some bases are able to show a less neutral meaning because they might be related to a taboo-instantiated etymon, such as *sex-* (as in *sex-maniac*), or to a base that intrinsically implies hostility or conflict, e.g. *war-* and *trigger-* as in *war-maniac* and *trigger-maniac*.

Although most nonce derivatives ending in *-maniac* convey a pejorative meaning in their corpus-based context, we cannot deny the fact that they can also possess a humorous motivation, as in *detail maniac* in (48), or even a positive meaning, as

in *wegmaniac* in (49), which is used to denote loyal customers to a supermarket chain. This positive impact of being devoted to something, including a product, leads to product branding that has no relationship with derision or depreciation: *Animaniacs* ('TV series'), *Hydromaniac* ('make up'), *tremaniac* ('racing engines'). In fact, product branding is based on an ameliorated sense of devotion that is understood as community membership.

(48) He was good for me because he was a DETAIL MANIAC. He would put so much more detail than I asked for that I then had to ask him to erase half of it for the sake of the composition, or worse, rub it out myself.
(*eddiecampbell.blogspot.com*, May 10, 2007)

(49) Bloomberg BusinessWeek published a story yesterday about Wegmans' forthcoming Brooklyn store, claiming that the grocer's most loyal shoppers are known as "WEGMANIACS." (*eu.democratandchronicle.com*, n.d.)

4.6 The combining form *-porn*

There is little published literature on the use of *-porn* as a final combining form (e.g. *food-porn, travel-porn*), perhaps because it is associated with the relatively new-fashioned fields of computer-mediated communication and visual postings. Hester's book *Beyond Explicit. Pornography and the Displacement of Sex* describes the impact of *-porn* on social media (e.g. TV reality shows, films, blogs) by suggesting that discourses that resort to the combining form *-porn* can be understood as "being at least partially related to pornography, and yet (rather intriguingly) none of them necessarily include graphic representations of hard-core sex" (2014: 14). So, although words such as *misery-porn* or *food-porn* are unquestionably non-sexual, they retain some remnants of pornography that make them more engaging to viewers and readers in general.

The combining form *-porn*, like *-maniac*, can be used to showcase how a native combining form originates from its full etymon through a process of semantic reconfiguration. Sánchez Fajardo outlines the meanings of *-porn* that can be summarized in two general senses: (a) 'a type of pornographic activity or material that is characterized by something or in which something is involved' (e.g. *incest porn, hardcore porn*), and (b) 'the act of either provocatively showing (or gazing at) luscious imagery, or excessively engaging in pleasurable activity' (e.g. *food-porn, car-porn*) (2018: 147). While sense (a) is literal and taboo, and where *-porn* forms part of a compound, sense (b) has clearly undergone an amelioration process because the unit *-porn* loses all type of connection with sex and pornography.

This, of course, raises the question: if it is amelioration, why is it in this book? The question can be answered by contrasting two relatively synonymous expressions: *shoe-porn*, as in (50), and *posting pictures of shoes*. Both refer to the same notion, but the former possesses a new stylistic value which goes beyond the literal denotation of picture display; hence, the meanings of 'provocative', 'excessive', 'desirable' are transferred from the sexual denotation of *porn* into the sex-less reference of *shoes*. This semantic extension implies that *-porn* is used to disparage how such a display of pictures is negatively appraised by a speaker. In other words, while the unit *-porn* is no longer taboo (as it is in *incest porn*), its extended semantics helps speakers fill a referential gap for designating a display of excessive and provocative imagery.

(50) Hopefully this post would help you when you shop on Taobao or visit Shanghai. Whether you are a shoeaholic or plain curious, here it is – SHOE PORN!
(*ulimali.blogspot.com*, Apr. 24, 2013)

As was discussed with respect to the formation of *-holic*, *-rrhea*, and *-maniac* units, hilarity and non-conventionalism might also underlie the coinage of *-porn* forms. Yet this initial motivation is not incompatible with that of pejoration as, excessives, such as *-porn*, can be used to belittle a set of pictures (or a tendency of posting such pictures) by resorting to humorous strategies. A key unit here is *food-porn*, which might have been the 'leader word'[82] or analogical pattern on which subsequent forms were based. Also, what makes this formative so appealing to linguists is its indirect connection with the etymon (*pornography*), and how this interdictive notion arouses a mixture of human emotions and attitudes:

> We snap the word porn on to images of excess. We understand the meaning of phrases like food porn, property porn, plant porn, travel porn, cocktail porn, not because these are sexy things, but because we associate the word "porn" with the feelings we have when we look at them – a combination of desire and guilt, and fantasy, and disappointment at the celibate reality of our real lunch, our real home.
> (Wiseman 2017: n.p.)

4.6.1 Forms and functions of *-porn* pejoratives

The orthographic template of *-porn* forms is not exactly standard since many of the units that have been extracted from the corpora are hyphenated as in *wealth-porn* and *death-porn*, while others are spaced, or open, as in *torture porn* and *business porn*. In addition, because most of these units originate from social media (e.g. *Instagram, Twitter*), and they are generally written in hashtags or identificatory

82. The term 'leader word', which was coined by Malkiel (1966), was introduced earlier in Section 4.3.1 to explain the emergence (and function) of *workaholic*. These first coinages are believed to act as the primal attestations on which ensuing analogical forms are modeled.

captions, various forms are written as a solid template as in *foodporn* and *shoeporn*, thus making spelling even less consistent. Another difficulty in the standardization of *-porn* units is that this type of combinatory value is not attested by major English dictionaries.[83] Hence, for the sake of consistency, I have adopted the hyphenated type in the analysis and in the compilation of data, but readers should know that this might not be the only spelling template involved.

The formative *-porn*, as elucidated in Section 4.6, is semantically restricted to the act of showing/gazing at provocative or excessive imagery or the act of performing an activity to excess. At times, as suggested by Games, complex units ending in *-porn* also imply a type of passive-masochist attitude or tendency because:

> If you like reading cookery magazines, but prefer gazing at beautiful images of food to making it yourself, you are participating in food porn. If you like reading about exotic places rather than actually visiting them, you are indulging in travel porn. (2006: 454)

This type of semantics appears to be rather predictable and unambiguous when the base to which *-porn* is attached is conceptually known to the hearer. To this end, when *-porn* is attached to a nonsexual category (such as *weather-* or *misery-*), interlocutors will interpret that *pornography* is not involved in the output semantics of *weather-porn* or *misery-porn*. However, because of the (surprisingly) varied forms of *pornography* there are, particularly on the internet, *-porn* derivatives can lead to a great deal of ambiguity. For instance, if you try googling *pet-porn* on the internet, two types of images (or video footages) will show up: one showing bestiality, and the other with funny and humanlike pets. The morphological difference between the two types of *-porn* unit is that the former is a compound in which the base *-porn* constitutes the head or hypernym (i.e. *pet-porn* is a type of porn which involves animals), while the latter involves the combining form *-porn* that is under examination in this section. An interesting feature of the formative *-porn* (not the compound base) is that it is syntactically restricted because it is never seen in isolation with the meaning of 'provocative imagery'. Thus, the nominal phrase **a porn of pets* to indicate a 'a provocative display of pictures of pets' is not possible.

In the semantic transition that goes from *porn* (< *pornography*) to the combining form *-porn* ('provocative imagery'), there are some units that have become part of specific types of jargon, such as that used by film and book reviewers. Therefore, it is very common to find either nonce *-porn* derivatives, such as *starship-porn* in (51), or well-established units in the press business such as *torture-porn* 'a film that has too many violent scenes', as in (52), and *poverty-porn* 'an audiovisual material that

83. The OED3 does, however, include the word *food porn*, which is defined as "images that portray food in a very appetizing or aesthetically appealing way".

is meant to cause empathy and sorrow in the audience', as in (53). These categories might also imply criticism and disapproval.

(51) Of course, one of the most important characters on any Star Trek show is the ship. While the episode did not deliver 10 minutes of drydock STARSHIP PORN, we did get a few beauty shots of the USS Discovery.
(Anthony Pascale, "Review: Third Episode of 'Star Trek: Discovery,'" *TrekMovie.com*, Oct. 1, 2017)

(52) Some claim that the films are nothing more than "TORTURE PORN", and while there's plenty of blood, gore and torture on display they're also a vital element of the story. (*fortressofsolitude.co.za*, Oct. 4, 2017)

(53) This year's media briefing had barely ended before the social media barrage between the SleepOut's detractors, accusing it of being "POVERTY PORN", and its supporters, railing against the abuse dished out by "slacktivists."
(*Daily Maverick*, Sep. 8, 2017)

4.6.2 Constructional schemas of *-porn* pejoratives

There are five schemas involving *-porn* units, and all of them are denominal nominalizations. Compound units, such as *gay porn* or *incest porn*, are not specified (or modeled) in the constructions below because *-porn* is a compound base in these lexical units, not a combining form:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Imagery	Provocative	Film/Book	Jargon	Excessive	Pejorative
-porn$_{a.1}$	*sushi-porn*	[+edible]	−	+	+	−	−	+	±
-porn$_{a.2}$	*shoe-porn*	[+object]	−	+	+	−	−	+	±
-porn$_{a.3}$	*inspiration-porn*	[+state]	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
-porn$_{a.4}$	*holiday-porn*	[+season/time]	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
-porn$_{a.5}$	*poverty-porn*	[+state]	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
-porn$_{a.6}$	*gossip-porn*	[+opinion]	−	−	+	−	−	+	+

Two of the schemas above show an ambivalent semantic trait in the expression of [pejorative], which is indicated by [±]. This type of ambivalence is based on a number of in-context excerpts that are extracted from the corpora, where words, for example *food-porn*, might simply indicate that pictures are used in an appetizing way in order to engage readers or consumers, as in (54). In other contexts, *food-porn* may be used as a lexical means to express criticism or disapproval towards an excessive display of food imagery, as in (55). Following this semantic ambivalence, *-porn* can, surprisingly, relate to positive meanings, as in the case of merchandising.

Accordingly, products can be used in combination with *-porn* to convey the idea of good-taste shopping or exquisiteness. For instance, the word *bag-porn*, as in example (56), is used to merchandize bags by implying that buying a lot of commodities does not imply a negative attitude.

(54) This week we've got a couple of quick stop-motion recipes, including Thai spiced cashews and homemade pesto. We have an adorable stop-motion turtle eating lettuce, which could classify as FOOD PORN for turtles *or* humans.
(*firstwefeast.com*, n.d.)

(55) Read enough such food blogs and you realize how much of it is FOOD PORN, only instead of penetration and bad acting they show engorgement and bad writing, with an apron as protection instead of a condom. "Eat it, baby, eat it… Yeh, lick that hot emulsified sauce, you know you like it! Go ahead, fork it."
(*francerevisited.com*, Jan. 20, 2011)

(56) Oh man, Chicago WIG's got a new website up and it is BAG PORN awesomeness. Isaac, the bagmaker of Chicago WIG, is really prolific. He's got five(!) types of messenger bag. (*bag-collector.com*, Jan. 28, 2011)

4.6.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-porn*

Most of the *-porn* schemas in Section 4.6.2 show that all models are strictly relational: the leftmost base represents the object/state/season to which some imagery (or a film/book) is provocatively or lusciously related. Therefore, the relational value of the schema is expressed through the act of showing or gazing at (generally) pictures to excess:

$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-porn*$]_{Nj}$ ↔ [something that is negatively characterized by showing/gazing at SEM_i to excess$]_j$
e.g. *shoe-porn, poverty-porn*

The combining form *-porn*, in general, has failed to uphold the visual prerequisites of earlier attestations, and it is presently found in contexts where images or audiovisual works (such as a book or a film) are not relevant. For instance, words such as *science-porn, intelligence-porn*, and *gossip-porn* do not involve imagery in their denotation but simply the excessive posting of certain information or opinions. These novel designations of excessive (mis)use of information convey a sense of the denouncement of wrongdoing and misconduct, as in *intelligence-porn* in (57) and *gossip-porn* in (58).

(57) CIA Director Mike Pompeo called WikiLeaks a "hostile intelligence service" and former FBI Director James Comey denounced them as "INTELLIGENCE PORN." (*Politico*, Oct. 16, 2017)

(58) Unfortunately for our country, your article is spot-on. Media news is no longer "news," it's GOSSIP PORN. (*Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 26, 2017)

Likewise, although the trait of [+excessive] constitutes a common denominator in all the schemas that are described in this section (which also justifies the treatment of *-porn* as an excessive unit), the overmuch display of pictures may be less important than the provocative effect they exert on viewers. For instance, *war-porn* is found in two different contexts: one where it is used to describe someone's lust for everything (including movies and books) that involves war-like imagery, as in (59), and another in which a single graphic and shocking image is worth more than many less disturbing ones, as in (60). In the latter example, *war-porn* is perhaps closer to the intrinsic semantics of *pornography*, in the sense that provocative images can arouse the attention of spectators, similarly to the impact that lecherous pornographic films might have on them.

(59) Constituting both the subjects and objects of the nation's martial authority, WAR PORN characterizes he contemporary American lust for militarism, evinced not only in war movies, war games, war toys, and war memorials, but in the general fetishization of war itself […] (Erica Doss, "War porn: spectacle and seduction in contemporary American War Memorials," in *War isn't hell, it's entertainment*, 2009, p. 17)

(60) WAR PORN, like pornography, is traded mostly in secret. It is consumed mostly in private, and those who possess it may often feel hesitant to share it with anyone outside of the military or veteran communities. However, during the past decade, the American people and the world have witnessed several stark examples of WAR PORN leaking to the surface. Perhaps the most famous incident to date are the images of bound and naked prisoners being abused in Abu Ghraib Prison, in Iraq, that leaked in 2004. (*mediawatch.com*, Jun. 24, 2012)

Hence, the combining form *-porn* is perhaps the best example to close a chapter on excess-based formatives because it demonstrates, on the plane of semantics, that combining forms and splinters, unlike suffixes, are less restricted. Besides the meaning conveyed by their bases, these formatives are also dependent on how much of a meaning is inherited from their etymons: are *-porn* and *-rrhea* closer to *pornography* and *diarrhea*, respectively, rather than to 'excessive things'? Does *-itis* stand more proximate to 'disease' in the expression of 'aversion' or 'fear' rather than to 'excessive enthusiasm'? Irrespective of the answers to these questions, these formatives are generally characterized by a high degree of semantic extension, which results in both high combinability (as well as polysemy) and low semantic and pragmatic restriction.

CHAPTER 5

From resemblance to pejoration

5.1 When partial resemblance meets evil

The expression of partial resemblance, or that of 'resemblance to some degree', is a common semantic category that is reflected in the syntactic and morphological levels of language, as with the constructions *kind*/*sort of* (cf. Zeschel 2012; Dehé & Stahi 2016). Such constructions or downtoners can convey the idea that X resembles Y but not at the level of identicalness. This, then, means that if Y is our point of reference, X stands in a lower position because X and Y do not share all their features. If this simple operation were extrapolated to the axiological continuum of 'positive' and 'negative', X would be a more complex unit to look at. For instance, example (1a) shows a disparaging comment about John, which is softened in (1b) by using *kind of*. This syntactic expression generates a less damaging effect of the original pejorative because it conveys the idea that either John can behave like a *moron* but he is not one, or that there is some doubt about John's being a *moron*. In any case, (1b) is definitely less pejorative than (1a), which turns *kind of* into a pejorative 'softener' or downtoner. In contrast, (1c) shows a positive comment (or appraisal) about John, which can be modified by using *kind of*, as in (1d). This modification might result in a more pejorative meaning because the speaker might be saying that John comes across as an honest person but he is not really one. Hence, the semantics of *kind of* does not change, but depends on the axiological value of Y as a point of reference.

(1) a. John is a moron.
    b. John is KIND OF a moron.
    c. John is an honest person.
    d. John is a KIND OF honest person.

On the morphological plane, the category of resemblance behaves no differently from how syntactic expressions, such as *kind of* and *sort of*, do in an utterance. There are affixes and combining forms that are functionally associated with the meaning of 'resembling' and even 'unauthentic'. One clear-cut example is the neo-classical initial combining form *pseud*(*o*)-, which can be attached to native bases to imply (partial) resemblance, as in *pseudo-beer* in (2), or falseness, as in *pseudo-rich* in (3). These formations convey the meaning that something (e.g. a *beer*) or someone (e.g.

a *rich*) possesses a series of attributes that are misrepresented by *pseudo-beer* and *pseudo-rich*. What we call misrepresentation is an expression of pejorative sense because the standard values or attributes of *beer* and *rich* are not fully retained. However, the combining form *pseud*(*o*)-, when attached to negative bases, does not necessarily have an ameliorating development; for example, in *pseudo-dictator* (4), the softening effect of *pseudo-* is rather negligible.

(2) So you needed big clubs which could serve a lot of customers in a short period of time. Some served *bjorliki*, PSEUDO-BEER, a mixture of low-alcohol lager and different types of spirits served in large beer glasses. (*bbc.com*, Mar. 1, 2015)

(3) Some people say that he is a PSEUDO-RICH and has no money. Also owed a lot of debts. (*daydaynews.cc*, Jul. 15, 2020)

(4) The terrorists' goal was to overthrow a democratic election, install their god-king as a PSEUDO-DICTATOR, and kidnap or kill some Democrats in the process […]. (*thepostcalvin.com*, Feb. 6, 2021)

This chapter examines three English suffixes (i.e. *-ish*, *-oid*, and *-aster*) that partake in the expression of (partial) resemblance, thus conveying a negative (or pejorative) sense. The semantic reconfiguration shown by resemblance-based words such as *apish* ('silly' < 'that behaves like an ape'), *poetaster* ('an inferior writer'), or *intellectualoid* ('one who pretends to be an intellectual') demonstrates that a pejorative sense is conveyed in the degree to which someone or something is compared with a standard value. The suffixes *-ish* and *-oid*, in particular, pertain to a small group of "relatively contentful" formatives that have been termed 'similative' because they can be paraphrased as "resembling something or someone" (Bauer et al 2015: 311).

On the other hand, partial resemblance might also be linked to the proposition that only objectionable qualities are transferred from the base onto the derivative, which makes pejoratives of this sort more transparent and predictable. For instance, the adjectives *apish* and *niceish* (also written as *nice-ish*) are used to refer to someone as 'foolish' or 'not nice enough' respectively. The former, as suggested above, shows that there are some negative features of an *ape* that are metaphorically used in the *-ish* derivative. Thus, *apish* is a pejorative, not because someone does not have all the features of an *ape* but because only the negative ones are inherited. The adjective *niceish*, in contrast, follows the incompleteness strategy of *pseudo-rich* and *sort of* in the sense that someone is negatively appraised because their degree of *nice-ness* is below the speaker's standards, as in (5). Hence, the category of incompleteness is based on the general property of resemblance because calling someone *niceish* involves implying that someone has some attributes that resemble those of a *nice* person. Also, while incompleteness entails a sense of gradeability, which means that *niceish* stands below the befitting standards of *nice, apish* is merely imbued with the

metaphorical transposition of traits from an *ape* into a person, but it has no gradable or below-standard sense like that expressed by *niceish*. Consequently, *niceish* and *apish* are resemblance-based pejoratives, the former also pertaining to the category of incompleteness because it involves a sense of scalarity (or gradeability).

(5) "Yeah, she's NICE-ISH."
"NICE-ISH?" He smirked. His brown eyes flickered with amusement. "What's that supposed to mean?"
I shrugged, hoping it would take off some of the edge to what I was about to say. "She comes off as being sort of snobby. One of those people who seem to always set you up in a lie."
(Jennifer Snyder, *Control you. A Coldcreek novel*, 2014)

Therefore, although this chapter revolves around the process of semantic transfer that stems from the base, a distinction should be made between the quantitative and qualitative nature of this process, particularly in the case of *-ish*, as in, respectively, *niceish* and *apish*. Both planes are encompassed by the generalizing term of 'partial resemblance', but they will be obviously treated differently in their corresponding constructional schemas.

5.2 The suffix *-ish*

Most research studies agree on the functional and semantic heterogeneity of the suffix *-ish*, which is noteworthy in terms of its degrees of frequency and polysemy (Marchand 1969; Dalton-Puffer 1996; Ciszek 2012; Traugott & Trousdale 2013; Eitelmann et al. 2020). The adjective-forming suffix *-ish* stems from OE *-isc*, which is of Common Germanic origin (OED3), and, as suggested by MWD11, it is highly polysemous because it can be used to convey any of the following meanings:

a. indicating nationality or ethnic group (e.g. *Finnish*),
b. showing characteristics of the base to which it is attached (e.g. *boyish*),
c. showing inclination towards something or an attitude (e.g. *bookish*),
d. showing a trace of an attribute or property (e.g. *greenish*),
e. indicating an approximate number (e.g. *fortyish*).

As a result, *-ish* can be attached to various syntactic categories: nouns (e.g. *babyish, doggish*), verbs (e.g. *snappish, ticklish*), adjectives (e.g. *goodish, brownish*), numbers (e.g. *fivish, twentyish*), adverbs (e.g. *nowish, soonish*),[84] thus entailing high

84. As suggested by Harris, the deadverbial *nowish* is not listed in the OED3, but it is found 42 times in the iWeb Corpus (2020: 68).

productivity, particularly on nominal bases (Bauer et al. 2015: 304–305). An extension of this profitability is the use of *-ish* in phrasal verbs and compound bases such as *standoffish* or *trailer-parkish*, as well as the free unit *ish*, as in (6), which is used as a 'metalinguistic degree operator' (Bochnak & Csipak 2014; Oltra-Massuet 2017). However, the polysemous or multifunctional nature of *-ish* contrasts with "a conspicuous incapacity to combine with bound bases or to induce base modification by means of stress shift or base allomorphy" (Eitelmann et al. 2020: 803–805).

(6) A: I can't move three hours away. I have a life here.
B: ISH.
A: Look, it may not be a great life, but it is a life.
(*Mom*, season 5, episode 16, 2018)

As opposed to the receding use of *-ish* as a nationality-forming suffix (e.g. *English, Netherlandish*) (Ciszek 2012: 29–31), there is a tangible increase in productivity in the functions of *-ish* as an associative morpheme (e.g. *amateurish*) and as an approximative one (e.g. *goodish*).[85] In the case of associatives, there are always certain features that are saliently associated with someone (e.g. *amateur-* → 'non-professional', 'inexperienced'), similar to the way metaphorical tropes operate. Alternatively, the approximative *-ish* does not work as a semantic transposer, but rather "attenuates the reference of the adjective" (Dixon 2014: 119). Hence, if something or someone is *goodish*, the output semantics implies that the object or the person might not be good enough, leading to a contextually pejorative use of *-ish*.

