

Hair Colour Stereotypes in Croatian Language Corpora

Lana Hudeček

Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, Zagreb, Croatia

ABSTRACT

The paper shows how hair colour stereotypes are reflected in two Croatian language corpora: the Croatian Language Corpus hrWaC and the Croatian Language Repository. Both were searched with the Sketch Engine corpus tool, utilising the word sketches function, which shows the information on the most common collocations in which a lemma occurs. Synonymous words denoting female and male persons with fair, brown, black, ginger, or red hair were explored. The following hypotheses were confirmed or partially confirmed: women are more often defined by hair colour than men; more synonyms denote a female person of a particular hair colour than a male person; some synonyms appear in contexts suggesting stereotypes more often than others; in the formation of words especially denoting female persons of particular hair colour, some word-formation models are used to form pejorative and depreciative words and (by onymisation) animal names; and the adjectives pravi ('real'), jedan ('one'), and običan ('ordinary') serve as focus markers and suggest expressions reflecting stereotypes. Based on the conducted collocation and word-formation analysis, it is concluded that the collocations and word-formation models associated with hair colour words suggest various extralinguistic data, including the social status of women.

Key words: stereotypes, hair colour, corpus, word sketches, linguistic anthropology

Introduction

Numerous sociological, psychological, and anthropological studies have been conducted on hair colour stereotypes, which generally show that such stereotypes are widespread and firmly entrenched. In a 1986 study by Clayson and Maughan, most subjects generally perceived fair-haired women as beautiful, pleasant, and extremely feminine and fair-haired men as strong, active, pleasant, successful, and good-looking. Red-haired women were seen as unattractive but competent and professional, and red-haired men as unattractive, less successful, and somewhat effeminate.¹ Many studies conducted in Europe and North America in the 21st century have confirmed the stereotype that men find fair-haired women²⁻⁴ the most attractive, while most women find dark-haired men more attractive.⁵ However, other studies have shown that men do not always find fair-haired women the most attractive and point out that taste is subject to fashion. Some studies have shown that brunettes are rated more attractive than blondes⁶ and that the willingness of men to help a woman does not depend on her hair colour⁷. Exploring the stereotype of low intelligence attributed to blondes in jokes (or

perhaps encouraged by such jokes), Price found that fair-haired women earned more than women with other hair colours⁸. Yet, another study⁹ found that in the United Kingdom, instead of the expected 100 fair-haired general directors, there were only 25 instead of the expected 5 as many as 20 were red-haired. Thus, the study confirmed the stereotype of red-haired persons as competent and professional. A study of stereotypes about red-haired people suggests that the stereotypes are as follows: hot temper, clownish, weirdness, Irishness, not capable of being in the sun, wild women, frail men, and intellectual superiority¹⁰. Comparable sociological, psychological, and anthropological studies primarily focus on fair and red/ginger hair. Notably, almost all mentioned scholars deal with hair colour in women, and only a few extend their research to men (most often regarding red/ginger hair). Various evolutionary and sociological causes¹⁰⁻¹² explain the tendency towards particular hair colours in certain periods and territories.

This paper is a continuation of the research conducted for the Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik* project within the research of dictionary stereotypes¹³. The aim of this

paper is to test, with the help of the corpus data, the following hypotheses:

1. Hair colour more frequently defines women than men.
2. More synonyms denote a female person of a particular hair colour than a male person.
3. Some synonyms appear more often in collocations/ contexts suggesting stereotyping.
4. Word-formation models in the formation of names for persons with a particular hair colour tend to be particularly prolific in forming pejorative and depreciative words and/or words denoting animals and in animal names.
5. The adjectives (focus markers) *jedan* ‘one’, *običan* ‘ordinary’, and *pravi* ‘real’ serve as focus markers and suggest that they are followed by words reflecting stereotypes and, based on the conducted corpus analyses (primarily the analyses of collocations and word-formation), to explore what information on the social status of women it implies.

Methods

The study is based on the Croatian Language Corpus – *hrWaC*¹⁴ and the Croatian Language Repository (*HJR*)¹⁵. Also, it takes into account the following Croatian monolingual dictionaries: *Hrvatski jezični portal* (Croatian Language Portal, HJP)¹⁶, Anič’s *Veliki rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Big Croatian Dictionary)¹⁷, *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik* (Croatian Encyclopaedic Dictionary, HER)¹⁸, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Dictionary of the Croatian Language, RHJ) edited by Jure Šonje¹⁹, *Školski rječnik* (School Dictionary, ŠR)²⁰, and *Veliki rječnik standardnog jezika* (Big Dictionary of the Standard Language, VRH)²¹. The corpora were searched using the Sketch Engine corpus tool, including word sketches for the Croatian language. Word sketches are a Sketch Engine tool that provides information on the most common collocations containing a specific word. The tool was created as part of the Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik* project.

A descriptive-analytical method was applied. The collected examples were analysed from the collocation and word-formation aspects.