In fact, the OED3 ascertains that there are some *-ish* derivatives which denote "having the (bad or objectionable) qualities of" the generally nominal base, as in *apish, brutish*, or *clownish*. This implies that *-ish* has been lexicographically described as pejorative-forming, particularly as an associative unit. The category of associative-ness is believed to convey similarities while that of approximative-ness indicates dissimilarities (Traugott & Trousdale 2013: 234). Such a distinction of the semantic correspondence between the base and the derivative suggests that *-ish* constitutes a multifunctional nexus which is heavily based on the nature of the base and the attributes that are being associated or approximated. For instance, animal-based derivatives, or zoonyms (e.g. *apish, sheepish, wolfish, hawkish*) are generally pejorative in English (Malkiel 1977).[86]

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85. The labels of associative ('like X') and approximative ('somewhat X') are used to depict the type of relation conveyed by the derivative and the base (Kuzmak 2007: 1, as cited in Eitelmann 2020: 805).

86. There are forms, such as *tigerish* and *bullish*, which are used as appreciative forms. The adjective *tigerish* means 'fierce' and 'showing great energy' (OED3), while *bullish* means "optimistic about something's or someone's prospects" (MWD11).

5.2.1 Forms and functions of *-ish*

As observed in Section 5.2, the expression of pejorative sense by *-ish* derivatives is shaped by the correlation of the values of 'approximative' (dissimilarity) and 'associative' (similarity) in the semantic configuration of suffixed forms. To see the extent to which a base and the aspect of (dis)similarity correlate with the sense of pejorative, let us examine six examples of *-ish* adjectives in (7).

(7) a. X is DEVILISH.
b. X is WOMANISH.
c. X is HANDSOME-ISH.
d. X is LEFTISH.
e. X is TALL-ISH.
f. X is FORTYISH.

The pejorative adjectives *devilish* and *womanish* in (7a) and (7b), respectively, show an associative semantics, whereby someone resembles a *devil* or a *woman* in a contemptuous sense. The former is clearly more predictable in the expression of contempt because the base *devil-* conveys the meaning of 'wicked' or 'malicious', so *-ish* merely facilitates the transposition of (obvious) negative features from *devil-* into X. In contrast, the latter is definitely less predictable (and hence less transparent) because the base *woman-* is semantically neutral. Thus, the suffix *-ish* operates on a more complex semantic reconfiguration in *womanish* because some features of a *woman* are disparagingly transposed into X, leaving no room for doubt that X could be a male human. An effective way of checking the pejorative value of a word in a given context is by replacing the word with near-synonymous derivatives such as *womanly* or *womanlike*. The pragmatic force of *womanish* as an offensive term is therefore indisputable. However, these associative models are not as complicated as the approximative ones in (7c), (7d), and (7e). Although these three examples share adjectival bases, they differ in the type of value or attribute that is influenced by *-ish*. The base *handsome-* in *handsome-ish* (8) denotes a positive attribute which is toned down because perhaps the speaker does not wish to say the opposite of *handsome*, so *-ish* can be a euphemistic device (or an understatement) to express that X is not exactly *handsome*, or is not *handsome* enough. The adjective *leftish* does not, though, refer to physical properties as in the case of *handsome-ish*, but to someone with apparently liberal or progressive principles or views. Rather than toning down an attribute, the effect that *-ish* has in *leftish* could be interpreted as someone who has some features of *left-wing* sympathies, as in (9), or someone who might convey a lack of genuineness, as in (10), which could result in the pragmatic force of contempt. The example of *tall-ish* is similar to *handsome-ish* in the sense that both denote a physical property, although *tall-ish* refers to an attribute

that shows a high degree of vagueness (Harris 2020: 69) because *tall* is a relative adjective, not an absolute one. Also, *handsome* is a positive attribute while *tall* is not necessarily positive, which makes it more vague or ambiguous, and therefore, context-dependent. Nevertheless, the suffix *-ish* is surely "felicitous with adjectives containing an open scale or those exhibiting an upper bound (i.e. a maximal value)" (Harris 2020: 74), which might be linked to the fact that toning down a property or attribute requires gradeability and non-absoluteness.

(8) You know, your buddy Richie. He's tall and nondescript-looking, with messy chestnut hair and a long face and big brown eyes. He's HANDSOME-ISH, but he doesn't really stick out in a crowd.
(*ablogfullofdemons.blogspot.com*, Feb. 28, 2018)

(9) I don't deny that LEFTISH cultural influence is a form of power. If you are forced out of your job in a university or publisher, or told what you can and cannot teach, think and write, it is a power that can crush you.
(*theguardian.com*, Sep. 5, 2020)

(10) A user found in the Discord website. He is a LEFTISH paedophiliac cannibal furry who lurks in a "Cannibal Café" server. Discord seems to be incompetent of banning (sic) such users and we need help in extinguishing these awful people from the face of the Internet. (*archive.4plebs.org*, Jul. 25, 2019)

The case of numerals, as in *fortyish* in (7f), is as vague as the example of *tall-ish*, for the adjective *fortyish* does not specify whether X is over *forty* years old or is under the age of *forty*. As such, *fortyish* indicates that the real value of the derivative is "on either side of forty" (Bauer 1989: 183). Based on a previous study on the semantic imprecise-ness of *-ish* by Neuhaus (1977), Bauer (1989) points out that specifying meanings in word-formation should encompass the use of an appropriate scale, which will depend on the type of base used. For instance, the antonymic pair of *youngish* and *oldish* requires a scale where the bases *young-* and *old-* constitute the two end points, such that *youngish* and *oldish* denote 'not as young as *young*' and 'not as old as *old*', respectively (Bauer 1989: 183). The word *fortyish*, on the other hand, is placed on a scale with far less clear end points, where the base *forty-* represents a point of reference, denoting a non-specific value that may be placed before or after *forty*. These examples on the vagueness or imprecise-ness of *-ish* also corroborate the importance of bases in *-ish* derivational schemas.

Previous corpus-based studies on the diachronic evolution of constructional schemas involving *-ish* suggest that early attestations of OE *-isc* (as in *cildisc*) underwent "a change within an existing construction rather than the emergence of a new construction" (Eitelmann et al. 2020: 824), that is, from 'having characteristics of N' to 'having *negative* characteristics of N'. This proposition may well be used in

the synchronic examination of *-ish* constructions, whereby the capacity of *-ish* to convey resemblance or attenuation is diachronically inherited from an associative schema into a pejoratively associative or a pejoratively approximative one. Thus, constructional inheritance can be represented in the following six schemas:

associative schema 1
$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{having characteristics of SEM}_i]_j$
(i → neutral)
e.g. *doctorish, motherish*

associative schema 2 (pejorative)
$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{having negative characteristics of SEM}_i]_j$
(i → negative)
e.g. *hellish, thievish*

associative schema 3 (pejorative)
$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{having negative characteristics of SEM}_i]_j$
(i → neutral/positive)
e.g. *childish, womanish*

approximative schema 1
$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{somewhat SEM}_i]_j$
(i → neutral)
e.g. *tallish*

approximative schema 2 (pejorative)
$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{not SEM}_i \text{ enough}]_j$
(i → positive)
e.g. *niceish*, as in example (5)

approximative schema 3 (ameliorative)
$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{not too SEM}_i]_j$
(i → negative)
e.g. *weakish*

The schemas above confirm the effect of the input semantics of the base (e.g. 'i' in $[X]_{Ni}$) on the negative/positive value of the derivative ('j'), where the suffix *-ish* has one of the two functions: (a) to associate the value of the denominal base with someone or something (e.g. a *doctorish* student 'a student showing characteristics of a doctor'), and (b) to attenuate or downgrade the value of the adjectival base (e.g. *niceish* 'not nice enough'). There are two pejorative schemas that characterize the associative relation of *-ish*: one that stems from a negative base (e.g. *thiev-ish*), and another that originates from a neutral one (e.g. *womanish*). Of these two schemas, the latter (associative schema 3) is more semantically complex because

only the negative semantic traits of a *child-* or a *woman-* partake in the process of associative-ness. What is more, associative schema 3 demonstrates the property of morphological markedness in *-ish* derivatives, particularly when the axiological transition from neutral to negative informs how actively the suffix contributes to the derivation process. There is, of course, a contrasting positive approximative schema that consists in the attenuation of a negative attribute (e.g. *weakish*).

The data compiled in Appendix 10 shows that there are many verbal forms that are not considered in this study because their final cluster is a non-morphemic segment whose categorization as a suffix is questionable, e.g. *admonish, astonish, brandish, cherish, diminish, distinguish, establish, extinguish, finish, flourish, impoverish, nourish, polish, publish, relish, tarnish, vanquish, varnish*.[87] However, some of them, as in *brandish, flourish*, and *publish*, might signal an apparent correlation between the root (either bound, as in *publ-*, or free, as in *brand-*) and the end-morpheme *-ish*, but "they do not have enough meaning in common to motivate an affix" (Bauer 2014: n.p.). Words such as *commish* (< *commissioner*) and *delish* (< *delicious*) are also omitted from the data because they are not derivatives, rather they result from a process of lexical shortening and respelling. In addition, the dataset in Appendix 10 only includes adjectives that follow the construction $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [$not $[X]_{Adji}$ enough$]_j$, such as *niceish* and *sweetish*, whose pejorative meaning is strictly dependent on the intended force of an utterance.

5.2.2 Constructional schemas of *-ish* pejoratives

Although multiple syntactic categories are identified in terms of the bases that partake in the formation of adjectives derived with *-ish*, I will discuss all the categories in the same section to explore how the semantic values of pejorative schemas can be inherited from non-pejorative ones. Besides the mainstream categories of denominal adjectivization (DnA), deadjectival adjectivization (DaA), and deverbal adjectivization (DvA), cases of denumeral adjectivization (DnumA), e.g. *fortyish*, and deadverbial adjectivization (DadvA), e.g. *soonish*, are also included in the list below, being labeled, respectively, (d) and (e). There are 16 schemas extracted from the dataset, eight of which are pejorative. To facilitate the reader's understanding of associative or approximative schemas,[88] I also specify two semantic categories (i.e. 'associative' and 'approximative') in the output semantics parameters in the sub-dataset below. Also, the negative semantics of input bases (e.g. *wimp-*,

87. These examples are extracted from Bauer (2014: n.p.).

88. The concepts of 'associative-ness' and 'approximative-ness' are introduced and exemplified in Section 5.2.1.

weak-) is marked as 'Neg' to make any correspondence between the aspects of associative-ness and approximative-ness and the axiological value of the base:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Quality	Attitude	Appearance	Resemblance	Nationality	Incompleteness	Associative	Approximative	Appreciative	Pejorative
-ish$_{a.1}$	*Finnish*	[+place]	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
-ish$_{a.2}$	*boyish*	[+human]	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
-ish$_{a.3}$	*sheepish*	[+animal]	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-ish$_{a.4}$	*tigerish*	[+animal]	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−
-ish$_{a.5}$	*bookish*	[+object]	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-ish$_{a.6}$	*womanish*	[+human]	+	+	±	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-ish$_{a.7}$	*wimpish*	Neg[+human]	+	+	±	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-ish$_{a.8}$	*stylish*	[+state]	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
-ish$_{b.1}$	*purplish*	[+quality]	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
-ish$_{b.2}$	*cheapish*	[+quality]	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
-ish$_{b.3}$	*coquettish*	[+quality]	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
-ish$_{b.4}$	*niceish*	[+quality]	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
-ish$_{b.5}$	*weakish*	Neg[+quality]	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
-ish$_{c.1}$	*snappish*	[+act]	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-ish$_{d.1}$	*fortyish*	[+number]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
-ish$_{e.1}$	*nowish*	[+time]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−

Most of the pejoratives in Appendix 10 are DnAs and DaAs with only four being DvAs (*pukish, sluggish, snappish, thievish*), and one a DadvA (*uppish*).[89] There are no DnumAs conveying pejorative meaning in Appendix 10, but this should not be considered a sign of low frequency, for all numeral bases are potentially liable to make *-ish* derivatives, even complex ones such as *fourhundredthirtyfourish*. There are also no examples of syntactic phrases derived with *-ish*, which also conforms to the approximative value of the suffixation model: *stick-in-the-muddish, out-of-the-wayish, silly-little-me-late-again-ish*.[90]

Non-pejorative schemas are frequent because partial-resemblance models do not necessarily lead to pejorative or negative forms. What generally determines the evaluative path of a derivative (i.e. whether it is appreciative or depreciative) is the input semantics contributed by the base. Hence, in the case of denominal words, the

89. Although *-up* is morphologically identified as an adverbial/prepositional base, it might be a shortened form of *stuck-up* ('snobbish').

90. The examples of syntactic phrases derived with *-ish* are extracted from Plag (2018: 96).

features that are metaphorically transferred from the base into the referent depend on the axiological value of the attributes. For instance, in (a.3) and (a.4), certain attributes of animals are assigned to someone, but the features that partake in (a.4) are positive, as in *tigerish* → 'fierce', 'determined', in example (11), while those in (a.3) are negative, as in *sheepish* → 'submissive', 'shy', in example (12). Likewise, schemas (a.2) and (a.6) share a common associative model in which some attributes that are inherently connected to a type of person are used to qualify someone. Whilst the attributes in (a.2) point to appreciative values (e.g. *boyish* → 'young', 'attractive'), the features in (a.6) are otherwise (e.g. *womanish* 'weak', 'effeminate'), as in (13). This semantic ambivalence is not a novel property of *-ish*: some of the earliest attestations in OE are in fact characterized by the inheritance of negative attributes from the base (e.g. *childish* < *cildisc, churlish* < *cierlisc*; as attested in the OED3), which embeds the suffix with a pejorative-forming function. These animal-based (or zoonyms) and human-based models confirm the significant role of bases in the semantic reconfiguration of adjectives with *-ish*.

(11) Cotterill told his club's official website: "He'll bring energy, lots of it. He is as fit as they come and doesn't know when he's beaten. He's TIGERISH and I have to say, I don't know if anyone will outrun him this season.
(*albiontillwedie.co.uk*, Oct. 28, 2004)

(12) The 14-year-old is the second youngest person to ever win the national title – after Airini Mason, 13 years and 11 months took the title in 2004 – and, while she's SHEEPISH to admit it, dedication and perseverance secured her the prestigious title. (*stuff.co.nz*, Feb. 1, 2020)

(13) A man who experiences emotion, failure, fear, addiction, and so on, is said to be effeminate, effete, feminized, or emasculated. He's not just less than a man, but less than a woman; he's "WOMANISH." These terms conceal a prejudice against men as men who have bodies and emotions and failings.
(*rationalalternative.blogspot.com*, Feb. 3, 2016)

Two of the pejorative schemas, i.e. (a.7) and (b.5), involve a negative base in the derivation process, which makes them less opaque than the rest of the schemas as far as pejorative-formation is concerned. The denominal schema (a.7) is particularly productive, and a significant number of derivatives pertaining to this schema are listed in Appendix 10, e.g. *hellish, devilish, wimpish, snobbish, nazish, stalkerish*. In these cases, there is no ambiguity since the negative semantics of the bases is not changed in the formation of *-ish* derivatives. In the case of personal names, especially those that are made up of famous characters, common grounding is ineluctably required. For instance, in *Robert-Redford-ish* in (14) and *Trumpish* in (15), the activation of pejorative or appreciative features depends on the stance the

speaker takes towards the character, although sometimes the stereotyped image of such characters allows users to make a safe guess.

(14) Michael Stuhlbarg is American and Jewish, and a professor of archeology who lives in Northern Italy with his Italian-French wife and son Elio (Chalamet) in a ramshackle country home. Into this comes a new assistant from the US, Oliver (Hammer), who's like a shining ROBERT REDFORD-ISH matinee idol. (*showbiz411.com*, Sep. 7, 2017)

(15) Ronalds (duh) support Trump at a rate of 61 percent. Janets and Nancys – names that were most popular in the 1930s – lean heavily Trump, while Barbaras – also a popular boomer name, though more in the 1940s – lean Biden. Sarahs – most popular in the '80s and '90s – back Biden, but Jennifers (huh!), a classic Gen X name, tend to be TRUMPISH. (*slate.com*, Nov. 2, 2020)

The case of DaAs, as mentioned above, is a more complex issue because, in addition to the aspect of attribute-resemblance, some also involve the property of incompleteness, which implies the following postulate: 'if someone is [[X]$_{\text{Adji}}$ -*ish*], then they are not [X]$_{\text{Adji}}$ enough'. For example, *smartish*, as in (16), and *sweetish*, as in (17), both originate from positive bases describing attitudinal traits but their derivational forms are contextually used to denote someone who does not befit the normal standards. Hence, the positive values of *smart* and *sweet* are downgraded, leading to a slight depreciation of the bases.

(16) There's no doubt Chandler would have a rough time in Westeros. He has no skills that would help him in any sense. He might be able to make a potential assailant laugh long enough to run away, but that doesn't seem sustainable. He's SMARTISH, but not smart enough to work his way into power from nowhere like Varys and Littlefinger. (*foxforumseattle.com*, Apr. 30, 2015)

(17) She explained to me that the guy might seem a little weird, but once you get to know him, he is SWEETISH. (*deviantart.com*, Nov. 29, 2013)

At the pragmatic level, these derivational forms can have a euphemistic function because the speaker, rather than calling someone *sloppy* or *witless*, opts for an attenuation of *smart*. Thus, deadjectival pejoratives, especially those that are made up of positive bases, can be positioned on a scale relative to the interface of pragmatics and semantics. In other words, as shown in Figure 5.1, the construction [[X]$_{\text{Adji}}$ -*ish*] ↔ [not [X]$_{\text{Adji}}$ enough] depends on the speaker's intention. For instance, *smartish* (with a relatively positive meaning), being more proximate to *smart*, is merely intended to say that someone is 'somewhat *smart*' because perhaps there is uncertainty (i.e. it is not downgrading). At the other extreme of the scale, *smartish* (with a relatively negative meaning) operates on the aspect of incompleteness, especially

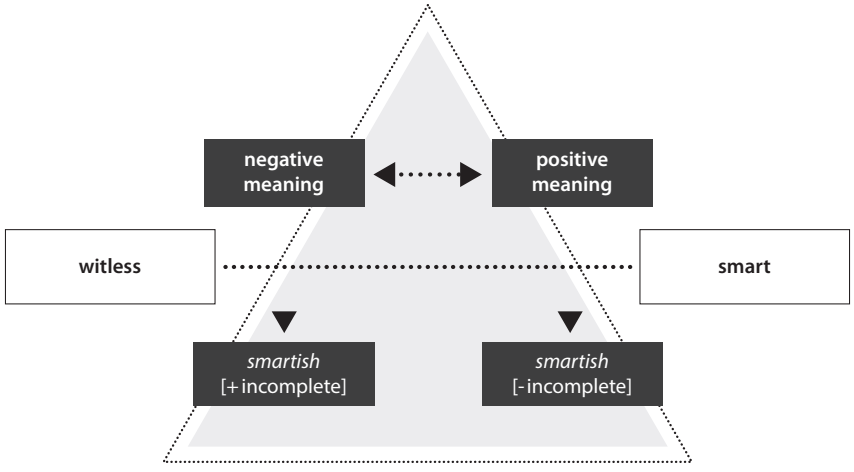

Figure 5.1 The aspect of incompleteness in *smartish*

when the speaker aims to depreciate someone else by saying that they are not '*smart* enough'. Although *niceish, sweetish*, and *smartish* are not exclusively pejorative words, they are listed in Appendix 10 because they are found in contexts where they have a derisive effect, and an examination of their axiological values in these contexts might be relevant to advancing our understanding of the derisive effect of *-ish* derivatives.

There are not many DvAs with *-ish*, and the ones listed in the dataset are limited to pejorative sense, e.g. *pukish* 'sickening', *snappish* 'cranky'. The example of *ticklish* 'awkward', which is found in MWD11 and the OED3, constitutes a semantic extension of *ticklish* 'sensitive to tickling', since the verb *to tickle* does not exist with the sense of 'causing awkwardness'. In addition, there is only one denumeral schema (d.1) and one deadverbial (e.1), and they are approximative, non-pejorative models. Unlike the deadverbial model, the denumeral one clearly generates a higher number of DnumAs because numbers (and their typologies) are limitless and polysemous by nature. For instance, *thirtyish* can refer to age, as in (18), or temperature, as in (19).

(18) It's Bufferd, Mandy's publicist for the last nine months and her near-constant companion. She is THIRTYISH, with long brown hair parted down the middle, more Marcia Brady than Buffy. (*washingtonpost.com*, Jan. 30, 2000)

(19) There was a heatwave of THIRTYISH degrees but the sea air brought a gentle breeze to knock the edge off the temperature ever-so-slightly.
(*haarkon.co.uk*, Oct. 5, 2020)

5.2.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-ish*

An examination of *-ish* pejoratives in English demonstrates that the process of *-ish* suffixation is mainly based on the connotational properties of the suffix, which might have an impact in terms of the decreased productivity of some schemas, as in (a.1), and the increased productivity of others, as in (a.6) and (b.2). Also, the suffix *-ish* demonstrates that semantic ambivalence can be inherited from more general schemas and that the role of bases in the multifunctionality of this suffix is higher than expected. For instance, schemas (a.2) and (a.6), as in *boyish* and *womanish*, can be abstracted as [resembling X_N], but the bases *boy-* and *woman-* are particularly noteworthy in the transfer of appreciative and depreciative attributes, respectively.

Another example that corroborates the influence of bases in the output semantics of derivatives is the distinction there is between negative ones (e.g. *wimpish, weakish*) and those that are positive/neutral (e.g. *stylish, purplish*), the former being obviously destined for pejorative lexis. However, the nature of bases, particularly positive ones, is not always reliable, for deadjectival derivatives that convey a sense of incompleteness (e.g. *niceish, cutish*), as elucidated before, might be used as pragmatic downtoners, that is they indicate that someone is not as *nice* or *cute* as naturally standardized. This opens up an interesting discussion on how a scale of *niceness* or *cute-ness* is adopted on an individual basis as being a standard scale, which is necessarily dependent on how being *nice* or *cute* is generally perceived (or appraised) by speakers.

The principle of incompleteness does not exist in isolation, and it is linked to the property of resemblance, since for a positive attribute to be partially used, there must be an association (or resemblance) between the partial value (*niceish*) and the positive end of the scale (*nice*). Hence, based on the scalar (and complex) interaction of the categories of incompleteness, resemblance, approximative-ness, and associative-ness, there are 16 general schemas of *-ish* pejoratives, which can be abstracted as follows:

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by resembling $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *clownish, hellish*
ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by being somewhat $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *weakish, niceish*
iii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by $SEM_i]_j$
   e.g. *snappish, pukish*

The relational schema (i) is based on the aspect of resemblance, so the resulting adjective qualifies someone negatively because the nominal base either denotes a negative referent (as in *hell-*) or contributes with negative attributes that are used in the formation of the pejorative adjective (*clown-* → 'excessive make-up' or 'eccentric

behavior'). The stative schema (ii) shows an approximative value, which can be used with both negative bases (*weakish*) and positive ones (*niceish*), the latter denoting a sense of incompleteness or 'not enough'. The actional model of deverbal derivatives (iii) is not exclusively based on the notion of resemblance, and the resulting adjectives might simply reflect the pejorative value of the suffix.

The competing nature of the suffixes *-ish* and *-y* in the formation of deverbal adjectives, as in *snappy* and *snappish*, illustrates to what extent the suffix *-ish* contributes to the expression of disparaging value. This proposition can also be used in other (non-deverbal) synonymous groups such as *womanish, womanlike*, and *womanly*, to examine the clear-cut preference of *womanish* over the other two derivatives in the expression of the negative attributes of *woman*. However, as suggested by Bauer et al., doublets and triplets of adjective-forming suffixes, such as *-ish*, *-ly*, and *-like*, might show some intrinsic semantic differences when a pair of suffixed adjectives are contrasted (2015: 311–312). For instance, *amber-ish* and *blondish* refer to the attribute of color while *amber-like* and *blondelike* denote the similarities of something or someone to *amber* or *blonde* in general, not through a particular feature (Bauer et al. 2015: 312). This might indicate a correlation between singled-out attributes and pejorative suffixed forms, which should not be taken as a general tendency because as reiterated on various occasions in previous sections, bases play a significant role in how pejorative meaning is made.

5.3 The suffix *-oid*

The suffix *-oid* has multiple origins (Latin, Greek, or French), and it was first recorded in Greek-origin loanwords (OED3). It is currently used in the formation of adjectives and nouns that denote the notion of resemblance or likeness. Hence, the suffix *-oid* is described in this section as an adjective- and a noun-forming suffix. Although the vast majority of the forms rely on nominal and adjectival counterparts, there are some completely nominal units such as *Picassoid* and *factoid*, and some purely adjectival ones, as in *humanoid* (Bauer et al. 2015: 288). To this end, and in spite of any categorial variation, adjectival and nominal pejoratives ending in *-oid* are both therefore examined in this section. The OED3 asserts that *-oid* is chiefly found in scientific or technical terms such as in Mathematics (e.g. *ellipsoid, rhomboid*), and in Zoology (e.g. *echinoid, blastoid*),[91] where names ending in *-oid* act as hypernyms that label families or species of animals. In addition, *-oid* is used to form adjectives and nouns with a depreciative sense, as in *bungaloid* and *factoid*

91. According to the CED4, some anthropological terms that were used to distinguish racial groups, e.g. *Caucasoid, Negroid*, and *Mongoloid*, are "controversial scientifically" and are "best avoided".

(OED3). As such, there might be an association between technical *-oid* and depreciative *-oid* in the formation of pejorative adjectives which is based on the notion of incomplete (or partial) resemblance.

5.3.1 Forms and functions of *-oid* pejoratives

The suffix *-oid* pertains to a set of "closely related rival formatives" that partake in the formation of words expressing similative meaning, i.e. *-ish*, *-y*, *-esque*, and *-like* (Bauer et al. 2015: 289), although this chapter only investigates the suffixes *-ish* and *-oid* because the others are not lexicographically listed as pejorative-forming. In spite of its neo-classical origin, the suffix *-oid* can be attached to bases of various categories. For instance, it is found in nominal native bases, as in *rubberoid* and *orchidoid*, and in bound bases, as in *Caucasoid* and *silicoid*. Also, though less frequent, it can be attached to adjectival bases as in *pinkoid* and *modernoid*, as well as to proper names such as *Jacksonoid* and *Darwins-oid*.[92] In addition, a significant number of nominal bases undergo lexical truncation, chiefly when the base-final vowel overlaps with the suffix-initial vowel, as in *bungalow* > *bungaloid, negro* > *negroid, volcano* > *vulcanoid* (Bauer et al. 2015: 301).

The meaning of resemblance that is inherited from technical terms, as commented in Section 5.3, has derived into the semantic properties of associative-ness and approximative-ness.[93] The former is visible in the formation of denominal adjectives, by means of which the referent (a person or a thing) is associated with the base through the notion of resemblance, e.g. a *punkoid* denotes 'someone who has the appearance of or behaves like a punk'. The notion of approximative-ness is inherent in the attachment of *-oid* to adjectival bases, where the attribute can be partially used to denote that someone or something is characterized by such an attribute, but only to a certain degree, as in *modernoid* in (20).

(20) This explains why despite all its struggles and desires for modernity, Iran, through a series of paradigmatic responses, has become what I call MODERNOID; a society that resembles a modern one in some areas but lacks other essential modern structures. (Kamran Talattof, *Modernity, Sexuality and Ideology in Iran*, 2011, p. 21, italics in the original)

My assumption is that part of the semantic incompleteness that is expressed in deadjectival derivatives might originate from the property of non-specificity (or hypernymy) of technical terms. This primal function rendered by the formative *-oid*

92. These examples have been extracted from Bauer et al. (2015: 290–295).

93. For more information on the properties of associative-ness and approximative-ness, see Section 5.2.

leads to a sense of vagueness in the description and inclusion of specific typologies (e.g. species, forms) which fall under a more general category. In addition, the suffix *-oid*, through the technical seedbed of science-related taxonomies, is believed to frequently embed derivatives with "a scientific flavour" (Bauer et al. 2015: 313). This technical past has allowed *-oid* pejoratives to permeate into formal speech, and perhaps gain a certain degree of credibility.[94]

5.3.2 Constructional schemas of *-oid* pejoratives

A total of 13 adjective- and noun-forming schemas involving *-oid* are identified, half of which are pejorative or partially pejorative (see Appendix 11 for a complete list of pejorative adjectives ending in *-oid*). Parallel to *-ish* schemas, negative input semantics are labeled with 'Neg' to establish where there is a correlation with the output semantics components. There are two syntactic categories: denominal and deadjectival, the former demonstrating a higher number of schemas and lemmas, and as a result, associative models outnumber approximative ones. Deverbal forms, though, are infrequent, and those listed constitute brands or names of characters, such as *Twistoid* and *Adaptoid*, and so they are excluded from the dataset:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Quality	Attitude	Appearance	Resemblance	Technical term	Incompleteness	Associative	Approximative	Appreciative	Pejorative
-oid$_{a.1}$	*ellipsoid*	[+shape]	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
-oid$_{a.2}$	*meloid*	[+species]	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
-oid$_{a.3}$	*Egyptoid*	[+place]	+	−	+	+	±	−	+	−	−	−
-oid$_{a.4}$	*pearloid*	[+object]	+	−	+	+	±	−	+	−	−	−
-oid$_{a.5}$	*organoid*	[+object]	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
-oid$_{a.6}$	*factoid*	[+information]	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-oid$_{a.7}$	*insectoid*	[+animal]	+	±	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	±
-oid$_{a.8}$	*demonoid*	Neg[+creature]	+	±	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-oid$_{a.9}$	*Marxoid*	[+human]	+	±	±	+	−	−	+	−	−	±
-oid$_{a.10}$	*geekoid*	Neg[+human]	+	±	±	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
-oid$_{b.1}$	*pinkoid*	[+color]	+	±	±	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
-oid$_{b.2}$	*simploid*	Neg[+quality]	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
-oid$_{b.3}$	*modernoid*	[+quality]	+	+	±	+	−	+	−	+	−	±

94. In the data-compilation stage, there were some forms ending in <oid> that actually have no relationship with the suffixation process; they are in fact blends that are made up of a nominal base and the operating system *Android*, e.g. *laundroid, greendroid*.

The *-oid* schemas show that the aspects of [+quality] and [+resemblance] characterize all the forms and constructions, including technical and pejoratives ones. Nominal bases involve a transposition of either physical qualities or attitudinal characteristics. Since a denominal construction might be inexplicit, both semantic components are marked as [±] in the table above. For instance, in (a.9), bases that originate from personal names can refer to someone's beliefs, as in *Marxoid* in (21), or to physical attributes that can be related to their work, as in *Picassoid*, in (22).

(21) Politicians usually do not understand the subject because their brains have been softened by the wearisome MARXOID indoctrination which nowadays passes for university education. (*dailymail.co.uk*, Mar. 15, 2010)

(22) On the right, partially hidden behind a blackboard – like a slab on which Jackson has painted more numbers, is a figure with the curvaceous breasts and pink skin of the Moon Woman as well as the grotesque PICASSOID head with dangling jaw of the harpy in *Stenographic Figure*.
(Frederick R. Karl, *Biography and Source Studies*, 1999, p. 127)

There are no adjectives or nouns derived with *-oid* that are used to describe someone or something appreciatively. Also, while the schemas in which *-oid* is attached to negative bases, as in (a.8), (a.10), and (b.2), are strictly pejorative, those that involve neutral or positive bases, as in *greenoid* (< *green* 'environmentalist') and *modernoid*, depend on contextual specificity to convey to what degree someone is *green* or *modern*. Hence, a speaker might use *greenoid* to express someone's care for the environment in a neutral or negative sense, as in examples (23) and (24) respectively. The latter is also interesting because in this context *greenoid* is used with specific collocates (i.e. *paranoid climatoid*) that signal a type of mental illness, in analogy with *paranoid*. In addition, the bases that partake in the derivation process might trigger homonymy because their original meanings can have different degrees of figurativeness. For example, *pinkoid* (< *pink* 'a white person') can be used to refer to a white person pejoratively, as in (25), whilst *pinkoid* (< *pink* 'communist'), at a more figurative level, can also denote a communist in a negative way, as shown by example (26), similar to the forms *pinkie* and *pinko*.

(23) If it was warm however, THAT would be incontrovertible signs of anthropogenic climate change and global warming, caused by all those rich, uncaring people driving their luxury SUVs to their beautiful second homes (which as a GREENOID I can't afford so it must be bad). (*cbc.ca/news*, Apr. 16, 2014)

(24) I am NOT a GREENOID paranoid climatoid btw, but I do like a bargain. Let's face it, some people throw away perfectly repairable/unfashionable junk (to them). To keep the planet happy, and my budget affordable, re-cycling somebody's discards into a useful item is the way to go.
(*model-engineer.co.uk*, Jan. 9, 2014)

(25) He's not a "PINKOID", he's a mutt trying to make himself feel better by fantasizing about how […] nazis are actually brown themselves. (*yuki.la*, May 9, 2020)

(26) I know I was just being a d1ck (sick). My father was pretty much a communist (couldn't be more of a PINKOID than him) and I turned out pretty well. (*breitbart.com*, May 2, 2013)

As discussed earlier, approximative schemas are not common, and only one schema conveying the sense of incompleteness is found, i.e. (b.3). Similar to the incomplete models of *niceish* and *sweetish* described in Section 5.2.2, the examples of *modernoid* in (20) and *greenoid* in (24) demonstrate that these attributes are falsely projected because the person does not in fact have what it takes to be an authentically *modern* or *green* person. Incompleteness is hence perceived in the case of deadjectival *-oid* derivatives, such as *modernoid* and *greenoid*, as lack of genuineness, which might be connected to the essence of non-specificity that *-oid* inherits from its technical past.

5.3.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-oid*

The evidence gathered by the schemas and the pejoratives in Appendix 11 points to the uncanny transition undergone by the suffix *-oid* from highly technical terms to the expression of negative meanings. There is a clear connection between the use of hypernyms with *-oid* and the aspect of resemblance, since hypernymy operates on similar features that are grouped under a more abstract or general category. Hence, the terminological function of *-oid* in Mathematics or Zoology converts into an evaluative one: attributes from the derivational base are used to describe something or someone.

Since this study includes pejorative nouns and adjectives, there are four unified constructions: two for nominal bases (i) and two for adjectival ones (ii):

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-oid*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by resembling $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *walrusoid* (adj.)
$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-oid*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by resembling $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *demonoid* (n.)

ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-oid*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by being somewhat $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *nutzoid* (adj.)
$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-oid*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by being somewhat $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *greenoid* (n.)

The referential relation on which denominal constructions are modeled is dependent on the aspect of resemblance, through which something or someone relates to a base (e.g. *walrus-* or *demon-*). The prospects for pejorative sense depend on whether the base is negatively appraised (e.g. a *demon*) or the attributes that are designated convey a negative meaning (e.g. a *walrus* → 'fat', 'smelly', 'having moustache'). Stative constructions (ii) are deadjectival models whose degree of approximative-ness is not necessarily relevant to pejoration. While *-oid* (as in *nutzoid*) can facilitate (to some degree) the transposition of the negative value of the adjective *nuts* onto someone, *-oid* (as in *greenoid* or *modernoid*) operates, as a downtoner, on incomplete attributes, thus entailing a sense of untruth or falsehood.

In the case of certain denominal or referential models, it is not completely wrong to say that *-oid* units involving the aspect of appearance or physical property result from a blending process between a base (particularly names of animal or mythical creatures) and *humanoid*, e.g. *demonoid, insectoid*. Accordingly, words that follow this type of construction might convey the sense of 'a human with the shape of an animal/creature' or 'an animal/creature that has the shape of a human'. However, I have opted for *-oid* as a suffix and not as a splinter (from *humanoid*) because those examples where the concept of *humanoid* might be involved (rather than the formative *-oid*) are limited to zoonyms or animal-based derivatives.

The allomorph *-azoid* as in *creepazoid* and *freakazoid* is not particularly extended, and they might have been formed in analogy with *sleazoid* (MWD11) and *schizoid*. Likewise, the spelling variation in *nutzoid* < *nuts* could have been triggered by *schizoid*, since both terms denote a mental state.

5.4 The suffix *-aster*

The noun-forming suffix *-aster* originates from Latin *-aster*, and it is used to convey the sense that something or someone is less genuine or of inferior quality (MWD11), e.g. *poetaster, criticaster*. This meaning is based on the notion of incomplete resemblance (OED3; Cuddon 2012), whereby what is qualified does not meet the standards of the base. To this end, a *poetaster* is "a hack poet" (Cuddon 2012: 542) because it denotes someone who resembles a poet to a certain degree, but who lacks what it takes to be an authentic or genuine artist. Thus, while *-aster* is relatively rare nowadays (Garner 2003: 257), it is certainly less ambiguous than the other two suffixes discussed in this chapter, for the base to which *-aster* is attached is certainly modified (or downgraded) to a lower degree, which might lead to the expression of pejorative sense.

5.4.1 Forms and functions of *-aster* pejoratives

While some studies suggest that the suffix *-aster* is originally a diminutive (Garner 2003; Steinmetz & Kipfer 2006), I have included the suffix in the present section because there is etymological (and lexicographical) evidence that associates the suffix with the notion of resemblance, and not necessarily to that of size. However, this decision does not contradict the likely diminutive path that the suffix might have taken from diminution to insignificance, and then to inferior quality.

The suffix dates back as early as the 16th century, and it was originally used to disparage people who were poorly or unsuccessfully involved in a specific trade. For instance, the Elizabethan satirical comedy *The Poetaster* (1601) by Ben Johnson deals with unauthentic poets with mere pretensions to artistic production. The notoriety of the play "helped perpetuate the word [poetaster], which is still used occasionally to put down a second-rate poet" (Steinmetz & Kipfer 2006: 77).

The morphology of pejoratives derived with *-aster* is quite standard: most of the bases in *-aster* derivatives are bases and roots of Latin and Greek origin denoting a trade or profession, e.g. *grammaticaster, astrologaster*. The base is either bound, as in *medicaster*, or free, as in *poetaster*. Non-pejorative units are scarce and those that exist are used to denote either an associative relationship (e.g. *oleaster* "a wild and bastard olive", OED3) or an approximative one (e.g. *surdaster* < Latin *surdus* 'somewhat deaf').

5.4.2 Constructional schemas of *-aster* pejoratives

There are four schemas identified, one of which corresponds to pejorative meaning. In fact, most of the derivatives with *-aster* pertain to the schema conveying a pejorative meaning, which confirms the strict connection between partial resemblance and pejoration:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Quality	Attitude	Appearance	Resemblance	Technical term	Incompleteness	Associative	Approximative	Appreciative	Pejorative
-aster$_{a.1}$	*oleaster*	[+plant]	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
-aster$_{a.2}$	*surdaster*	[+physical property]	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−
-aster$_{a.3}$	*medicaster*	[+trade]	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
-aster$_{a.4}$	*opiniaster*	[+performance]	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+

The most important feature of the schemas is their morphosemantic homogeneity: they are all denominal and the vast majority of the examples, particularly those as in (a.3) are used with bases denoting a type of profession, e.g. *medicaster, philologaster*. However, the bases *usage-* in *usageaster*, as in (27), and *opini*(*on*)- in *opiniaster*, in schema (a.4), do not convey a profession as such, but instead refer to the object of the profession or a particular performance, e.g. *language usage* and *opinion-giving*. The first schema (a.1) is infrequent and is only found in the designation of plants that resemble a more general typology that is conveyed by the base, e.g. *pinaster, oleaster*. However, the new *-aster* designation of the plant might also refer to the 'inferior' (or ungenuine) quality of the species, e.g. *oleaster*.

(27) Some USAGEASTERS recommend against *upon*, presumably on the silly theory that shorter variants should always be preferred to longer ones.
(*arnoldzwicky.org*, May 18, 2020)

5.4.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-aster*

The morphological and semantic uniformity of pejorative schemas in (a.3) suggests that *-aster* is more restrictive than other resemblance-based suffixes. Hence, the unified schema of *-aster* pejoratives can be represented as follows:

$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-aster*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who is negatively characterized by resembling $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *criticaster*

The relational model that is represented by the schema above is without doubt based on the notions of resemblance and incompleteness. However, the features of resemblance that are transposed from the base into the resulting derivative are not related to physical properties but to attitudinal or performative ones. That is, someone (a *critic*) is called a *criticaster* because they are unable to perform the task of a critic successfully. This semantic restriction of *-aster* from resemblance to inferior quality leads to derivational homogeneity and a low degree of polysemy. Even so, the bases *usage-* and *opinion-* do not entirely fit the general schema above because a *usageaster* is not someone who poorly resembles 'a type of language usage'. Hence, it is possible to suggest that a *usageaster* and an *opiniaster* denote someone who is, respectively, a petty *language-user* and an *opinion-giver* of inferior quality. These two examples constitute an argumental representation of *-aster*, and their coinage confirms that relational models are also based on argumentative expressions involving actional schemas.

CHAPTER 6

From metonymization to pejoration

6.1 It's not you, it's (a part of) me

Until now, pejoration has been associated with various cognitive processes that explain how a diminutive, excessive, or similative suffix or combining form becomes a pejorative end-morpheme. In this scenario, the grammaticalization of morphemes is closely connected to a series of semantic and cognitive mechanisms, thus guaranteeing that the act of disparaging or belittling is accomplished through the morphological devices available. As a result, if a speaker wishes to express their discomfort with, for instance, someone's habit of *smoking*, they can resort to a wide range of formatives that are readily available to both interlocutors, rather than coining morphologically unmotivated units to convey such negative appraisal. The words *smoko, smokie, smoke-maniac*, or *smokazoid*, for example, are potential vocabulary items denoting 'a heavy smoker'. With the exception of *smoko*, which means 'marijuana' or 'a cigarette break' in AusE, the rest of the pejoratives do not exist in present-day English but they could still be communicatively effective in the expression of the pragmatic force of contempt.

In addition to the cognitive processes discussed in Chapters 3–5, pejorative meaning can also originate from intralinguistic semantic changes, such as metonymy and synecdoche, which are also acknowledged as triggering affixal polysemy in non-pejorative morphemes. For instance, the collective meaning of the suffix *-ery* is considered prototypical or central, which results in "a logical extension […] to the place where those people or things are located" (Bauer et al. 2015: 264), as in *clownery, fast foodery*, or *greenery*.

Thus far, there is no agreement upon the difference between metonymy and synecdoche, the latter being considered a sub-type of the former by many authorities (Bauer 2018: 3), and to some extent, since metonymy might be based on the representative features of a metaphor, it has been said that "there is no widely accepted definition of metonymy which distinguishes it clearly from metaphor" (Allan 2008: 11). Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity in understanding the role that metonymy and synecdoche play in word-formation processes, I have adopted the umbrella category of metonymization[95] in which metonymic shift might involve

95. Although the concept of metonymization helps examine the formatives under study in this chapter from a unifying perspective, I also use the terms synecdoche and metonymy to provide a finer-grained overview of each word-formation process.

either an association with an external referent or a part of the whole that is signified (Kövecses & Radden 1998; Paradis 2011; Traugott 2017). This conceptualization seeks to find a sense of concurrence between these two semantic processes, which is not far from Radden & Kövecses's definition of metonymy, according to which one conceptual entity, which they call "a vehicle", provides "mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same cognitive model" (1999: 21). Metonymization stands, therefore, at the interface of semantics and cognition.