Analysis of Words Denoting Hair Colour and Related Stereotypes

Fair-haired, brown-haired, black-haired, red-haired, ginger-haired

The first step in the study was to search the corpus by adjectives denoting hair colour (*plavokos* ‘fair-haired’, *smedokos* ‘brown-haired’, *crnokos* ‘black-haired’, *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’, *ridokos* ‘ginger-haired’) to determine whether they more often relate to a male or a female person. Table 1 displays the results obtained by searching *hrWaC*.

The adjectives *žutokos* ‘yellow-haired’ (with only 27 results) and *sjedokos* ‘grey-haired’, which are discussed in the conclusion, were not considered.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJECTIVES DENOTING HAIR COLOUR IN *hrWaC* BY THE GENDER OF THE PERSON TO WHOM THEY REFER

	M	F	M/F	Total
<i>plavokos</i> ‘fair-haired’	1364 39.5%	1986 57.5%	104 3%	3454 50.8%
<i>crvenokos</i> ‘red-haired’	122 6.5%	1668 88.5%	94 5%	1884 27.7%
<i>crnokos</i> ‘black-haired’	265 27%	671 68.5%	44 4.5%	980 14.4%
<i>smedokos</i> ‘brown-haired’	48 17.3%	216 77.7%	14 5%	278 4.1%
<i>ridokos</i> ‘ginger-haired’	63 31.3%	118 58.7%	20 10%	201 3%

The data in Table 1 show that the most common of the analyzed adjectives is *plavokos* ‘fair-haired’ (3,454 results, 50.8%), followed by the adjectives *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’ (1,884 results, 27.7%), *crnokos* ‘black-haired’ (980 results, 14.4%), *smedokos* ‘brown-haired’ (278 results, 4.1%), and *ridokos* ‘ginger-haired’ (201 results, 3%), confirming the conclusion derived from the literature that fair hair attracts the most attention, followed by red hair. They also indicate that in all cases the analysed adjectives more frequently refer to female than to male persons. This difference is most obvious for the adjective *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’ (88.5% F, 6.5% M, 5% M/F), followed by *smedokos* ‘brown-haired’, *crnokos* ‘black-haired’, *ridokos* ‘ginger-haired’ and *plavokos* ‘fair-haired’.

Searches by groups [*female/male person*] + *plave kose* ‘fair-haired’, *crvene kose* ‘red-haired’, etc., as well as *plav* ‘blond’, *rid* ‘ginger’, and *crn* ‘black’ + [*female/male person*] suggest similar distribution. Interestingly, the collocations *crven* ‘red’ + [*female/male person*] and *smeđ* ‘brown’ + [*female/male person*] are uncommon, and only a few such collocations relate to skin colour.

This confirms the first hypothesis: hair colour more frequently defines women than men.

In another word sketches search, nouns denoting a male/female person that most often appear with the adjectives *plavokos* ‘fair-haired’, *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’, etc., were collected and analyzed. The collected data suggest: 1. a generally positive (*ljepotan* ‘handsome’) or neutral (*dugokos* ‘long-haired’) attitude about the physical characteristics of male persons of a particular hair colour with the exception of ginger-haired male persons (*bogalj* ‘cripple’) and a generally positive attitude about the appearance of women of all hair colours (*ljepotica* ‘beauty’, *komad* ‘chick’, *slatkica* ‘cutie’); 2. a negative attitude about the character traits of ginger-haired men (*bedak* ‘fool’, *prgavac*

'grump'); 3. an ambiguous image of the character traits of red-haired/ginger-haired women moving in the range of *zavodnica* 'seductress', *sirena* 'siren' – *ratnica* 'woman warrior' – *vampirica* 'vampire', *vještica* 'witch'; 4. a difference between occupation/areas of activity of red-haired (*pjevač* 'singer', *maneken* 'fashion model') and ginger-haired men (*rastafarijanac* 'Rastafarian', *mesija* 'Messiah', *čarobnjak* 'sorcerer', *svećenik* 'priest'); 5. women are more often referred to by occupation or area of activity than men; and 6. with all adjectives, for women there is a broader range of occupations and areas of activity, the ones most often mentioned (with all hair colours) being: *glumica* 'actress', *pjevačica* 'singer', *manekenka* 'fashion model', *model* 'supermodel', and *starleta* 'starlet'.

Synonyms

From modern Croatian dictionaries¹⁶⁻²¹ and corpora, synonyms denoting female/male persons of particular hair colour were extracted and classified, as shown in Table 2. The table shows that more synonyms denote a female person of a particular hair colour than a male person: only a small number of recorded tokens included only stylistically marked nouns *riđan* 'a ginger-haired man' and *crvenko* 'a red-haired man' plus two synonymous pairs, one for 'a black-haired man' (*crnokosi*, *crni*) and one for 'a fair-haired man' (*plavušan*, *blondin*), while the corpus showed no results for a brown-haired man. The most significant number of synonyms denotes fair hair, confirming the second hypothesis: more synonyms denote a female person of a particular hair colour than a male person.