Metonymization plays an important role in word-formation, and it clearly demonstrates how cognitive operations are indispensable to the standardization of word-building models. For instance, the noun *killjoy* ("someone who makes it difficult for other people to enjoy themselves", MED2) is functionally shifted from the VP *to kill joy*, and the resulting complex unit falls under the category of exocentric compound.[96] However, *killjoy* is, in essence, a metonymic construct, by means of which an action (*to kill joy*) becomes a signifier of the agent. The example of *killjoy* also shows that what we traditionally call compounds or composites are in fact figurative readings (Bauer 2016, 2018). In these figurative readings, the rightmost constituent can turn into a combining morpheme, which leads to the blurring of the boundary between exocentric (or bahuvrihi) compounding and derivation. For example, in Bauer's (2018) analysis of two bahuvrihi compounds (i.e. *blackshirt* and *egghead*), the idea of interpreting these two words through synecdoche is a felicitous proposition. Accordingly, a *blackshirt* ('a person with fascist ideas') takes the representative uniform as the lexical vehicle, and the beliefs or views of the organization to which a *blackshirt* belongs is therefore not relevant to the metonymic construction. On the other hand, *egghead* ('a brainy person') has a figurative reading which involves a part of the body (i.e. the 'head') and its shape ('egglike') as the vehicle to designate the person. While the etymology of *egghead* might be connected to 'baldness' (OED3), the figurative reading may well be heavily based on the stereotyped belief that smart people have larger heads (and hence brains). The units *blackshirt* and *egghead* stem from the notion of a vehicle delivering a conceptual entity to the target, but they differ in the semantic nature of the vehicle. While neither constituent in *blackshirt* (i.e. *black-* or *-shirt*) generates combining forms, *-head* in *egghead* is found in many other morphologically similar units (e.g. *blockhead, dickhead, airhead*), where the aspect of mental state is used to disparage the target. Figure 6.1 shows how examples of *egghead* and *blackshirt* are products of metonymization, and how their resulting constituents are morphosemantically dissimilar: *egghead* being more proximate to derivation whereas *blackshirt* stands closer to exocentric compounding.

96. For more details on the properties of exocentric compounds in English, see Section 2.1.

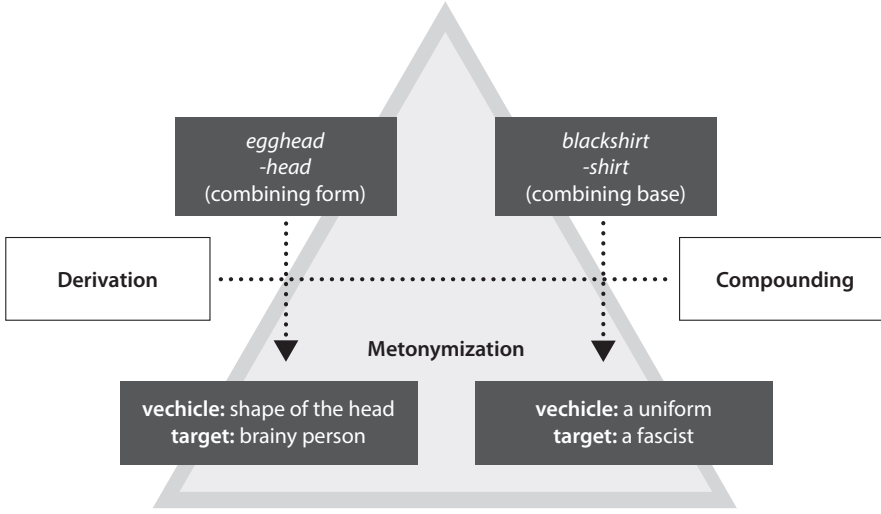

Figure 6.1 The word-formation categories of *-shirt* and *-head* based on a metonymization continuum

This chapter seeks to explore the morphosemantic traits of the combining forms *-head* (e.g. *egghead*) and *-pants* (e.g. *smartypants*), which are believed to be pejorative formatives on account of their metonymic and synecdochic etymology. In addition, a brief section is devoted to the morphosemantic and syntactic features of the formative *-ass* (as in *smart-ass*), which is frequently used in combination with adjectival bases. While many of the examples that are introduced in the following pages might be structurally compound-like, this study is based on the notion that metonymy and synecdoche underlie the emergence of combining forms (cf. Bauer 2018), in line with the way suffixes, such as *-ery* (as in *fast-foodery*), are semantically extended. The difference between *-ery* (place) < *-ery* (collective) and *-head* (mental state) < *-head* (body part) lies in the fact that the former model is dependent on the syntactic functions of collectives whilst the latter operates on the process of semantic restriction (or subreption).

6.2 The combining form *-head*

Etymologically speaking, *-head* is listed in dictionaries as both a suffix and a combining form. According to the OED3, as a suffix, *-head* might have originated from the West Germanic *-hood*,[97] and it is used to form abstract nouns denoting a state or

97. There is not much evidence on the functioning of *-head* as a mere variant of *-hood*, but it has been suggested that "*-head* suffix may perhaps reflect the influence of a continental West Germanic cognate of *-hood* suffix in form and use" (OED3).

a group of people. This sense coincides with that expressed by the present-day suffix *-hood* (as in *statehood* and *falsehood*), which might have stemmed from the same etymon. In addition, *-head* and *-hood* appear to have different word-formation patterns, the former showing a preference to form nouns from adjectival bases, e.g. *drunkenhead, goodhead, boldhead, fairhead* (OED3). The suffix *-head* is currently obsolete in English, perhaps because most of the abstract nouns opt for the competing suffix *-hood*, e.g. *widowhead* (obsolete) vs. *widowhood*.

On the other hand, the combining form *-head* is lexicographically described as a morphological unit that is attached to bases to convey (a) the head or end of a specified thing (e.g. *spearhead*), (b) an attitude of contempt towards a person (e.g. *airhead*), or (c) an addict of a given drug or substance (e.g. *crackhead*) (OED3). The suffix *-head* and the combining form *-head* are obviously homonymous and occasionally there is even a homonymic clash at the lexical level. For instance, $godhead_1$ ('the quality of being God') and $godhead_2$ ('an influential person') present two alternative etymological routes: (i) they might have originated from the suffix ($godhead_1$) and the combining form ($godhead_2$) simultaneously, or (ii) $godhead_2$ might have been a semantic extension of $godhead_1$, from the more abstract notion of God to an individual who is believed to be as important as *God*, as in (1). Nevertheless, it is not illogical to think that the existence of the suffix *-head*, on the morphological plane, might have had a favorable impact on the formation and combinatorial property of the combining form. In other words, the system is believed to possess a 'derivational print' (as in *godhead, maidenhead, drunkenhead*), which makes the word-formation pattern involving the combining form *-head* an accepted paradigm.

(1) "I think you just have to look at him as a human being, as a character and not worry too much about the fact he's a GODHEAD," he says of Lennon, who he plays from the height of Beatlemania to meeting Yoko and leaving the UK for New York in 1971. (*birminghammail.co.uk*, Jun. 20, 2010)

So, the formative *-head* (not the suffix) has two semantic word-formation patterns: the final part of something (e.g. *barrelhead*) and someone whose mental state is appraised as negative (e.g. *blockhead, crackhead*). The former *-head* is questionably tagged as a combining form because the resulting units fall under the category of endocentric compounding, as in *barrelhead*. There are, however, compounds that are closer to exocentricity because the sense that is conveyed by the composite is not morphologically represented in either compound constituent. For instance, *whitehead* 'a small pimple', does not constitute a hyponym of *head* but rather, it results from metonymic relations in that 'a part (or property) of something' represents the full referent. This section is thus devoted to the latter meaning of *-head*, in which *-head* detaches from the literal meaning of *head* as a body part, and instead pertains to a paradigmatic series in which the form [X_N *-head*] is associated with a type of

mental state or addiction. However, *-head* (the rightmost compound, not the combining form) will also be used here in the elaboration of schemas (see Section 6.2.2) in order to trace what semantic components are secreted from these two senses.

6.2.1 Forms and functions of *-head* pejoratives

Based on the two general senses of *-head* (i.e. a non-pejorative 'final part of something' and a [frequently] pejorative 'someone with a mental abnormality'), the examples of *spearhead, railhead*, and *axe-head* constitute endocentric compounds, in which *-head* acts as the nucleus of the lexical units, e.g. a *spearhead* and an *axe-head* are the heads of a *spear* and an *axe* respectively. The case of *-head* conveying a mental state is of a more complex nature because all these forms are less transparent than the endocentric compounds. Table 6.1 itemizes various senses that are described in dictionaries on the basis of *-head* being either a compound constituent or a potential combining form.

Table 6.1 The morphological structures of *-head* as a combining form and as a compound base

-head Typology	Morphological structure	Sense	Example
compound base	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[an animal that is characterized by having a head resembling $SEM_i]_j$	*hammerhead*
	$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[someone that is characterized by having a body part that is $SEM_i]_j$	*redhead*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[something that is made up of $SEM_i]_j$	*bulkhead*
	$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[something whose extreme end is characterized by being $SEM_i]_j$	*blackhead*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[the top part of $SEM_i]_j$	*barrelhead*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[something whose extreme end resembles $SEM_i]_j$	*cheese-head*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[a part of something that supplies $SEM_i]_j$	*power head*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[a place where SEM-s_i converge$]_i$	*railhead*
combining form	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[someone who acts foolishly$]_j$	*chucklehead*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[someone who smuggles or consumes $SEM_i]_i$	*basehead*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[someone who is (excessively) enthusiastic about $SEM_i]_j$	*gearhead*
	$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[someone who behaves like $SEM_i]_j$	*figurehead*
	$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-head*$]_{Nj}$	[someone who is characterized by being $SEM_i]_j$	*thickhead*

The status of combining form, as opposed to that of *-head* as a compound base, is dependent on both the combinatorial properties of the end-morpheme and its semantic restriction. The combining form *-head* that is examined here derives from

a synecdochic process through which the lexeme *head* stands for someone's mental state. In addition, the form *-head* has gained an agentive value which is analogous to the value of *-person* or *-man*, although nonexistent lexical units such as **bone-person* or **block-man* (instead of *bonehead* and *blockhead* meaning 'stupid') would imply the loss of the semantic association with the property of 'mental state'. Thus, **bone-person* and **block-man* could be (mis)interpreted as, respectively, 'an orthopedic doctor' and 'a builder', for instance.

The category of semantic boundness also differs in the cases of *-head* (compound base) and *-head* (a combining form). The latter is also found as a free lexeme, indicating "a person with respect to mental qualities" (MWD11), but these qualities are only conveyed in combination with adjectives as in *wise heads* in (2) or *silly heads* in (3). As a result, the combining form *-head* is more proximate to the status of affixes because it is generally attached to a base and it does not require adjectival modifiers to specify the (generally pejorative) aspect of 'mental state'.[98]

(2) Her primary driver in setting up Juno Legal was greater equity in the profession: providing a vehicle for talented lawyers who wanted flexibility in their legal practice […] because they were WISE HEADS wanting to achieve a later career/life balance. (*lawsociety.org.nz*, Dec. 1, 2017)

(3) The Museum was offered some space down the street, but the landlords are SILLY HEADS, and want your first born, a personal guarantee, a buyout clause, and a percentage of sales. (*thecabe.com*, Dec. 3, 2017)

The combining form *-head* ('person with an abnormal mental state') is, therefore, frequently used in combination with other bases, which confirms that its morphosemantic restriction or boundness can be used as a solid indicator of the new affix-like status. Figure 6.2 shows a light-touch representation of where a combining form and a compound base stand on a morphosemantic continuum where the two extremes correspond to an affix and a free word. The agentive function of *-head* resembles that of the suffixes *-er* and *-ie*, but any resemblance is merely functional and not necessarily structural. Denominal derivatives, such **gearer* and **lemoner* (as opposed to *gearhead* and *lemon-head* respectively), for instance, are unlikely because the agentive *-er* is productively attached to verbal bases, as in *singer, writer, teacher* (Plag 2018: 89). The denominal form **gearie*, however, is not morphologically arbitrary, although the aspect of 'enthusiast' (or 'excessive devotee') and the connotational values of the word (e.g. depreciative or humorous) are notably lost.

98. Note that the word *head* meaning 'leader, director' has no bearing at all on the hypothetical *head* (meaning 'person' in general) that is used in argumental phrases.

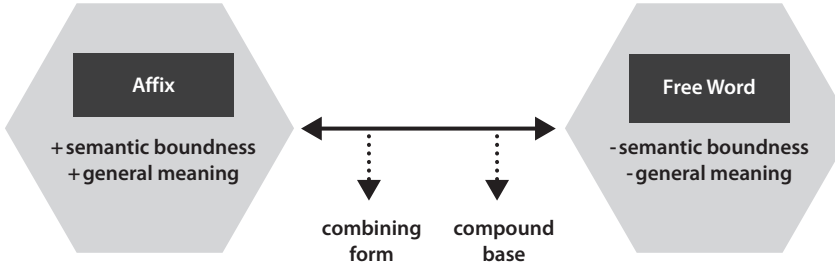

Figure 6.2 The positions of a combining form and a compound base on a word-formation continuum

Clearly, the semantic path undertaken by the unit *-head* demonstrates how a combining form detaches from the original lexeme, but some conceptual characteristics are retained in its semantic restructuring. For instance, the form *-head* also inherits the process of semantic extension undergone by the free unit *head*: *head* 'upper part of the body' → 'seat of the intellect' → 'mind (or mental qualities)' and 'person'. As a result, *head* is semantically ascribed to the senses spoken about above, which, as suggested by MWD11, are often used in combination to convey the sense of 'an excessive enthusiast' (e.g. *computerhead*) or 'a drug addict' (e.g. *pothead*). The additional features of 'excessive' or 'depreciative' might point to a certain level of iconicity, particularly when the notions of foolishness and/or addiction are conveyed. This proposition on iconicity is not intended to overstate the pejorative values of *-head*, but there is, for instance, a rather strong connection between 'foolishness' and *-head* which is noticeable in a series of words: *airhead, blockhead, bonehead, boofhead, chowderhead, chucklehead, dickhead, dunderhead, lunkhead, meathead, muttonhead, thickhead*, just to mention a few.[99] In this line, it is safe to vouch for the capacity of *-head* to construe (in combination with a denominal base) the pejorative sense of 'someone who is foolish' more unambiguously than other formatives such as *-man* or *-person*. This premise confirms that the lack of semantic transparency through metonymic relations contributes to the pejorative effect.

On the morphological plane, the combining form *-head* is commonly attached to nominal bases, which is a syntactic feature perhaps imported from the general makeup of compounds in English, where the structure [X_N + Y_N] is that most frequently used (Plag 2018: 145). As opposed to endocentric compounds such as *spearhead* and *axe-head*, in which the compound base generally refers to the part of something, formations such as *breadhead* and *muttonhead* are semantically less transparent. For instance, *breadhead* ("someone who is obsessed with making a lot of money", MED2) originates from the expression *earning one's daily bread*, from

99. For a full list of *-head* units, see Appendix 13.

which *bread-* (as the object of the action and the metaphorical expression of money) might be the base to which the combining form is attached. The combining form *-head* simultaneously contributes to the output semantics of *breadhead* by conveying the sense of a person and by securing a depreciative meaning. Following the hypothetical examples of **bone-person* and **block-man* above, the unit **bread-person* might be associated with someone who is in the trade of selling or baking *bread*. This analysis suggests that a metonymic or a metaphorical rearrangement of a base could be a *sine qua non* for word formation, and that *-head* not only contributes the semantic component of 'person', but also connotational properties such as pejoration (*breadhead*) or hilarity (*slaphead*).

6.2.2 Constructional schemas of *-head* pejoratives

As explained in Section 6.2.1, the agentive combining form *-head* (and not the compound base *-head*) is used in the examination of pejorative semantics. The combining form is believed to encapsulate the aspects of [+human] and [+mental state] on the grounds of metonymization, i.e. body part > brain ('seat of intellect') + person/individual. There are 10 *-head* schemas below, most of which are often pejorative:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Mental State	Enthusiasm	Addiction	Excessive	Attitude	Slow of mind	Appreciative	Pejorative
-head$_{a.1}$	*figurehead*	[+human]	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
-head$_{a.2}$	*bonehead*	[+object]	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
-head$_{a.3}$	*muttonhead*	[+edible]	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
-head$_{a.4}$	*gearhead*	[+object]	+	+	+	±	±	+	−	±	±
-head$_{a.5}$	*basehead*	[+drug]	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
-head$_{a.6}$	*knucklehead*	[+body part]	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+
-head$_{a.7}$	*Potterhead*	[+personal name]	+	+	+	±	±	+	−	±	±
-head$_{b.1}$	*smart-head*	[+quality]	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
-head$_{b.2}$	*thickhead*	[+quality]	+	+	−	−	−	+	±	−	+
-head$_{c.1}$	*humphead*	[+act]	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+

Appreciative constructions involving *-head* are also possible, provided the base is either a word conveying a positive attribute, as in *smart-head* 'a smart person' in (4), or the object of someone's enthusiasm or keen interest, as in *Potterhead* in (5). The last example is marked as axiologically ambivalent [±] since such enthusiasm can be excessive to the extent that speakers feel that it borders on the ridiculous (or the obsessive), as in (6).

(4) He's currently studying at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, which (sic) he's in his third year of education majoring in Engineering. He is a SMART-HEAD for sure. (*wattpad.com*, 2020)

(5) David told her he still has 10 bags of bricks left as he was determined to complete the Harry Potter-themed toy. ("David Beckham proves he's a POTTERHEAD, finishes Hogwarts Lego castle," *paparrassi.com*, n.d.)

(6) The 31-year-old artist opened up about his Harry Potter obsession in an interview with The Hollywood Reporter, reports People.com. "Yeah, I read them all," Drake said, speaking about the fantasy book series […] ("Drake is a POTTERHEAD," *deccanchronicle.com*, Nov. 10, 2017)

Denominal nominalizations (DnNs) are predominant, and following the semantic input of *head* (as the seat of intellect), all the schemas express the aspects of [+mental state] and [+attitude]. It is also interesting to note that the bases might designate the 'material' which metaphorically makes up someone's brain (or mind), as in *brickhead* and *meathead*. Their bases are typically nominal and they generally convey lifeless things, which are overtly used to characterize someone's wit or intellect (or lack thereof). Hence, it is not surprising to find that many of the *-head* units (26 out of the 62 *-head* words in Appendix 13) convey the meaning 'a foolish person'. Although the vast majority of these units originate from neutral bases (e.g. *air-*, *lemon-*, *water-*, *lead-*), they partake in specific constructions where they are semantically transposed from a non-bodily item onto the composition of 'someone's brain'. The negative impact of such metaphorical framing is expected: insipid (or 'dead') minds that are used to characterize someone as 'foolish'. On the other hand, there are words where the base already conveys negative meaning, as in *craphead* and *dickhead*, which makes pejoration (or offensiveness) both highly predictable and enhanced. The example of *knucklehead*, as in (7), is modeled on an imitative construction, whereby a foolish person is believed to keep their *knuckles* pressed to the forehead, which could "imply the intensity of thought for one who is not overly bright" (GDS).

(7) Jason and Mike discuss how Odell Beckham's off the field incidents make him a KNUCKLEHEAD that you can't pay. (*foxsportsradio.iheart.com*, Mar. 18, 2018)

There are, in addition, some bases that denote the object of enthusiasm or addiction, the latter obviously being less ambiguous than the former in its expression of pejorative sense. For instance, as with the example of *Potterhead* in (5), someone can be an enthusiast of vehicles, as in *gearhead* in (8) and *motorhead* in (9), which, as shown by the excerpts, are not exclusively pejorative units. Their degree of pejoration becomes most perceptible when such enthusiasm becomes excessive, which may be signaled by the context in which *gearhead* and *motorhead* are used. In this vein, words derived with *-head* denoting a type of addiction to drugs, are

generally made up of bases that designate the type of substance to which someone is addicted; for example, *cokehead* in (10) and *basehead* in (11). The case of words conveying the sense of 'a heavy drinker' is more complex than those of 'one who is addicted to drugs' because these words might either operate on bases that make direct reference to beverages, as in *juice-head*, or point to metaphorical usage, as in *pisshead*[100] and *petrol-head*.[101] In general, these examples are humorously embodied in the general notion of 'a head full of liquid'.

(8) Minsoo Pak is a GEARHEAD. When not dreaming up innovative ideas for clients such as AT&T Inc. and SunTrust Banks Inc., the chief creative officer at Atlanta-based Sparks Grove races BMWs at breakneck speeds.
(*bizjournals.com*, Jun. 6, 2014)

(9) He's a MOTORHEAD at heart and loves engines. He needs something to tinker a bit with. The biggest reason I said yes to this? It simply made him happy.
(*backingtheblueline.org*, Jul. 5, 2017)

(10) Now Malignaggi has revealed exactly why he thinks there might be truth to the accusation that McGregor is a COKEHEAD. He believes that it would explain a lot of the Irishman's recent erratic behavior. (*scrapdigest.com*, Apr. 10, 2018)

(11) Sam Nico: "[…] All I know is that the cocksucker in the other room there is a BASEHEAD. And the one thing you can always know about a BASEHEAD is that they are completely full of shit." (*Wonderland*, 2003)

Parallel to the notion of enthusiasm/addiction, *-head* nouns conform to the construction $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [someone who is characterized by $SEM_i]_j$, where SEM_i might signify the object of enthusiasm, as in *musclehead* (12), or an abstract emotion, as in *greedhead* (13). Deadjectival nominalizations (DaNs), although less frequent, are similar to the denominal construction mentioned before in that an adjectival base represents a quality that might function as a disparaging attribute; for example, *thick-* (or *thick-witted-*) in *thickhead* (14), and *hard-* in *hardhead* (15).[102]

(12) Steven is a MUSCLEHEAD and has a one track mind but really is an overall good guy but due to Amy's 'trainwreck' of a life she is too blind to see it.
(*theasuchronicle.com*, *Trainwreck*, movie review, Oct. 18, 2015)

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100. The base *piss-* might have originated from the noun *piss* that is informally used to refer to an alcoholic drink (GDS).

101. The word *petrol-head* also means "a devotee of motor-racing" (GDS), where the base *petrol-* is metonymically used to refer to cars.

102. The nouns *thickhead* and *hardhead* are found along with the adjectival forms *thickheaded* and *hardheaded*, which might suggest that the nominal forms may well have originated from the adjectival ones through a process of back-formation.

(13) The consensus was that Pincus is a GREEDHEAD hell-bent on screwing employees out of their hard-earned equity stakes. (*allbusiness.com*, n.d.)

(14) Hamilton's fury triggered him to verbally wallop the 20-year-old Dutch driver in an after-race barrage when he fumed: "He is a THICKHEAD."
(*gulfnews.com*, Apr. 12, 2018)

(15) The Turkish president is a HARDHEAD, but he is not stupid. Troops, armor, and artillery without air cover would be sitting ducks.
(*intpolicydigest.org*, Mar. 12, 2020)

Deverbal nominalizations (DvNs) are also scarce, and their semantic reconfiguration goes from an explicitly negative (or taboo) word such as *humphead* to a less transparent unit, as in *drophead* (GDS),[103] which is possibly an imitative construction of how a foolish person might act.

In the examination of pejorative or offensive *-head* units, a distinction should be made between words that originate from the metonymic *-head* expressing a mental state, and the non-figurative one representing the body part. For instance, the pejoratives *skinhead* ('a violent right-wing supporter') and *slaphead* ('a bald man') are offensive terms in which *-head* (as a compound base, not the combining form) is involved in the formation of the complex units. Similarly, some other offensive words, such as *copperhead* ('an unpleasant person') or *gashead* ("a black person who rejects their social origins", GDS) might be semantic extensions of the etymons *copperhead* ('a type of snake')[104] and *gashead* ('one who straightens their hair'), respectively. For this reason, they are excluded from the dataset because their pejorative sense is not rendered by the combining form *-head*; instead, they are based on the metaphorical notion that pejoratively links someone with the referents 'snake' and 'someone who straightens their hair'.

6.2.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-head*

Generally speaking, the combining form *-head*, being a product of the process of metonymization, is closely connected, as discussed earlier, to the notions of [+mental state] and [+human]. These are high-powered ingredients for pejorative formation, particularly in regard to 'lack of wit' or 'addictive attitudes'. Schemas involving the combining form *-head* show that bases are not necessarily relevant to the connotational value of the complex units, since most, especially those conveying the meaning of 'a foolish person', stem from semantically neutral words, e.g. *waterhead, lemon-head, butterhead*. Their contribution to the process of pejoration

103. The word *drophead* is also listed in dictionaries as a type of convertible automobile.

104. The word *copperhead* is also used to refer to "a person in the Northern states who sympathized with the South during the American Civil War" (MWD11).

is, as mentioned in Section 6.2.2, in the fact that they form part of an argumental construction, where they are considered a 'dead' (or 'lifeless') replacement to the brain, thus entailing a sense of brainlessness or mind-emptiness.

Based on the schemas in Section 6.2.2, which involve DnNs, DaNs, and DvNs, there are three types of meta constructions that can be abstracted:

i. $[[X]_{Ni}$ *-head*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one that is negatively characterized by relating to $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *airhead, cokehead*
ii. $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-head*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one that is negatively characterized by being $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *thickhead, hardhead*
iii. $[[X]_{Vi}$ *-head*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *humphead, drophead*

Relational constructions in (i) have variable degrees of transparency, ranging from a containment-based relation (e.g. *meathead*) and an (excessively) enthusiasm-based relation (e.g. *jazzhead*) to an addiction-based one (e.g. *meth-head*). In actual fact, all denominal constructions depend on how a referent (nominal base) contributes (or relates) to the semantic reconfiguration of pejoratives. Deadjectival (ii) and deverbal (iii) models are less opaque, and they are generally composed of a negative quality or act that disparagingly represents a person. For instance, in *thickhead* and *drophead*, the quality of *thick-witted* and the act of *dropping* one's head are able to shape the output semantics of the full words.

6.3 The combining form *-pants*

In contrast to the synecdochic relation underlying the formation of *-head* units, the combining form *-pants* (as in *smarty-pants* and *crazy-pants*) is based on a metonymic process that characterizes how a non-bodily item (*pants*) represents a person. The metonymization-based forms *-head* and *-pants* are also similar in that most of their derived words are related to attitudinal features or mental states. However, unlike the semantic extension that is passed from *head* ('seat of intellect') to the unit *-head*, the combining form *-pants* does not contribute to the property of mental state through the original semantic values of *pants*. In fact, on the plane of denotation, it is the semantic component of [+human] that is assigned to the nominalizing effects of *-pants*.

6.3.1 Forms and functions of *-pants* pejoratives

The combining form *-pants* might constitute a case of *plurale tantum*, which is inherited from the syntactic features of the lexeme *pants* in English. As a result, *-pants* is used for a single person as well as for more than one. Although most of the

-pants units are hyphenated, there is no lexicographical consensus on the spelling of well-established words. For instance, while the hyphenated form is preferred by various dictionaries (e.g. MWD11, COD23, OED3), the solid form *smartypants* is also attested by MED2. Morphologically speaking, the *-pants* units conform to the construction [[X]$_{\text{Adji}}$ *-pants*], in which a (generally suffixed) adjective designates the overall function of the complex word. For example, a *meany-pants*, as in (16), or a *preachy-pants*, as in (17), refers to someone who is, respectively, 'mean' or 'judgmental'. In addition, the adjectival base (i.e. leftmost constituent) is overtly characterized by *-y* derivation, which points to a rather strict word-formation pattern: [[X-*y*]$_{\text{Adji}}$ *-pants*]. Even denominal forms, such as *poopy-pants*, are believed to comply with this construction.

(16) He looks like a generic Kratos clone with armor. Oh he's a MEANY-PANTS! Look at the runes on his gray-skinned face! (*amefaqs.gamespot.com*, 2015)

(17) If the Lord had access to Kourtney's home whenever he pleased, it would almost be as if nothing changed. With the risk of sounding like a PREACHY PANTS: Dude needs to learn. (*paraproctitis3.rssing.com*, Sep. 7, 2015)

6.3.2 Constructional schemas of *-pants* pejoratives

There are only two schemas involving the unit *-pants*, and they are both deadjectival. Although the dataset in Appendix 14 shows that there are also two denominal forms extracted from the corpora, i.e. *poopy-pants* and *bananapants*, they are not relevant to this research because they do not fit with the schemas listed below. In fact, *poopy-pants*, as hinted in Section 6.3.1, is modeled on the standard morphological construction [[X-*y*]$_{\text{Adji}}$ *-pants*], which confirms the morphopragmatic value of bases derived with *-y*. On the other hand, *bananapants* might have originated from the verbal phrase *to go bananas*, which means 'to become crazy'. Thus, even though *poopy-pants* and *bananapants* do not conform to the stative schemas below, their existence may indicate the availability of a process and its relatively high productivity:

Schema	Example	Input semantics	Human	Personality trait	Appearance	Attitude	Appreciative	Pejorative
-pants$_{\text{b.1}}$	*meany-pants*	Neg[+quality]	+	+	−	+	−	+
-pants$_{\text{b.2}}$	*sweet-pants*	[+quality]	+	+	−	+	+	−

Most of the deadjectival units pertain to schema (b.1), in which a negative base (as in *crazy-*) partakes in the formation of pejoratives, such as *crazy-pants* in (18). Only a few appreciative (or positive) words have been attested, e.g. *sweet-pants, merry-pants*. However, they also have the potentiality to become pejorative provided the property of excessiveness is obvious. Bases are thus believed to directly account for the negative sense of pejoratives, and *-pants* only contributes the denotational component of [+human]. Nevertheless, some examples with *-pants* also show a slightly euphemistic value, that is, some negative meanings rendered by the adjectival bases can be toned down, as in *silly-pants* and *lazy-pants*. The example of *silly-pants* in (19), with a vocative function in this context, is used by the blogger to fondly address readers, and *lazy-pants*, as in (20), is also used as a kind of term of endearment to describe the sluggishness of the writer's dog. Even so, the word *lazy-pants* effectively highlights the feature of laziness. However, some other words, such as *sissy-pants* in (21), are rarely found as terms of endearment, although *sissy-pants* might still be used as a euphemistic formula in lieu of more damaging or offensive words denoting 'an effeminate man'.[105]

(18) I can be CRAZYPANTS. That's why your support means so much to me. Quite frankly, you all might be CRAZYPANTS for being my friend.
(Kerri Carpenter, *Kissing Mr. Wrong*, 2015)

(19) But it will all be okay. Why? Because you have copious amounts of candy you SILLYPANTS! (*cravingsofalunatic.com*, Aug. 3, 2012)

(20) She [a dog] is a LAZYPANTS. Sure she has a five minute freak out of joy when I come home but she is otherwise very low key and doesn't even like to go on walks for long. (*similarworlds.com*, Dec. 21, 2018)

(21) [T]here's trouble between Angus and Joshua when Joshua discovers Angus is involved in the ballet and thinks he is a SISSY-PANTS. An incident occurs in a soccer game that might put the whole performance in jeopardy.
(*thebottomshelf.edublogs.org*, 2015)

The euphemistic value of these pejoratives can be tested by using the adjectives that make up the complex units as free words. For instance, the adjectives *meany, bossy, cranky* could be more damaging (connotationally speaking) than *meany-pants, bossy-pants*, and *cranky-pants*. Such connotational downtoning might result from the metonymic use of *-pants* (and not *-ass*, as in *smart-ass*), along with its informal and (often) humorous motivations. Additionally, there are certain other complex forms,

105. While many *-pants* words are found as solid units (e.g. *crazypants, sillypants*), I use a hyphenated structure in the study (e.g. *crazy-pants, silly-pants*), which is consistent with the lexicographical entries of well-established lemmas such as *smarty-pants*.

such as *McPervypants* in (22) and *McRichpants* in (23), which are modeled in analogy with the *-pants* construction. The attachment of the prefix *Mc-*, which is used to form patronymic last names (particularly in IrE and ScE), might also be used in these forms "to indicate an inexpensive, convenient, or easy but usually low-quality or commercialized version of something specified" (MWD11). The coining of complex personal names as an effective device to express disapproval or even contempt is not exclusively limited to *-pants* units. For instance, in the word *pervy pervison* in (24), the structure of the pejorative resembles that of a personal name.

(22) "Thanks for ruining it." I blow out a sarcastic breath. "You're such a Pervy MCPERVYPANTS," she says. Then she giggles. "Have you been drinking?" "No. Not a drop." She shoves me. (Tammy Falkner, *Beautiful Bride*, 2014)

(23) "Hottie MCRICHPANTS? Obviously." "I'm not running with him. I'm just …" I sigh. "Okay. I'm going to tell you something. But I need you to keep it secret, okay?" I sigh again and tell her about the radio show […] (Gwenda Bond, Rachel Caine, Carrie Ryan, *Dead Air: The Complete Season 1*, 2018)

(24) […] the others have also managed to get close to her, but the golden boy is gone, so they're stuck with the 'PERVY PERVISON' or the womanizer. (*nprillinois.org*, Jul. 31, 2018)

6.3.3 What schemas tell us about pejoratives ending in *-pants*

The schemas of pejoratives ending with *-pants* show a predominantly stative model, where the quality informed by the adjectival base contributes to the negative output semantics of the full word. The stative relation that underlies the schemas can be abstracted into the following unified construction:

$[[X]_{Adj_i}$ *-pants*$]_{N_j} \leftrightarrow$ [one that is negatively characterized by being $SEM_i]_j$
e.g. *lazy-pants, bossy-pants*

An important aspect of pejorative DaNs with *-pants* is that they are fairly homogeneous in regard to their morphological and semantic planes. The schemas show that, although complex words can accept morphological variations (e.g. *McPervypants*), most lemmas are trisyllabic, and the base is generally made up of an *-y* suffix. Even nominal bases such as *poop-* and *perv-* are used in their derivative forms (i.e. *poopy* and *pervy*) to conform to such primal structure. While the denotational plane remains quite stable (i.e. [one that is negatively characterized by being X_{Adj}]), the connotational one depends heavily on the neutralizing (or downtoning) effect of *-pants* in a given communicative situation.

6.4 The case of pejoratives ending in *-ass*

There are no studies, to my knowledge, that grant the formative *-ass*, as in the nominal units *dumbass* and *smart-ass*, the status of a combining form. From these examples, one may presuppose that the unit *-ass* might have originated from a process of metonymization, by means of which the body part (*ass*) represents an individual, with derogatory connotations. However, a lexicographical and theoretical review of the origin of these pejoratives demonstrates that *-ass* also reflects the intricacy of syntactic variation and semantic restriction.

Firstly, a distinction should be made between the word *ass* meaning 'a foolish or obnoxious person' and the formative *-ass*. The former may well be a semantic extension of the lexeme *ass* denoting the animal,[106] whilst the latter originates from the body part and it is used "as a postpositive intensive especially with words of derogatory implication" (MWD11), as in *fancy-ass* in (25). Syntactically speaking, *-ass* is believed to function as an adverbial intensifier, which explains why it is commonly found with adjectives (Siddiqi 2011). From this, it is also inferred that nominalizations such as *hard-ass* in (26) and *wild-ass* in (27) might have undergone a process of functional shift from their corresponding adjectival forms.

(25) Your mom and her girl gang had to invite your snobby neighbor Linda over in order to get the scoop on the missing garbage man, which means that your mom had to serve the ultimate FANCY-ASS wine that Linda gave as a gift from her recent trip to France. (*theblacksheeponline.com*, Jul. 12, 2018)

(26) And with those few that still want to put orange starbursts all over everything – don't be afraid to be a HARD-ASS. Because there's simply too much at stake. (*dansalva.com*, May 7, 2020)

(27) I can only foresee more child inflicted injuries in the future since the two of us are both accident prone and he's a WILD ASS. (*transatlanticblonde.blogspot.com*, Jul. 20, 2011)

What is more, some units are listed as nouns (not adjectives) in dictionaries, such as *smart-ass* (CED4) and *dumbass* (MWD11), which implies that they can act as the head of an NP, as in *smart-ass* in (28), or as a modifier of a noun or an attribute, e.g. *smart-ass kid* in (29). The fact, however, remains that, although their denotational value does not change, there are notable differences between some of the *-ass* units in regard to their syntactic functions. For instance, while there are 144 (out of 392) hits for *smart-ass* in the NOW Corpus where *smart-ass* is the head of an NP,

106. The OED3 considers that it is uncertain to what extent the sense 'stupid' is a development from 'animal'.

fancy-ass yields no record (out of the 51 hits) as the head of an NP, only appearing as a modifier of a noun, e.g. *fancy-ass spa, fancy-ass car, fancy-ass club*.

On the plane of semantics, all the instances of *smart-ass* (as the head of an NP) are used to refer to a person, and they are hence more offensive than *fancy-ass*, which is restricted to modifying things (e.g. *spa, club*). So, while *-ass* is essentially an informal intensifier that modifies adjectival bases, there seem to be considerable (semantic and syntactic) differences between *-ass* conveying [+human] (e.g. *smart-ass, dumb-ass*), and *-ass* being merely an intensifier (e.g. *fancy-ass, poor-ass*).

(28) I love Simon! Of course he's a SMART-ASS but he's very insightful. He does get on my nerves sometimes but in a good way. (*pressparty.com*, Jun. 22, 2013)

(29) "You always stick up for him, goddamn it! SMART-ASS kid's got no respect for his elders, that's what. Anytime a SMART-ASS kid tells his own father –" He belched unexpectedly, his slack lips flapping, the bags under his eyes nearly doing the same. (Lavyrle Spencer, *Family Blessings*, 1993)

One of the problems in the examination of the unit *-ass* is that the examples extracted from dictionaries and corpora point to different interpretations of its structural and functional categories. Below, I will discuss two possible ways of examining the status of *-ass* through an analysis of the morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of the units listed in the dataset in Appendix 15.

The first type of examination involves more traditional criteria according to which *-ass* functions as an adverb that intensifies the adjectival base to which it is attached. Consequently, the resulting *-ass* unit can act either as the head of an NP or as a modifier of a noun (as in *a smart-ass* [*kid*] and *a fancy-ass club*), where the modifier *smart-ass* undergoes a functional conversion from phrase modification into phrase headedness. This also leads to a certain degree of syntactic restriction: the unit is always found in combination with an adjective in a rightmost position, and left of the head that the adjective modifies (Siddiqi 2011: 16). Thus, there are some syntactic phrases that are unlikely in English, as shown in (30). Besides its primal function as an intensifier, *-ass* also inherits a deep-rooted sense of marginalization which impels (even positive) bases to convey negative meaning (as in *fancy-ass*), possibly due to the etymological meaning of the (taboo) body part that it denotes.[107]

(30)	a.	The night is very cold.	*The night is COLD-ASS.
	b.	I am very happy.	*I am HAPPY-ASS.
	c.	I am hottest in leather.	*I am HOT-ASS in leather.
	d.	I run quickly.	*I run QUICK-ASS.[107]

107. These examples are taken from Siddiqi (2011: 16).

A second interpretation of the morphological category of *-ass* is to assume that there are two semantic paths for the unit *-ass*. On the one hand, it is generally used as an intensifier, which explains why there are some formations such as *fancy-ass* and *poor-ass* that are solely found as modifiers of nouns in corpora. The OED3, however, claims that *-ass* (as in *cheap-ass* and *stupid-ass*) originates from the body part, but it is used as the rightmost element in compounds to form adjectives "having or displaying the quality designated by the first element to an extreme or undesirable degree".

On the other hand, *-ass* can be morphologically understood as a type of combining form that is used to create nouns. While the combining form *-ass* originates from an adverbial intensifier, it metonymically 're-attaches' to the body part *ass*, not the intensifier *-ass*. Consequently, the impact of the functional categorization of the unit *-ass* (as in *smart-ass* and *dumb-ass*) is twofold, intensifying the quality expressed by the adjective, while imbuing the resulting unit with the semantic aspect of [+human]. The *-ass* forms, in actual fact, resemble well-established metonymizing models (similar to *-head*) in the formation of pejoratives that express negative values of a person. The combination of the functions of intensifying and agentiveness might result in overlapping syntactic categories: *smart-ass*, for example, is found as both a modifier of a noun and a head of an NP conveying the meaning of [+human].

The form *-ass* undergoes a process of semantic restriction, which also has an impact on its combinatory level and degree of boundness, i.e. *-ass*, when used in phrases such as **that ass is crazy*, does not convey the meaning that it generally has in combination. The fact that *-ass* nominalizations fall within the scope of pejorative or offensive lexis might be, therefore, connected to a process of semantic reassignment, by means of which *-ass* is metonymically used to denote the person. The form *-ass* is also combined with nouns (as in *candy-ass* 'a coward') or phrases (*buying-meat-from-a-supermarket ass*), which also confirms the syntactic transition from an intensifier to a combining form. Appendix 15 shows a dataset of *-ass* units in which the construction $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ass*$]_j$ abounds.[108]

The cases of *dead-ass* in (31) and *punk-ass* in (32) are interesting because they do not conform to the general construction of $[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ass*$]_j$. The form *dead-ass* is syntactically an adverb, i.e. it modifies an AdjP. This grammatical function might be inherited from the adverb *dead* (not the adjective) that is used in combination

108. In the elaboration of the dataset, all the *-ass* lemmas were manually disambiguated to ensure that only those units in which *-ass* acts as an intensifier or a combining form are compiled because these instances are believed to originate from the body part (OED3) through a process of metonymization. Complex (or compound) forms such as *kickass* ('a bully') or *robot-ass* ('someone with a flat ass') are excluded because *-ass* literally denotes the body part.

with *-ass*. Alternatively, *-ass* (as an intensifier) is rarely attached to nouns, which suggests that *punk-* could be an adjectival base converted from the noun *punk*.

(31) Either way, someone telling me they're DEAD-ASS serious, aren't serious enough to speak clearly and properly, which is vital when you are being 100% serious. (*quora.com*, *Forum*, 2018)

(32) But what it does have going for it is a scene where Tom Cruise is on the phone with some PUNK-ASS villain who tells him he can hear the fear in Tom Cruise's voice […] (*gq.com*, Dec. 20, 2016)

On balance, the semantic and syntactic variation that there is between *dumb-ass* and *fancy-ass* is not heavily based on the semantics informed by *-ass*. Instead, it is the nature of the adjective being originally intensified by *-ass* that determines both the degree of offensiveness expressed by the *-ass* construction and its syntactic function within an NP. Table 6.2 shows a summary of various examples with *-ass* and their varying syntactic and semantic parameters.

Table 6.2 Syntactic and semantic parameters of various examples of *-ass* units, according to the data extracted from the corpora

-ass **Typology**	**Examples**	**Head of NP**	**Modifier of a noun (head → person)**	**Modifier of a noun (head → thing)**	**Head [+human]**	**Adjective [+offensive]**	**Adjective [+appreciative]**
$[[X]_{Adj_i}$ *-ass*$]_{Adj_j}$ intensifier	*fancy-ass*	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
	poor-ass	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
	hot-ass	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
	wild-ass	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
	weird-ass	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
	cheap-ass	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
	goofy-ass	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
	lame-ass	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
$[[X]_{Adj_i}$ *-ass*$]_{Nj}$ combining form	*smart-ass*	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	dumb-ass	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
	hard-ass	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	wise-ass	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	silly-ass	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
	ugly-ass	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

The parameters in Table 6.2 are arranged into syntactic and semantic categories. The examples of lexical units where *-ass* functions solely as an intensifier reveal two interesting features: they never constitute the head of an NP, let alone act as a head (or nucleus) conveying the semantic component of [+human]; also, they are found to always act as modifiers of things, and to variably modify people. For instance, *cheap-ass* is only found with things (as in *cheap-ass wine*) whilst *hot-ass* can be with things and people (as in *hot-ass wife* and *hot-ass beam of light*).

In contrast, the *-ass* constructions that are differentiated from a merely intensifying function through the label of combining form can act as head of an NP. Additionally, when acting as modifiers, such constructions generally modify nouns conveying [+human] which, as suggested above, is a syntactic function possibly inherited from the adjectival base. Stated differently, since adjectives such as *dumb* and *smart* constitute personality traits which are logically used to qualify people, not things, they are more likely to be used in constructions that function as heads of an NP conveying an agentive sense. However, the adjective *ugly*, for instance, can be used to denote 'someone', as in the noun *ugly-ass* in (33), or things, as in *ugly-ass mole* in (34). Also, although the adjectives *smart* and *wise* are axiologically positive, the intensifier *-ass* guarantees that the resulting forms *smart-ass* and *wise-ass* are marginalized, and their meanings are excessively augmented to the extent of pedantry and false erudition.

(33) "Never mind dude she is an UGLY ASS. There are so many hot chicks around. I'll catch them. I won't call her next time."
(*In my Eternity*, Ujjawal Pahwa, 2016)

(34) For reasons entirely egotistical – Hernandez shit-talks Voiello when they're alone in the bathroom, mostly for his UGLY-ASS mole – Voiello turns the table on Hernandez before he gets two-thirds majority by convincing the other cardinals to vote for someone else. (*theringer.com*, Jan. 13, 2020)

While the proposed status of a combining form might be easily debunked on account of the syntactic and semantic variability, it is also noticeable that *-ass* constructions that are syntactically characterized by phrase headedness (e.g *silly-ass, wise-ass*), are semantically linked to [+human] and [+personality trait]. Hopefully the space given to these notions of headedness and agentiveness avoids any criticism that I wish to overstate a particular conceptualization of *-ass*, as my intention in using this case study is to corroborate the fact that the so-called fuzziness (or midway-ness) that affects combining forms or affix-like morphemes might also stand at the interface of semantics and syntax.

Concluding remarks

This project was undertaken to determine the morphological and semantic structure of pejoratives that originate from 15 suffixes and combining forms in English. Using datasets extracted from dictionaries and corpora, this book has grouped the pejorative forms under four general categories: 'diminution', 'excess', 'resemblance', and 'metonymization'. These categories, though others are also available (e.g. 'aversion' → *-phobe*/*phobic*; 'discrimination' → *-ist*), represented an opportunity to explore (a) the effect of cognitive operations on the derisive semantics of formatives, and (b) the morphosemantic patterning of derivational pejoratives. While a large proportion of the words itemized in the datasets came from the corpora rather than the dictionaries employed, they are still used in the research study to confirm structural generalization and semantic compositionality.

The methodological tool that is used in this study encompasses the approaches of Constructional Morphology, Componential Analysis, and Morphopragmatics. Accordingly, words are first decomposed into semantic categories, and then they are grouped into abstract schemas that express a certain degree of generalization. This analytical procedure allows for establishing what type of morphological structure correlates with the expression of negative (or pejorative) semantics, as well as for tracing the impact of non-pejorative senses on pejorative ones. For instance, whilst the suffixes *-ie* and *-o* are generally used with one-syllable, clipped bases, the suffix *-ish* is hardly ever attached to clipped bases. Similarly, the combining form *-pants* overtly conforms to the construction $[[X_{Adj}\text{-}y]_{Adji}\ \text{-}pants]_{Nj}$, where adjectival bases derived with *-y* provide a rather fixed construction for new coinages of this sort.

Being aware that not much attention has been given to the concept of pejoration on the planes of morphology and semantics, Chapters 1 and 2 attempted to outline the most important traits of pejoratives. A merged pejorative, which is the main type that is studied in this book, is a word that has gained negative connotations over time, and formatives (e.g. suffixes and combining forms) are believed to actively contribute to the axiological variation that affects the general semantics of such a word in context. This interesting premise does not imply that simply any base (regardless of its syntactic and semantic properties) is eligible to create a derivational pejorative. Pejorative suffixes and combining forms do not function in isolation, they pertain to networks of word-formation patterns or constructional schemas that inform the prerequisites needed for the expression of negative traits.

As a result, the chances for *brainitis* or *boneitis* to be offensive words are lower than, say, *hooditis* (< *hooded sweatshirt*) or *Clintonitis* (< *Hillary Clinton*), because the bases *brain-* and *bone-* are body parts or organs, and the composition of these words resembles that of non-pejorative constructions ending in *-itis*. Likewise, pejoration is not exclusively contributed by one single word-formation mechanism, but there does appear to be a close connection between pejoratives and the process of clipping, and between amelioratives and the process of lexical abbreviation.

These first two chapters also corroborated that the study of pejoration necessarily involves both a sociolinguistic and an anthropological perspective of pejoratives in a speech community. A pejorative constitutes a linguistic means of conceptualizing taboo, thus showing the areas where a word can be more disparaging, e.g. ethnicity, physical appearance, mental state, addiction, etc. This leads to the conclusion that a pejorative belongs to a series of regular networks of semantic and pragmatic relations (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015: 5), in which its morphosemantic structure demarcates the features that make a pejorative feel negative. These networks not only involve the paradigmatic relation of a pejorative with other words on the axiological continuum of X-phemisms, but they also relate pejoratives to varying pragmatic forces by means of which what starts out as a humorous motivation may well result in the formation of an offensive word, or conversely, where a highly derisive word may become an in-group term for cohesion or camaraderie.

The implementation of the methodological procedure developed for this book to analyze the morphosemantic structure of suffixes and combining forms[109] has resulted in the following characterization of pejoratives:

- Most of the pejoratives used in the study conform to one of the three types of meta constructions: relational (denominal), stative (deadjectival), or actional (deverbal). The vast majority of them, however, pertain to the first two types. The reason for actional constructions (as in *spanko, talkaholic*) being rare might lie in the fact that deverbal forms tend to be more transparent than deadjectival and denominal ones. The formation of pejoratives can be linked to the category of crypticism (or semantic opaqueness), whereby the source of the offensiveness is generally denoted by an attribute (stative or deadjectival) or a metaphorical nexus (relational or denominal).
- Although the term 'combining form' has been adopted here for the sake of terminological consistency, the units *-holic*, *-rrhea*, *-itis*, *-maniac*, *-porn*, *-head*, *-pants*, and *-ass*, demonstrate that what makes these units morphologically

109. This methodology was used for 14 of the 15 suffixes and combining forms studied, the exception being *-ass*, examined in Chapter 6, where it was not followed because it is still unclear whether *-ass* is a compound base (acting as an intensifier) or a well-established combining form.

undefined, whether this is manifested as splintering (as in *-holic*) or compounding (as in *-porn*), is their etymology. These formatives, however, represent, as suggested by Kastovsky (2009: 12), a progressive scale of boundness, which is naturally inherent to the morphological heterogeneity of English. The way these pejorative units emerge suggests that the process of sense restriction, or subreption, is fundamental to explaining the greater or lesser degree of boundness.

– The examination of a pejorative's semantic compositionality indicates that the expression of pejorative meaning is associated with specific components, e.g. [-size] + [+human] in the case of the diminutives *-ie* and *-o*; and [-disease] + [+attitude] in the case of excessives such as *-rrhea*. These semantic components allow for the establishment of schematic generalizations in the making of pejorative meaning. For instance, while the input semantics of [+edible] or [+animal] (as in *cinnaholic* and *dogaholic* respectively) are not found to often generate pejorative schemas, the case of [+product] is more ambivalent since it can be used as a token of pride (e.g. *Roverholic*) or to denote excessive enthusiasm or compulsive buying (e.g. *droidholic*).
– The schematic representation of the morphosemantic structure of pejoratives does not deny the implications of situational contexts in pejorative-making. In actual fact, a contextual approach is necessary to explain how extra-linguistic features are involved in the acquisition of negative meaning. For instance, the examples of *Roverholic* and *droidholic* (see above) show that the former was coined by enthusiasts of the car brand while the latter has been generally used as an epithet for those excessively consuming the product by people who do not apply it to themselves. The role of situational context and pragmatic force is thus unquestionable, but for the unit *-holic* to be communicatively salient in both situations, it surely needs to be built on specific (or fixed) models or constructions.
– Denotationally, the constructional schemas offer generalizations of how transitions occur from, say, [+object] to [+human], or [+physical property] to [+act]. By the same token, the models also provide information on the type of connotational variation that is noticeable in such transitions, particularly those that originate from neutral or standard meaning and move to a pejorative one. Interestingly, a significant number of pejorative-conveying schemas originate from non-pejorative bases. This sort of axiological change helps understand the well-established role of end-morphemes in the formation of pejoratives.
– The analysis of splinters, such as *-rrhea*, *-itis*, and *-holic*, shows that their meanings are never detached from their non-pejorative function, e.g. *-rrhea* is still involved in the formation of names of medical conditions where a discharge/flow is abundant. This multifunctionality results in high combinability and polysemy, which makes these formatives, in contrast to suffixes, less semantically

restrictive. An interesting aspect of pejorative splintering is the function of leader and model words in the process of meaning-making. A distinction between these two words is no easy task because splinters evolve differently. For instance, while the model word in *-holic* is *alcoholic*, which represents its etymon, the leader word, or the earliest attestation of pejorative *-holic*, is *workaholic*. Leader words represent a type of schema model (Mattiello & Dressler 2018), in the sense that the formation of *-holic* words is based on analogy with the morphosemantic structure of the leader word, not the model word. However, the case of *-rrhea* is less clear-cut: the unit *-rrhea*, being a combining form in English, is also used in the formation of excess-based pejoratives, whose structure is analogically echoed from the leader (as well as model) word *diarrhea*. The examples of *-holic* and *-rrhea* demonstrate that analogy plays a fundamental role in the emergence of splinters, and that the morphosemantic properties of pejoratives ending in any of these splinters are inherited from leader words or schema models.

– The four dimensions conveying the pejorative transition undergone by the formatives examined in this book (i.e. 'diminution', 'excess', 'resemblance', and 'metonymization') follow Ruiz de Mendoza's (1998) Idealized Cognitive Models, Fauconnier's (1997) theory of mental spaces, and Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) theory of blending spaces. According to these theories, knowledge or conceptual entities are stored in our minds, but they are not fixed and indeed, interact with each other. Thus, the output semantics of a pejorative formative, which constitutes a novel category or blend, originates from the combination of known concepts; for instance, 'smallness' + 'insignificance' and 'not enough' + 'insufficiency' (or 'unauthenticity') are "cognitive substrates" (Fauconnier 1997: 34) that explain why diminutives (as in *-ie*) or similatives (as in *-ish*) are efficiently used in the formation of pejoratives. Conceptual blending, therefore, demonstrates the universality of the 'economy of cognition' that characterizes the process of meaning-making. As a result, the morphological expressions of one of the blended categories (i.e. *-ie, -ish*) can be used to represent a novel concept (e.g. 'pejorative'). The cognitive grounds of morphological conceptualization, however, depends on the potentialities of a known concept to become a pejorative. Such potentialities refer to the logical correlation that is established between blended entities, which can be cross-linguistically similar. For instance, diminutives in Spanish (as in *-illo* in *chiquillo* 'little boy') are also prone to derogatory meaning while augmentatives can be found in the expression of positive values (as in *-azo* in *estilazo* 'stylishness'). The association of augmentatives with a positive sense may be related to the fact that "large entities are important, and even majestic, so they may be perceived as likeable" (Santibáñez Sáez 1999: 180). In summary, the four dimensions described in this

book are pejorative-forming because they stem from cognitive or conceptual interactions. Evaluative morphemes stem, therefore, from physical properties (e.g. size, resemblance), and what impels formatives to change their axiological value is how these properties are interpreted and stored in our minds, to then be blended with other categories.

This study has attempted to showcase a comprehensive understanding of English pejoratives, particularly those that are made up of suffixes and combining forms. Schematic representations of such pejoratives lead to the conclusion that even morphemes or formatives inherit axiological values based on cognitive operations that are not made ad hoc. Although the operations described here are not the only ones participating in the process of English derivation, they are conveniently used to demonstrate how constructional schemas reflect cognitive transitions from diminution, excess, resemblance, and metonymy/synecdoche to pejoration. The issue of cognitive operations in other types of derivational units is an intriguing one which could be usefully explored in further research.

Appendices

These appendices include 15 tables with lists of pejoratives ending in the suffixes and combining forms examined in this book. They have been compiled from English dictionaries and corpora (see References).

Appendix 1. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-ie* (also *-y* and *-ey*).

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
alkie (or *alchy*)	*alcoholic* (adj.)	'an alcoholic person'
Aussie (or *Ozzie*)	*Australian* (adj.)	'an Australian person'
blackie	*black* (adj.)	'a person of African descent'
bookie	*book* (n.)	'a compulsive reader'
brownie	*brown* (adj.)	'a person of African descent'
cheapie	*cheap* (adj.)	'a cheap or low-quality product'
Chinkie (or *Chinky*)	*Chinese* (adj.)	'a Chinese person'
conchie (or *conchy, conshie*)	*conscientious* (adj.)	'a conscientious objector'
cutsie	*cut* (v.)	'the act of cutting in line'
darkie	*dark* (adj.)	'a person of African descent'
downie	*Down's Syndrome* (NP)	'someone with Down's Syndrome'
Dutchie	*Dutch* (adj.)	'a Dutch person'
fairie	*fair* (adj.)	'a white person'
fattie (or *fatty*)	*fat* (adj.)	'a person that is fat'
flattie	*flat* (adj.)	'a policeman'
Frenchie	*French* (adj.)	'a French person'
froggie	*frog* (n.)	'a French person'
fundie	*fundamentalist* (n.)	'a Christian fundamentalist'
greenie	*green* (adj.)	'an environmentalist'
grossie	*gross* (adj.)	'an unattractive person'
Gyppie	*Egyptian* (adj.)	'an Egyptian'
Heebie	*Hebrew* (n.)	'a Jewish person'
heinie	*hinder* (adj.)	'the bottom'
hoodie	*hood* (n.)	'a teenage delinquent'
Hunky	*Hungarian* (adj.)	'an immigrant from Central Europe'
Jewbie	*Jew* (n.)	'a Jewish person'
junkie	*junk* (n.)	'a drug addict'
leftie (or *lefty*)	*left* (adj.)	'a left-wing supporter'
lezzy (or *lezzie*)	*lesbian* (adj.)	'a homosexual woman'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
meanie	*mean* (adj.)	'a mean person'
newbie	*new* (adj.)	'an inexperienced newcomer'
nooky	*nook* (n.)	'the woman who is one of the partners in a sexual act'
Okie	*Oklahoma* (PcN)	'a migrant worker, especially from Oklahoma'
oldie	*old* (adj.)	'an old person'
Orangie	*orange* (adj.)	'a Dutch person'
outie	*out* (adv.)	'a homeless person'
pinkie	*pink* (adj.)	'a communist'
Pommy	*pomegranate* (n.)	'a British person'
porny	*pornographic* (adj.)	'a pornographic movie'
prossy	*prostitute* (n.)	'a prostitute'
queenie	*queen* (n.)	'a homosexual man'
reddie	*red* (adj.)	'a communist'
rightie	*right* (adj.)	'a right-wing supporter'
roughie	*rough* (adj.)	'a hooligan'
Scottie	*Scotsman* (n.)	'a Scotsperson'
sharpie	*sharp* (adj.)	'a dishonest person'
shortie	*short* (adj.)	'a short person'
sickie	*sick* (adj.)	'a mentally ill person, who can also be dangerous'
slammy	*slam* (v.)	'one who criticizes severely'
softie	*soft* (adj.)	'a physically weak person'
stiffy	*stiff* (adj.)	'an erection'
surfie	*surf* (n.)	'one who likes idling at the beach far too much'
thickie	*thick-witted* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
toadie	*toadeater* (n.)	'a sycophant'
toughie	*tough* (adj.)	'a troublemaker'
townie$_1$	*town* (n.)	'one who lives in a town'
townie$_2$	*out-of-town* (adj.)	'an immigrant'
tranny	*transexual* (adj.)	'a transexual person'
veggie	*vegetarian* (adj.)	'a vegetarian person'
weirdie	*weird* (adj.)	'a strange person'
whitey	*white* (adj.)	'a white person'
woody	*wood* (n.)	'an erection'
wrinkly	*wrinkle* (n.)	'an old person'
yardie	*Yard* (n.)	'a Jamaican'
yippie	*YIP* < *Youth International Party* (n.)	'a hippy activist'

Appendix 2. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-o*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
abo	*aborigine* (n.)	'an aboriginal person'
aggro	*aggressive* (adj.)	'an aggressive attitude'
anarcho	*anarchist* (n.)	'an anarchist'
bando	*abandoned* (adj.)	'an abandoned place that is used for drug smuggling'
beano	*bean* (n.)	'a Mexican'
blotto	*blot out* (v.)	'a drunkard'
bo	*hobo* (n.)	'a young homosexual who is the sexual partner of a tramp'
bobo	*bourgeois* (n.) + *bohemian* (n.)	'a bohemian who lives a bourgeois life'
boho (or *bo*)	*bohemian* (n.)	'a bohemian'
bombo	*bomb* (n.)	'cheap wine'
bottle-o	*bottle* (n.)	'a street collector of bottles and cans'
bucko	*buck* (n.)	'a bully'
cholo	*Chololán* (PcN)	'a Mexican'
chubbo	*chubby* (adj.)	'a fat person'
chunko	*chunk* (n.)	'a fat person'
combo	*combination* (n.)	'a white person who marries an aborigine'
commo	*communist* (n.)	'a supporter of Communism'
concho	*conscientious* (adj.)	'a conscientious objector'
congo	*congregationalist* (n.)	'a member of the Congregational Church'
cracko	*cracked* (adj.)	'a mad person'
crapo, crappo	*crap* (n.)	'something of bad quality'
crazo	*crazy* (adj.)	'a mad person'
crumbo	*crum* (n.)	'a disgusting person'
deado	*dead* (adj.)	'a drunkard'
delinko	*delinquent* (n.)	'a delinquent'
demo	*democrat* (n.)	'a democrat'
depresso	*depressed* (adj.)	'one who is severely depressed or mentally disturbed'
dero	*derelict* (adj.)	'one who is negligent'
devo	*deviant* (adj.)	'a sexual deviant'
dimbo	*dim* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
dippo	*dip* (n.)	'a foolish person'
dipso	*dipsomaniac* (n.)	'a drunkard'
ditzo	*ditz* (n.)	'an eccentric person'
dopo	*dope* (n.)	'a foolish person'
dozo	*dozy* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
dubbo	*dub* (n.)	'a foolish person'
dumbo	*dumb* (adj.)	'a foolish person'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
eggo	*egg* (n.)	'a foolish person'
(*el*) *cheapo*$_1$	*cheap* (adj.)	'someone who works for little money'
(*el*) *cheapo*$_2$	*cheap* (adj.)	'someone who is mean'
(*el*) *dorko*	*dork* (n.)	'a foolish person'
(*el*) *foldo*	*fold* (v.)	'a failure'
(*el*) *sleazo*$_1$	*sleazy* (adj.)	'an obnoxious person'
(*el*) *sleazo*$_2$	*sleazy* (adj.)	'a promiscuous woman'
(*el*) *stinko*	*stinking* (adj.)	'a drunkard'
ethno	*ethnic* (adj.)	'an immigrant'
fatso	*fat* (adj.)	'a fat person'
feeblo	*feeble* (adj.)	'one who is mentally impaired'
femo	*feminist* (n.)	'a feminist'
geezo	*geezer* (n.)	'a convict'
ginzo, guinzo	*guinea* (n.)	'an Italian immigrant'
gippo, gyppo	*Egyptian* (n.)	'a gypsy'
gonzo	*gone crazy* (AdjP)	'an anarchist'
hambo	*hambone* (n.)	'one who is incompetent'
himbo	*him* + *bimbo* (pron. + n.)	'a gigolo'
homo	*homosexual* (n.)	'a homosexual man'
hypo$_1$	*hypodermic* (n.)	'a drug addict'
hypo$_2$	*hypochondria* (n.)	'a feeling of mild depression'
imo$_1$	*imbecile* (n.)	'a foolish person'
imo$_2$	*imitation* (n.)	'a counterfeit'
iso	*isolation* (n.)	'an isolation cell (in prison)'
jazzbo	*jazz* (n.)	'a black person'
jollo	*jollification* (n.)	'a party with a lot of drinking and not very pleasant'
kiddo	*kid* (n.)	'term of address'
kinko	*kinky* (adj.)	'an eccentric person'
klepto	*kleptomaniac* (n.)	'a shoplifter'
laddo	*lad* (n.)	'a hooligan'
lam-o	*lame* (adj.)	'one who is not in the know'
lefto	*left* (adj.)	'a left-wing political radical'
lesbo, lezzo	*lesbian* (n.)	'a homosexual woman'
lusho	*lush* (n.)	'a state of being really drunk'
maddo	*mad* (adj.)	'a mad person'
malco	*malcoordinated* (adj.)	'term of address'
maso	*masochist* (n.)	'a masochist'
mo$_1$	*homosexual* (n.)	'a male homosexual'
mofo (also *mo*$_2$)	*motherfucker* (n.)	'one who is highly objectionable'
nebo	*inebriated* (adj.)	'a drunkard'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
nego	*negative* (adj.)	'a student with negative attitudes and behavior'
nutso	*nuts* (adj.)	'a mad person'
nympho	*nymphomaniac* (n.)	'one who has excessive desire for sex'
oafo	*oaf* (n.)	'a bully'
obno	*obnoxious* (adj.)	'an obnoxious person'
oldo	*old* (adj.)	'an old person'
paro$_1$	*paralytic* (n.)	'a wheelchair user'
paro$_2$	*paranoid* (adj.)	'a mad person'
pervo	*pervert* (n.)	'a sexual deviant'
pinko	*pink* (adj.)	'a Communist or left-wing supporter'
pisso	*pissed* (adj.)	'a drunkard'
plonko	*plonk* (n.)	'a drunkard'
po-po	redup. *police* (n.)	'a police officer'
posho	*posh* (adj.)	'a pretentious upper-class individual'
povvo	*impoverished* (adj.)	'a poor person'
presbo	*Presbyterian* (n.)	'a member of the Presbyterian Church'
pro$_1$	*prohibitionist* (n.)	'one who supports prohibition'
pro$_2$	*prostitute* (n.)	'a prostitute'
psycho	*psychopath* (n.)	'a mad person'
pussio	*pussy* (n.)	'an effeminate man'
pyro	*pyromaniac* (n.)	'an arsonist'
rango	*rangatang* (n.)	'an aggressive person'
rape-o	*rape* (v.)	'a rapist'
reffo	*refugee* (n.)	'an immigrant'
remo	*remedial* (adj.)	'a foolish student'
rumbo	*rum* (adj.)	'a prison'
rumpo	*rump* (n.)	'sexual intercourse'
sado-maso	*sado-masochist* (n.)	'a sado-masochist'
sano	*sanitary* (adj.)	'a sanitary inspector'
sappo	*sap* (n.)	'a foolish person'
schizo	*schizophrenic* (n.)	'a mad person'
schmo	*schmuck* (n.)	'a foolish person'
scrappo	*scrap* (n.)	'a fight'
secko	*sex* (n.)	'a sexual deviant'
sexo	*sex* (n.)	'a sexual offender'
sherlocko	*Sherlock* (PerN)	'a detective'
sicko	*sick* (adj.)	'a pervert'
single-o	*single* (adj.)	'a criminal who works alone'
smacko$_1$	*smack* (v.)	'a car that has been damaged in an accident'
smacko$_2$	*smack* (v.)	'a thug'
smoko	*smoke* (v.)	'marijuana'
snako	*snake* (n.)	'a deceptive person'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
soro	*sorority* (n.)	'a member of a sorority'
spacko	*spastic* (n.)	'an incompetent person'
spanko	*spank* (v.)	'one who finds pleasure in being spanked during sex'
spasmo	*spasm* (n.)	'an incompetent person'
spazzo	*spastic* (n.)	'an incompetent person'
squasho	*squash* (n.)	'a black person'
starko	*starkers* (adj.)	'a nudist'
stinko	*stinking* (adj.)	'a drunkard'
strange-o	*strange* (adj.)	'a mad person'
stupo	*stupid* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
sypho	*syphilis* (n.)	'one who suffers from syphilis'
thicko	*thick* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
twisto	*twisted* (adj.)	'a mad person'
unco	*uncoordinated* (adj.)	'one who is clumsy'
weirdo	*weird* (adj.)	'an eccentric person'
whacko	*whacky* (adj.)	'an eccentric person'
wino	*wine* (n.)	'a drunkard'
wombo	*womb* (n.)	'female breast'
yobbo	*yob* (n.)	'a hooligan'
zonko	*zonk* (n.)	'a boring person'

Appendix 3. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-ard*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
blackard	*black* (adj.)	'a black person'
braggart	*brag* (v.)	'a show-off'
dastard	*dast* (v.)	'a coward'
drunkard	*drunk* (adj.)	'a drunk'
dullard	*dull* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
sluggard	*slug* (v.)	'one who is lazy'
stinkard	*stink* (v.)	'a mean person'

Appendix 4. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-holic*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
Alfaholic	*Alfa* (n.)	'one who only buys Alfa Romeo cars'
Appleholic	*Apple* (n.)	'one who only buys Apple products'
appsaholic	*apps* (n.)	'one who downloads too many apps'
aquaholic	*aqua* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of water on a daily basis'
artoholic	*art* (n.)	'one who likes art to excess'
bagaholic	*bag* (n.)	'one who buys bags compulsively'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
beerholic	*beer* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of beer'
biblioholic	*biblio-* (Nclass)	'one who has an obsessive interest in collecting books'
blockaholic	*block* (v.)	'one who is obsessed with blocking social networking sites'
boobaholic	*boob* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with female breasts'
bookaholic	*book* (n.)	'one who reads or buys far too many books'
Bravoholic	*Bravo* (n.)	'one who only watches Bravo TV'
carboholic	*carbohydrates* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with carb-free diets'
cat-holic	*cat* (n.)	'one who owns far too many cats'
cheeseaholic	*cheese* (n.)	'one who likes cheese to excess'
chocoholic	*chocolate* (n.)	'one who compulsively eats chocolate'
cinemaholic	*cinema* (n.)	'one who likes the cinema to excess'
clipaholic$_1$	*clip* (v.)	'one who likes clipping a design, particularly on pets'
clipaholic$_2$	*clip* (n.)	'one who compulsively watches porn clips on the internet'
coffeeholic	*coffee* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of coffee'
cokeaholic	*coke* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of Coke'
cruise-a-holic	*cruise* (n.)	'one who goes on cruises far too often'
dataholic	*data* (n.)	'one who likes data or statistics to excess'
discaholic	*disc* (n.)	'one who buys and collects too many music records'
droidholic	*Android* (n.)	'one who only uses Android system'
ecoholic	*ecology* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with being eco-friendly'
espressoholic	*espresso* (n.)	'one who only drinks espresso coffee'
fashion-a-holic	*fashion* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with fashion'
fishaholic	*fish* (v.)	'one who is addicted to fishing'
flashaholic	*flashlight* (n.)	'one who buys far too many flashlights'
foodaholic	*food* (n.)	'one who eats far too much food'
footballholic	*football* (n.)	'one who likes football to excess'
fuckaholic	*fuck* (v.)	'one who is addicted to sex'
Fujiholic	*Fuji* (n.)	'one who only uses (and buys) Fuji cameras'
funaholic	*fun* (n.)	'one who has a compulsive need to have fun'
gameaholic	*game* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with videogames'
gunaholic	*gun* (n.)	'one who enjoys firing guns to excess'
gymoholic	*gym* (n.)	'one who goes to the gym far too often'
Ikeaholic	*Ikea* (n.)	'one who only buys furniture at Ikea stores'
infoholic	*information* (n.)	'one who compulsively watches or reads news'
Jerichoholic	*Jericho* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive fan of Chris Jericho'
jokeaholic	*joke* (n.)	'one who compulsively tells jokes'
Jossaholic	*Joss* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive fan of Joss Whedon'
Lostaholic	*Lost* (n.)	'one who is an excessive fan of the TV series *Lost*'
loveaholic	*love* (v.)	'one who has the compulsive need to be loved'
lustaholic	*lust* (n.)	'one who is addicted to erotic books and films'
meataholic	*meat* (n.)	'one who eats an excessive amount of meat in their diet'
milkaholic	*milk* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of milk'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
movieholic	*movie* (n.)	'one who likes movies (or movie theaters) to excess'
newsaholic	*news* (n.)	'one who compulsively watches or reads news'
olympoholic	*Olympics* (n.)	'one who is an excessive fan of the Olympic Games'
paintaholic	*paint* (v.)	'one who is obsessed with painting'
partyholic	*party* (n.)	'one who goes to (or organizes) far too many parties'
pastaholic	*pasta* (n.)	'one who likes pasta to excess'
patekaholic	*Patek* (n.)	'one who only buys Phillippe Patek watches'
pen-a-holic	*pen* (n.)	'one who likes fountain pens (or using them) to excess'
perkaholic	*perk* (n.)	'one who works far too many hours at the workplace'
phoneaholic	*phone* (n.)	'one who compulsively checks their phone'
photoholic	*photo* (n.)	'one who compulsively takes photos'
pinkaholic	*pink* (adj.)	'one who is obsessed with the color pink'
pizzaholic	*pizza* (n.)	'one who likes pizza to excess'
plantaholic	*plant* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with plants and gardening'
playaholic	*play* (v.)	'one (especially a child) who spends all the time playing'
pokerholic	*poker* (n.)	'one who is addicted to poker'
popaholic	*pop* (v.)	'one who compulsively enjoys squeezing cysts'
porkaholic	*pork* (n.)	'one who likes pork meat to excess'
potatoholic	*potato* (n.)	'one who likes potatoes (or chips) to excess'
prawnaholic	*prawn* (n.)	'one who likes prawns to excess'
prettyholic	*pretty* (adj.)	'one who is obsessed with beauty treatments'
radioaholic	*radio* (n.)	'one who compulsively listens to the radio'
rageaholic	*rage* (n.)	'one who finds pleasure in expressing rage'
rape-aholic	*rape* (v.)	'one who is addicted to violent sex films'
rapperholic	*rapper* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of rappers'
readaholic	*read* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive reader'
relaxaholic	*relax* (v.)	'one who has a compulsive need to relax'
remodelaholic	*remodel* (v.)	'one who is addicted to making house renovations'
right-aholic	*right* (adj.)	'one who has the compulsive need to be right'
rodeoholic	*rodeo* (n.)	'one who is an excessive fan of rodeo competitions'
romance-a-holic	*romance* (n.)	'one who compulsively watches or reads romantic stories'
rugbyholic	*rugby* (n.)	'one who likes rugby to excess'
runaholic	*run* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive runner or jogger'
Sarkoholic	*Sarkcess* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive fan of Tracy Sarkcess'
save-aholic	*save* (v.)	'one who is stingy'
scrapaholic	*scrap* (n.)	'one who likes scrapbooks to excess'
sedgeaholic	*sedge* (n.)	'one who likes sedges to excess'
sexaholic	*sex* (n.)	'one who is addicted to sex'
shoe-holic	*shoe* (n.)	'one who buys shoes compulsively'
shopaholic	*shop* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive shopper'
singleholic	*single* (adj.)	'one who has the compulsive need to be single'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
sleepaholic	*sleep* (v.)	'one who sleeps far too much'
smurfaholic	*Smurf* (n.)	'one who likes the Smurfs to excess'
snack-a-holic	*snack* (n.)	'one who only eats snacks rather than healthy meals'
sneakerholic	*sneaker* (n.)	'one who compulsively buys sneakers'
spaholic	*spa* (n.)	'one who likes spas to excess'
spendaholic	*spend* (v.)	'one who spends beyond their means'
sportaholic	*sports* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of sports'
stabaholic	*stab* (v.)	'one who finds pleasure in stabbing other people'
stressaholic	*stress* (n.)	'one who gets stressed far too often'
studioartholic	*studio art* (NP)	'one who likes studio art to excess'
sugarholic	*sugar* (n.)	'one who consumes an excessive amount of sugar'
summer-holic	*summer* (n.)	'one who likes summer holidays to excess'
surgiholic	*surgery* (n.)	'one who is addicted to plastic surgery procedures'
sushiholic	*sushi* (n.)	'one who likes sushi to excess'
sweetaholic	*sweet* (n.)	'one who likes sweets to excess'
swimaholic	*swim* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive swimmer'
tabaholic$_1$	*tab* (n.)	'one who opens too many tabs in a browser'
tabaholic$_2$	*Tab* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of Tab'
talkaholic	*talk* (v.)	'one who talks nonstop'
teaholic	*tea* (n.)	'one who compulsively drinks tea'
tech-aholic	*technology* (n.)	'one who compulsively buys technological gadgets'
teleholic	*television* (n.)	'one who watches too much television'
textaholic	*text* (v.)	'one who compulsively texts on the phone'
thinkaholic	*think* (v.)	'one who has a tendency to overthinking'
travel-holic	*travel* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive traveler'
twerkaholic	*twerk* (v.)	'one who compulsively enjoys twerking while dancing'
twitterholic	*Twitter* (n.)	'one who is addicted to Twitter'
typoholic$_1$	*typography* (n.)	'one who likes typography to excess'
typoholic$_2$	*typo* (n.)	'one whose writing is plagued with typos'
vegetaholic	*vegetables* (n.)	'one who only eats vegetables'
walkaholic	*walk* (v.)	'one who compulsively enjoys walking trips'
waterholic	*water* (n.)	'one who drinks an excessive amount of water on a daily basis'
waxaholic	*wax* (v.)	'one who is addicted to waxing'
wikiholic	*Wikipedia* (n.)	'one who compulsively uses Wikipedia to search for information'
wordaholic	*word* (n.)	'one who has a tendency to wordiness'
workaholic	*work* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive worker'
write-aholic	*write* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive writer or blogger'
Zackaholic	*Zack* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of Zack Ryder'
zumbaholic	*Zumba* (n.)	'one who is addicted to Zumba'

Appendix 5. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-rrhea*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
bangorrhea	*bang* (n.)	'overuse of exclamation points'
emojarrhea	*emoji* (n.)	'overuse of emojis instead of words'
glue-arrhea	*glue* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to follow someone around'
Hillarrhea	*Hillary* (PerN)	'a notion describing Hillary Clinton's (excessive) use of words'
lie-arrhea	*lie* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to tell lies'
negorrhea	*negative* (adj.)	'obsession over negative or pessimistic thoughts'
snowarrhea	*snow* (n.)	'a heavy snowfall'
soul-a-rrhea	*soul* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to express feelings'
tweetarrhea	*tweet* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to post tweets'
wordarrhea	*word* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to use meaningless words'

Appendix 6. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-itis*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
5G-itis	*5G* (n.)	'obsession with 5G connectivity'
baseballitis	*baseball* (n.)	'obsession with baseball'
boomeritis	*boomer* (n.)	'an inherent affliction that affects baby boomers in the form of narcissist and anti-hierarchical behavior'
brexititis	*Brexit* (n.)	'extreme tediousness caused by Brexit negotiations'
candidate-itis	*candidate* (n.)	'an aggressive behavior that characterizes those running in an election campaign'
celebritis	*celebrity* (n.)	'obsession with gossiping about celebrities' lives'
Decemberitis	*December* (n.)	'a fake illness that affects workers when Christmas season is approaching'
entitle-itis	*entitle* (v.)	'a strong feeling that makes someone think that everyone is in debt with them'
eventitis	*event* (n.)	'feeling of apathy towards comic crossover events'
examinitis	*exam* (n.)	'fear of taking exams'
expertitis	*expert* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to be highly specialized in a field'
facebookitis	*Facebook* (n.)	'addiction to Facebook'
footballitis	*football* (n.)	'obsession with football'
founderitis	*founder* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to act as the founder of a company'
fumblitis	*fumble* (v.)	'a compulsive tendency to drop footballs in a game'
give-up-itis	*give up* (VP)	'a compulsive tendency to give up hope'
got-to-get-there-itis	*got to get there* (VP)	'obsession to reach a destination'
hipsteritis	*hipster* (n.)	'compulsive tendency to behave like a hipster'
Ikea-itis	*Ikea* (n.)	'obsession with Ikea furniture'
ipoditis	*Ipod* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to listen to music on the Ipod'
Johnsonitis	*Johnson* (PerN)	'a strong feeling of aversion to Boris Johnson's government'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
queenitis$_1$	*Queen* (n.)	'obsession with Queen Elizabeth's life and memorabilia'
queenitis$_2$	*Queen* (n.)	'a feeling of anxiety caused by meeting the Queen in person'
lastseasonitis	*last season* (NP)	'obsession with last seasons of TV series'
lazyitis	*lazy* (adj.)	'a compulsive tendency to be lazy'
meetingitis	*meeting* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to hold (unnecessary) meetings'
Monday-itis	*Monday* (n.)	'feeling of apathy that is felt when returning to work on Mondays'
Novemberitis	*November* (n.)	'a strong feeling of nostalgia that is evoked by the autumnal season'
opinionitis	*opinion* (n.)	'a compulsive tendency to express opinions without proofs or arguments'
review-itis	*review* (n.)	'a feeling of tediousness towards reviews'
schoolitis	*school* (n.)	'a feeling of anxiety when attending school'
seconditis	*second* (adj.)	'fear of being second in a competition'
short-termitis	*short term* (NP)	'a compulsive disregard for long term consequences'
Stephenitis	*Stephen* (PerN)	'a compulsive need to play basketball like Stephen Curry, particularly when throwing three-pointers'
telephonitis	*telephone* (n.)	'obsession with speaking on the phone'
thinkihaditis	*think I had* (VP)	'a compulsive attitude that leads people to think that they had the COVID virus without PCR testing'
third-termitis	*third term* (NP)	'an affliction that characterizes third-term governments'
TV-itis	*TV* (n.)	'addiction to TV shows, particularly series'
upgraditis	*upgrade* (v.)	'a compulsive need to upgrade appliances or gadgets such as a mobile, a coffee machine, etc.'
vacationitis	*vacation* (n.)	'a compulsive need to go on vacation'
victimitis	*victim* (n.)	'a compulsive need to act as a victim in every situation'
whatsappitis	*whatsapp* (n.)	'obsession with sending whatsapps'

Appendix 7. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in -(*o*)*later*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
bardolater	*Bard* (n.)	'one showing excessive admiration of Shakespeare'
bibliolater	*biblio-* (Nclass)	'one who has an excessive devotion to the Bible or books in general'
hagiolater	*hagi-* (Nclass)	'one who has an exaggerated veneration of saints'
iconolater	*icon* (n.)	'one who excessively worships icons'
idolater	*idol* (n.)	"a person that admires intensely and often blindly one that is not usually a subject of worship" (MWD11)
Mariolater	*Mary* (PerN)	'one who shows an exaggerated devotion to Virgin Mary'
zoolater	*zoo-* (Nclass)	'one showing extreme devotion to animals'

Appendix 8. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-maniac*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
Anglomaniac	*Anglo-* (Nclass)	'one with a compulsive interest in England or English things'
Beatlemaniac	*Beatles* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the Beatles'
bibliomaniac	*biblio-* (Nclass)	'one who is obsessed with buying or collecting books'
bokeh-maniac	*bokeh* (n.)	'one who excessively uses bokeh effect in photography'
Bowie-maniac	*Bowie* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of David Bowie'
bremaniac	*Brexit* (n.)	'one who shows an excessive support for Brexit'
Broncomaniac	*Broncos* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the football team the Denver Broncos'
cricket-maniac	*cricket* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of cricket'
detail-maniac	*detail* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with details'
dinomaniac	*dinosaur* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with dinosaurs'
dipsomaniac	*dips-* (Nclass)	'one who has an excessive urge to drink alcohol'
dogmaniac	*dog* (n.)	'one who likes dogs to excess'
eclipse-o-maniac	*eclipse* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of eclipses'
egomaniac	*ego-* (Nclass)	'one who is extremely eccentric'
Euromaniac	*Europe* (PcN)	'one who shows excessive enthusiasm for Europe or the European Union'
football-maniac	*football* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of football'
Fukuyamaniac	*Fukuya* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the academic Francis Fukuyama'
gamesmaniac	*games* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of video games'
gentlemaniac	*gentleman* (n.)	'one who obsessively acts like a gentleman'
Germaniac	*Germany* (PcN)	'one with extreme devotion to German culture, history, customs, etc.'
graphomaniac	*grapho-* (Nclass)	'one who has "a compulsive urge to write"' (MWD11)
hipster-maniac	*hipster* (n.)	'one who obsessively acts like a hipster'
Hulkmaniac	*Hulk* (n.)	'one with extreme devotion to the character (or comic books/films) of Hulk'
infomaniac	*information* (n.)	"one who is obsessed with keeping up with factual information as well as up to date with emails and text messages" (COD23)
Jeepmaniac	*Jeep* (n.)	'one who only buys and drives Jeeps'
Jumbomaniac	*Jumbo* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the elephant Jumbo'
Kaiju-maniac	*Kaiju* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of Kaiju'
lego-maniac	*Lego* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of Lego designs'
logomaniac	*logo-* (Nclass)	'one who talks excessively'
lovemaniac	*love* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of romance books or films'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
melomaniac	*melo-* (Nclass)	'one who possesses an excessive interest in music'
miniseries-maniac	*miniseries* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of miniseries'
mint-maniac	*mint* (n.)	'one who likes mint to excess'
movie-maniac	*movie* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of movies'
Netflixmaniac	*Netlix* (n.)	'one who only watches Netflix'
Obamaniac	*Obama* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of former US President Barack Obama'
Pokemoniac	*Pokemon* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of Pokemon'
pornomaniac	*pornography* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with pornography'
Pottermaniac	*Potter* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of Harry Potter books'
power-maniac	*power* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with leadership'
retromaniac	*retro* (adj.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the fashions of the past'
safety-maniac	*safety* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with safety'
Salmaniac	*Salman* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the actor Salman Khan'
saxmaniac	*saxophone* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of the saxophone or jazz music in general'
sex-maniac	*sex* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with sex'
shopping-maniac	*shopping* (v.)	'one who is obsessed with going shopping'
skimaniac	*ski* (v.)	'one who has an extreme devotion to skiing'
spa-maniac	*spa* (n.)	'one who goes to spas far too often'
squandermaniac	*squander* (v.)	'one who has a tendency to spend money irresponsibly'
stuntmaniac	*stunt* (n.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of stunts, particularly those involving motor vehicles'
Tebowmaniac	*Tebow* (PerN)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of football player Tim Tebow'
titlemaniac	*title* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with social etiquette and hierarchy'
trigger-maniac	*trigger* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with video games based on shooting or war-like scenario'
tulipomaniac	*tulip* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with growing tulips'
typo-maniac	*typo* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with correcting typos'
verbomaniac	*verbo-* (Nclass)	'one who is obsessed with words'
walk-maniac	*walk* (v.)	'one who is a compulsive walker'
war-maniac	*war* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with the war'
wrestle-maniac	*wrestle* (v.)	'one who is an excessive enthusiast of wrestling matches'

Appendix 9. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-porn*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
bag-porn	*bag* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of bags'
bike-porn	*bike* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of bikes or bikers'
business-porn	*business* (n.)	'a magazine that only posts news on business and upper-class lifestyle'
cabin-porn	*cabin* (n.)	'a compulsive desire for peace and quiet, especially in natural spots'
cake-porn	*cake* (n.)	'the act of (excessively) showing appetizing imagery of cakes'
carnage-porn	*carnage* (n.)	'a film or TV series that showcases an excessive amount of gruesome imagery of a killing in order to engage viewers'
car-porn	*car* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of cars'
celebrity-porn	*celebrity* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of TV or movie celebrities'
child-porn	*child* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing (or posting) imagery of children or babies'
crime-porn	*crime* (n.)	'a film or TV series that showcases true-crime whose visual devices are meant to engage viewers'
culture-porn	*culture* (n.)	'a film/book that shows an excessive amount of cultural information of a place'
dessert-porn	*dessert* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of types of dessert'
earth-porn	*Earth* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of natural landscapes'
fear-porn	*fear* (n.)	'a film or TV series that displays an excessive amount of frightening imagery or scenes'
financial-porn	*financial* (adj.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at trading data and statistics on investment opportunities'
food-porn	*food* (n.)	'the act of (excessively) showing appetizing imagery of food or dishes'
fruit-porn	*fruit* (n.)	'the act of (excessively) showing appetizing imagery of fruit'
furniture-porn	*furniture* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing imagery of furniture'
gossip-porn	*gossip* (n.)	'an audiovisual work that only publishes rumors and sensational facts'
grief-porn	*grief* (n.)	'texts or images dealing with death and illnesses, which are intended to engage viewers or readers'
holiday-porn	*holiday* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at pictures of tourist destinations'
house-porn	*house* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of houses or apartments'
info-porn	*info* (n.)	'the act of compulsively posting or reading data or statistics'
inspiration-porn	*inspiration* (n.)	'a film/picture that portrays images of disabled people to generate empathy'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
interiors-porn	*interiors* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of cars'
lifestyle-porn	*lifestyle* (n.)	'a film/commercial that portrays images of a perfect life that is out of the viewer's reach'
misery-porn	*misery* (n.)	'a film/picture that shows heartbreaking stories to engage viewers'
mobile-porn	*mobile* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of mobile phones'
murder-porn	*murder* (n.)	'a film or TV series that showcases true-crime whose (generally gruesome) visual strategies are meant to engage viewers'
nature-porn	*nature* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of natural landscapes or environmental devastation'
news-porn	*news* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at the latest news'
nostalgia-porn	*nostalgia* (n.)	'a film/TV show that resorts to an excessive amount of old-time music and memorabilia to attract less young viewers'
nuke-porn	*nuke* (n.)	'a film/TV series whose plot is on nuclear war or the effects of a nuclear meltdown'
pantry-porn	*pantry* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of celebrities' pantries and closets'
pet-porn	*pet* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery/videos of pets'
plant-porn	*plant* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at plants and gardens'
politico-porn	*politico* (n.)	'a TV show (or newsfeeds) that can be a backlash against political scandals'
poverty-porn	*poverty* (n.)	'a film/picture that is meant to display poverty imagery to generate empathy'
real-estate-porn	*real estate* (n.)	'the act of compulsively gazing at real-estate properties'
ruin-porn	*ruin* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at run-down buildings'
science-porn	*science* (n.)	'the act of compulsively reading magazines and blogs on science'
selfie-porn	*selfie* (n.)	'the act of compulsively taking selfies'
shoe-porn	*shoe* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at pictures of shoes'
starship-porn	*starship* (n.)	'a film/TV series that resorts to an excessive number of spacecrafts or interstellar-travel plots'
torture-porn	*torture* (n.)	'a type of movie that resorts to too many gruesome (and meaningless) horror scenes'
tragedy-porn	*tragedy* (n.)	'a film/TV show that resorts to an excessive amount of imagery and information on violent events'
trauma-porn	*trauma* (n.)	'a film/article that displays people's pain (or trauma) to excess for the sake of entertainment'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
travel-porn	*travel* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at pictures of tourist destinations'
violence-porn	*violence* (n.)	'a film/TV show that displays violent imagery and stories to excess for the sake of entertainment'
war-porn	*war* (n.)	'a film/photo that displays gruesome war images'
weather-porn	*weather* (n.)	'TV show or post that shows an excessive amount of weather-related information or imagery, particularly on natural disasters'
wildlife-porn	*wildlife* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of natural landscapes'
wine-porn	*wine* (n.)	'the act of compulsively showing or gazing at imagery of wines/vineyards, or reading about wine-tasting events to excess'

Appendix 10. List of pejorative adjectives ending in *-ish*. The table is divided into two parts. The first part itemizes denominal and deverbal forms, and the second part includes deadjectival pejoratives conveying the meaning [not X_{Adj} enough].

$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [having negative characteristics of $SEM_i]_j$
$[[X]_{Vi}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [that is negatively characterized by $SEM_i]_j$

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
amateurish	*amateur* (n.)	'inexperienced'
apish	*ape* (n.)	'silly'
babyish	*baby* (n.)	'immature'
bearish	*bear* (n.)	'pessimistic'
blokeish	*bloke* (n.)	'behaving like an ordinary man'
boarish	*boar* (n.)	'cruel'
bookish	*book* (n.)	'inclined to intellectual activities'
boorish	*boor* (n.)	'insensitive or rude'
brattish	*brat* (n.)	'immature and ill-mannered'
brutish	*brute* (n.)	'uncivilized or cruel'
buckish	*buck* (n.)	'(of a man) that is obsessed with his looks'
buffoonish	*buffoon* (n.)	'being ridiculous or foolish'
caddish	*cad* (n.)	'disrespectful'
camelish	*camel* (n.)	'stubborn'
caricaturish	*caricature* (n.)	'unreal'
childish	*child* (n.)	'immature'
churlish	*churl* (n.)	'vulgar'
clannish	*clan* (n.)	'being unfriendly to people who do not belong to their social group'
clownish	*clown* (n.)	'foolish'
cockish	*cock* (n.)	'arrogant'
currish	*cur* (n.)	'rude or bad-tempered'
devilish	*devil* (n.)	'cruel or sinister'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
dickish	*dick* (n.)	'stupid and annoying'
doggish	*dog* (n.)	"stylish in a showy way" (MWD11)
doltish	*dolt* (n.)	'foolish'
dorkish	*dork* (n.)	'stupid'
dronish	*drone* (n.)	'rather lazy'
dwarfish	*dwarf* (n.)	'(of a person) being very small'
elfish	*elf* (n.)	'disrespectful, naughty'
faddish	*fad* (n.)	'showing no real value'
feverish	*fever* (n.)	'showing extreme excitement or nervousness'
fiendish	*fiend* (n.)	'unpleasant or cruel'
foolish	*fool* (n.)	'lacking good judgement or being absurd'
foppish	*fop* (n.)	'(of a man) that is obsessed with his looks'
freakish	*freak* (n.)	'really strange'
geekish	*geek* (n.)	'boring and lacking style'
ghoulish	*ghoul* (n.)	'sinister'
goatish	*goat* (n.)	'lecherous'
hawkish	*hawk* (n.)	'showing aggressive attitude'
hellish	*hell* (n.)	'terrible, unpleasant'
hickish	*hick* (n.)	'uneducated and rude'
hoggish	*hog* (n.)	'selfish'
impish	*imp* (n.)	'mischievous'
knavish	*knave* (n.)	'dishonest'
laddish	*lad* (n.)	'showing immature attitude'
loutish	*lout* (n.)	'uncivilized or cruel'
mannish	*man* (n.)	'(of a woman) resembling a man'
monkish	*monk* (n.)	"inclined to disciplinary self-denial" (MWD11)
mulish	*mule* (n.)	'stubborn'
murkish	*murk* (n.)	'dishonest'
nazish	*Nazi* (n.)	'cruel and aggressive'
nerdish	*nerd* (n.)	'lacking style and being stupid'
offish	*standoff* (n.)	'unfriendly'
outlandish	*outland* (n.)	'extremely unusual'
owlish	*owl* (n.)	'that has a serious-looking face'
perkish	*perk* (n.)	'ill-mannered'
piggish	*pig* (n.)	'vulgar, ill-mannered'
prankish	*prank* (n.)	'naughty, mischievous'
prudish	*prude* (n.)	'puritanical'
puckish	*puck* (n.)	'mischievous'
pukish	*puke* (v.)	'unpleasant'
punkish	*punk* (n.)	'rude, aggressive'
science-ish	*science* (n.)	'that is mistakenly regarded as scientific'
selfish	*self* (n.)	'self-centered'
sheepish	*sheep* (n.)	'showing a submissive attitude'
shrewish	*shrew* (n.)	'spiteful'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
sickish	*sick* (adj.)	'extremely unpleasant'
sluggish	*slug* (v.)	'that moves slowly'
sluttish	*slut* (n.)	'(of a woman) being promiscuous'
snappish	*snap* (v.)	'cranky'
snobbish	*snob* (n.)	'arrogant'
sottish	*sot* (n.)	'stupid'
stalkerish	*stalker* (n.)	'showing tendency to harassment'
standoffish	*standoff* (n.)	'unfriendly'
swinish	*swine* (n.)	'vulgar or rude'
thievish	*thieve* (v.)	'inclined to stealing'
thuggish	*thug* (n.)	'showing an aggressive attitude'
tomboyish	*tomboy* (n.)	'(of a woman) behaving like a man'
trickish	*trick* (n.)	'deceitful'
trollish	*troll* (n.)	'offensive'
trollopish	*trollop* (n.)	'(of a woman) being promiscuous'
uppish	*up* (adv.)	'arrogant'
vampirish	*vampire* (n.)	'that lives on other people'
vampish	*vamp* (n.)	'using sex appeal to get what they want'
waspish	*wasp* (n.)	'that gets easily annoyed'
whorish	*whore* (n.)	'(of a woman) being promiscuous'
wimpish	*wimp* (n.)	'cowardly, weak'
wolfish	*wolf* (n.)	'greedy, selfish'
womanish	*woman* (n.)	'(of a man) behaving like a woman'
wonkish	*wonk* (n.)	'acting like a nerd'
wormish	*worm* (n.)	'weak or unpleasant'
yobbish	*yob* (n.)	'noisy and violent'

$[[X]_{Adji}$ *-ish*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow [\text{not SEM}_i \text{ enough}]_j$
cheapish, coolish ('fashionable'), *cutish, fabish* (< *fab* < *fabulous*), *fairish, frankish, goodish, greenish* ('environmental'), *grown-ish, happy-ish, healthy-ish, leftish, longish, newish, niceish, normal-ish, ok-ish* (or *okayish*), *sharpish, singlish, smartish, softish, sweetish, true-ish, warmish* ('relaxing'), *youngish*

Appendix 11. List of pejorative adjectives and nouns ending in *-oid*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
bungaloid (adj.)	*bungalow* (n.)	'that resembles bungalows in a negative way or "because of the presence of a lot of bungalows"' (MED2)
Caucasoid (adj.)	*Caucasian* (adj.)	'that resembles a white person'
creepazoid (n.)	*creepy* (adj.)	'someone who is unpleasant in appearance or makes other people feel uneasy'
demonoid (n.)	*demon* (n.)	'someone who resembles the appearance of a demon'
factoid (n.)	*fact* (n.)	'a piece of information that appears to be true'
freakazoid (n.)	*freak* (n.)	'someone who has unusual or eccentric qualities'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
geekoid (n.)	*geek* (n.)	'someone who resembles a geek in appearance and behavior'
greenoid (n.)	*green* (n.)	'someone who projects an image of someone who cares about the environment'
insectoid (adj.)	*insect* (n.)	'that resembles an insect in appearance and behavior'
Marxoid (adj.)	*Marx* (PerN)	'that resembles or follows Marxist views and beliefs'
modernoid (adj.)	*modern* (adj.)	'that projects an image of a modern and progressive person'
negroid (adj.)	*negro* (n.)	'that has features of a black person'
nutzoid (adj.)	*nuts* (adj.)	'that is crazy, eccentric'
Piccasoid (adj.)	*Picasso* (PerN)	'that is unattractive, similar to the human forms in Picasso's paintings'
pinkoid$_1$ (n.)	*pink* (adj.)	'someone who has negative features of a white person'
pinkoid$_2$ (n.)	*pink* (adj.)	'someone who is a left-wing supporter'
simploid (n.)	*simple* (adj.)	'someone who is easily pleased'
sleazoid (n.)	*sleazy* (adj.)	'someone who is dishonest'
walrusoid (adj.)	*walrus* (n.)	'that resembles a walrus in appearance'
wastoid (n.)	*wasted* (adj.)	'someone who is addicted to drugs or alcohol'

Appendix 12. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-aster*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
criticaster	*critic* (n.)	'a petty critic'
grammaticaster	*grammar* (n.)	'a grammarian of inferior quality'
historiaster	*history* (n.)	'a historian of inferior quality'
mathematicaster	*Mathematics* (n.)	'a petty mathematician'
medicaster	*medicine* (n.)	"a quack; a medical charlatan" (Garner 2003: 281)
militaster	*military* (n.)	'an unskilled or incompetent soldier'
musicaster	*music* (n.)	'a mediocre musician'
opiniaster	*opinion* (n.)	'an opinionated person'
philologaster	*philology* (n.)	"an incompetent philologist" (Garner 2003: 281)
philosophaster	*philosophy* (n.)	'a philosopher of inferior quality'
poetaster	*poet* (n.)	'a poet of inferior quality'
politicaster	*politics* (n.)	"a contemptible politician" (Garner 2003: 281)
scientaster	*science* (n.)	'a scientist of inferior quality'
usageaster	*usage* (n.)	"a self-styled authority on language usage" (COD23)

Appendix 13. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-head*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
airhead	*air* (n.)	'a foolish person'
basehead	*base* (n.)	'one who is addicted to freebase or crack'
big-head	*big* (adj.)	'a self-conceited person'
blockhead	*block* (n.)	'a foolish person'
bonehead	*bone* (n.)	'a foolish person'
boofhead	*boof* (n.)	'a foolish person'
breadhead	*breadwinner* (n.)	'one who is obsessed with earning money'
brickhead	*brick* (n.)	'a foolish person'
bubblehead	*bubble* (n.)	'a foolish person'
butterhead	*butter* (n.)	'a foolish person'
butthead	*butt* (n.)	'an obnoxious person'
chowderhead	misp. *jolterhead* (n.)	'a foolish person'
chucklehead	*chuckle* (n.)	'a foolish person'
cokehead	*coke* (n.)	'a drug addict'
craphead	*crap* (n.)	'a foolish or obnoxious person'
crazyhead	*crazy* (adj.)	'a mad person'
deadhead	*dead* (adj.)	'a boring person'
dickhead	*dick* (n.)	'a foolish or obnoxious person'
dopehead	*dope* (n.)	'a drug addict'
drophead	*drop* (v.)	'a foolish person'
dunderhead	Du. *donder* 'thunder' (n.)	'a foolish person'
egghead	*egg* (n.)	'a pretentiously intelectual person'
fuckhead	*fuck* (n.)	'term of address'
gearhead	*gear* (n.)	'a person that is too enthusiastic about cars'
greedhead	*greed* (n.)	'a greedy person'
hardhead	*hard* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
hophead$_1$	*hop* (n.)	'a drug addict'
hophead$_2$	*hop* (n.)	'a heavy drinker'
hothead	*hot* (adj.)	'a quick-tempered person'
humphead	*hump* (v.)	'term of abuse'
ironhead	*iron* (n.)	'a foolish person'
jazzhead	*jazz (n.)*	'a person that can be too enthusiastic about jazz'
juice-head	*juice* (n.)	'a heavy drinker'
junkhead	*junk* (n.)	'a drug addict'
knothead	*knot* (n.)	'a foolish person'
knucklehead	*knuckle* (n.)	'a foolish person'
leadhead	*lead* (n.)	'a foolish person'
leatherhead	*leather* (n.)	'a foolish person'
lemon-head	*lemon* (n.)	'a foolish person'
lunkhead	misp. *lump* (n.)	'a slow-witted person'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
meathead	*meat* (n.)	'a foolish person'
metalhead	*heavy metal* (n.)	'a person that can be too enthusiastic about heavy metal'
meth-head	*methamphetamine* (n.)	'one takes drugs, especially methamphetamines'
motorhead	*motor* (n.)	'a person that can be too enthusiastic about motorcycles'
musclehead	*muscle* (n.)	'a muscular person who is also foolish'
muttonhead	*mutton* (n.)	'a foolish person'
nailhead	*nail* (n.)	'an unattractive woman'
niggerhead	*nigger* (n.)	"a pro-black civil rights agitator" (GDS)
nuthead	*nut* (n.)	'a foolish person'
old head	*old* (adj.)	'an old person'
petrol-head	*petrol* (n.)	'a heavy drinker'
piss-head	*piss* (n.)	'a heavy drinker'
potato-head	*potato* (n.)	'a foolish person'
rock-head	*rock* (n.)	'a drug addict'
shithead$_1$	*shit* (n.)	'term of abuse'
shithead$_2$	*shit* (n.)	'a drug addict'
sleepyhead	*sleepy* (adj.)	'an inattentive person'
spithead	*spit* (n.)	'term of abuse'
thickhead	*thick-headed* or *thick-* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
waterhead	*water* (n.)	'a foolish person'
weedhead	*weed* (n.)	'a marijuana smoker'
wisehead	*wise* (adj.)	'one who pretends to be smart'

Appendix 14. List of pejorative nominalizations ending in *-pants*.

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
bananapants	*banana* (n.)	'a mad person'
bossy-pants	*bossy* (adj.)	'one who is rather authoritarian'
cranky-pants	*cranky* (adj.)	'one who gets irritated too easily'
crazy-pants	*crazy* (adj.)	'an eccentric person'
creepy-pants	*creepy* (adj.)	'one who is unpleasant'
fancy-pants	*fancy* (adj.)	'an overdressed person'
fussy-pants	*fussy* (adj.)	'an obnoxious person'
grumpy-pants	*grumpy* (adj.)	'one who tends to be grumpy'
hot-pants	*hot* (adj.)	'a promiscuous person'
judgy-pants	*judgy* (adj.)	'one who tends to be judgmental'
lazypants	*lazy* (adj.)	'one who is very lazy'
meany-pants	*meany* (adj.)	'a mean person'
moody-pants	*moody* (adj.)	'one who tends to be moody'

Pejorative	Etymon	Sense
nancy-pants	*nancy* (adj.)	'an effeminate man'
pissy-pants	*pissy* (adj.)	'an obnoxious person'
poopy-pants	*poopy* (n.)	'a bitter person'
preachy-pants	*preachy* (adj.)	'one who tends to judge harshly'
sassy-pants	*sassy* (adj.)	'one who tends to be cheeky'
sillypants	*silly* (adj.)	'a foolish person'
sissy-pants	*sissy* (adj.)	'an effeminate man'
smarty-pants	*smarty* (adj.)	"one who talks and behaves like someone who knows everything" (MWD11)
sourpants	*sour* (adj.)	'one who is unfriendly or rude'
stinky-pants	*stinky* (adj.)	'one who has a strong offensive odor'
whiny-pants	*whiny* (adj.)	'one who complains too much'
wussy-pants	*wussy* (adj.)	'a cowardly person or an effeminate man'

Appendix 15. List of pejorative nouns and adjectives ending in *-ass*. The table is divided into two parts. The first part itemizes deadjectival forms (in which *-ass* functions as an intensifier). The second part includes denominal forms (in which the resulting adjectives and nouns convey the meaning that someone or something resembles (to a higher degree) the features of the leftmost base.

intensifier

$[[X]_{Adj_i}$ *-ass*$]_j \leftrightarrow$ [negatively characterized as being extremely $SEM_i]_j$

*annoying-ass, awful-ass, awkward-ass, **bad-ass, bald-ass, bare-ass, basic-ass, bitter-ass, black-ass, bland-ass, bleak-ass, blurry-ass, bold-ass, bonkers-ass, boring-ass, bright-ass, **broke-ass, broken-ass, bulky-ass, catchy-ass, cheap-ass, cheesy-ass, chill-ass, clean-ass, clown-ass, clunky-ass, cold-ass, conservative-ass, cool-ass, corny-ass, corrupt-ass, cranky-ass, crappy-ass, crazy-ass, creepy-ass, crooked-ass, cute-ass, dark-ass, deep-ass, depressing-ass, dirty-ass, dope-ass, drunk-ass, dull-ass, **dumb-ass, dusty-ass, esoteric-ass, evil-ass, expensive-ass, fake-ass, fancy-ass, filthy-ass, fine-ass, freaky-ass, free-ass, French-ass, full-ass, fun-ass, funky-ass, funny-ass, gay-ass, ghastly-ass, good-ass, goofy-ass, **gonzo-ass, grainy-ass, greasy-ass, greedy-ass, gross-ass, grown-ass, **hard-ass, heavy-ass, horny-ass, hot-ass, hungry-ass, ignorant-ass, ill-ass, insane-ass, jest-ass, lame-ass, large-ass, **lazy-ass, little-ass, loud-ass, lousy-ass, old-ass, **mad-ass, mean-ass, messy-ass, nasty-ass, nerdy-ass, new-ass, nice-ass, normal-ass, nosy-ass, pale-ass, **pansy-ass, perfect-ass, petty-ass, phony-ass, plain-ass, powerful-ass, pretty-ass, prized-ass, **pussy-ass, quick-ass, **racist-ass, raggedy-ass, rainy-ass, random-ass, raw-ass, real-ass, red-ass, regular-ass, rich-ass, **rickety-ass, rude-ass, sad-ass, **scared-ass, scary-ass, **sexist-ass, sexy-ass, shady-ass, shaky-ass, sharp-ass, shiny-ass, shitty-ass, **sick-ass, **silly-ass, simple-ass, **sissy-ass, sketchy-ass, skinny-ass, slack-ass, slow-ass, **smart-ass, smooth-ass, smug-ass, snarky-ass, soft-ass, solid-ass, sorry-ass* ('pitiful'), *spicy-ass, spooky-ass, squeaky-ass, stale-ass, stanky-ass, stiff-ass, strange-ass, strong-ass, stubborn-ass, stupid-ass, thick-ass, thin-ass, thirsty-ass, tiny-ass, tired-ass, **tough-ass, toxic-ass, trashy-ass, **ugly-ass, wacky-ass, wavy-ass, weak-ass, weird-ass, wet-ass, whacky-ass, whiny-ass, white-ass, whoop-ass* ('aggression'), *wicked-ass, wide-ass, **wild-ass, wimpy-ass, **wise-ass, **woke-ass, wrinkled-ass, young-ass*

intensifier + resemblance

$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ass*$]_{Nj} \leftrightarrow$ [one who shows negative qualities of $SEM_i]_j$

$[[X]_{Ni}$ *-ass*$]_{Adjj} \leftrightarrow$ [showing negative qualities of $SEM_i]_j$

bitch-ass, boss-ass ('someone who is bossy'), *bozo-ass, bullshit-ass* ('that is full of lies'), *candy-ass* ('a coward'), *dirt-ass* ('a grubby-looking person'), *faggot-ass, fantasy-ass, fool-ass, fraud-ass* ('a dishonest person'), *head-ass* ('a foolish person'), *hipster-ass, idiot-ass, loser-ass, nerd-ass, piss-ass* ('very drunk'), *punk-ass, queer-ass, rat-ass* ('someone who is dirty'), *schmuck-ass, snitch-ass, sucker-ass, trash-ass, trick-ass* ('a trickster')

** also frequently used as nominalizations, e.g. a *badass* 'a troublemaker'.

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The book is a research monograph that reviews and revises the concept of linguistic pejoration, and explores the role of 15 suffixes and combining forms, such as *-ie*, *-o*, *-ard*, *-holic*, *-rrhea*, *-itis*, *-porn*, *-ish*, in the formation of English pejoratives. The examination of the inner structure of the resulting derivatives is based on an innovative methodology that encompasses the theories and approaches of Construction Morphology, Componential Analysis, and Morphopragmatics. Following the principles of this methodology, pejorative words collected from dictionaries and corpora (a total of approximately 950 words) are abstracted into generalizations (or constructional schemas) where structural and functional similarities are used to cognitively trace the ways in which negative (or derisive) meaning is connected with a specific form. Through this multifaceted methodology, my analysis showcases the fact that the universal properties of 'diminution', 'excess', 'resemblance', and 'metonymization' are what underlie the making of pejorative meaning. These generalizations, along with the schematic representations of formatives, can help linguists, or linguistics enthusiasts in general, to understand the conventions and intricacy of lexical pejoration.

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