TABLE 2

SYNONYMS DENOTING FEMALE/MALE PERSONS OF A PARTICULAR HAIR COLOUR

fair-haired woman	<i>plavuša</i> , <i>plavka</i> , <i>plavojka</i> , <i>plavušica</i> , <i>plavokosa</i> , <i>plava</i> ; <i>blondina</i> , <i>blondinka</i> , <i>blonda</i> ; <i>bjondina</i> , <i>bjonda</i>
fair-haired man	<i>plavušan</i> , <i>blondin</i>
black-haired woman	<i>crnka</i> , <i>crnkulja</i> , <i>crnojka</i> , <i>crnokosa</i> , <i>crna</i> ; <i>garavuša</i>
black-haired man	<i>crnokosi</i> , <i>crni</i>
brown-haired woman	<i>smeđuša</i> , <i>brineta</i> , <i>smedokosa</i> , <i>smeda</i>
brown-haired man	–
ginger-haired woman	<i>riđokosa</i> , <i>riđa</i>
ginger-haired man	<i>riđan</i>
red-haired woman	<i>crvenka</i> , <i>crvenokosa</i>
red-haired man	<i>crvenko</i>

In the following text, the collocation potential of each synonym denoting a person of a particular hair colour and gender is analysed to see if they all reflect the same stereotypes, and examine the third hypothesis. For nouns with a low collocation potential (with few collocations in

word sketches), the data are supplemented by corpus examples suggesting hair colour stereotypes.

fair hair: *plavuša*, *plavka*, *plavojka*; *blondina*, *blondinka*, *bjondina*, *bjonda*; *plavokosa*, *plava* (for female persons); *plavušan*, *plavi*, *bjondin* (for male persons)

Research of the use of the noun *plavuša* 'blonde'¹³ shows that with the terms *plavokos* 'fair-haired' + [female/male person] adjectives appear that confirm a positive stereotype about fair-haired people: blondes are seen as beautiful, pleasant, and exceedingly feminine. Blond men are seen as strong, active, pleasant, successful, and good-looking¹.

Table 3 lists the most common adjectives with nouns denoting a fair-haired female person. The data from Table 3 show that the stereotype of fair-haired women as physically desirable is most explicitly preserved in the word *plavuša*, and to a lesser extent, in other synonyms. The stereotype of low intelligence is also contained in the expression *plavuša*, which is also the most explicitly expressed – *glupa* 'stupid', *priglupa* 'gawky', and *praznoglava* 'empty-headed'. Clearly, these two stereotypes have their source in blonde jokes and are contained in the expression *plavuša* to a much greater extent than in other words denoting a fair-haired woman. Thus, for example, *zanosna plavuša* 'an enchanting blonde' also appears in *VRH*.

They can also be found in other synonyms but much less frequently. For example, in older texts the word *plavka* reflects a positive stereotype about beauty and tenderness (*veoma krasna plavka* 'a very beautiful blonde'; *nježna plavka* 'a gentle blonde'), while in modern texts, it is sometimes used disparagingly, for example, *plavka s kiki-cama ne pjeva najbolje nego joj je tata donator* 'the blonde with ponytails is not the best singer, but her dad is her sponsor', and only occasionally in blonde jokes, in which usually the noun *plavuša* prevails: *Šta je napravila plavka da bi si priuštila video?* 'What did a blonde do to afford a video?'; *Dvije plavke na parkingu pokušavaju otvoriti vrata svog mercedesa vješalicom*. 'Two blondes in a parking lot were trying to unlock the door of their Mercedes with a coat hanger.' In the corpora, there are no examples of the word *plavojka* in jokes; nevertheless, its use is also often depreciative: *razuzdana plavojka s po grama mozga* 'a debauched pea-brained blonde'; *uloge glupavih plavojka na filmu, a pokatkad i u životu* 'the roles of stupid blondes in movies, and sometimes also in life'.

Table 4 shows that the noun *plavušan* contains a stereotype of increased, sometimes an excessive concern for physical appearance. The noun is most often disparaging¹³. The low intelligence stereotype, implied by the word *plavuša* 'blonde', is not attested.

black hair: *crnka*, *crnkulja*, *crnojka*, *garavuša*, *crnokosa*, *crna* (for female persons); *crnokosi*, *crni* (for male persons)

Adjectives with which (according to word sketches data) the expression *crnokosa* 'black-haired' + [female/male person] appears most often generally refer to beautiful appearance: *dugonoga* 'long-legged', *nasmijana* 'smiling', *vitka* 'slender', *zgodna* 'handsome', *stasita* 'shapely',

TABLE 3

THE MOST COMMON ADJECTIVES OCCURRING WITH NOUNS DENOTING A FAIR-HAIRED FEMALE PERSON

<i>plavuša</i> (12,285)	<i>plavka*</i> (56)	<i>plavojka</i> (229)	<i>blondina</i> (74)	<i>blondinka</i> (32)	<i>bjondina**</i> (100)	<i>bjonda</i> (76)
<i>prsata</i> 'busty', <i>zanosna</i> 'enchanting', <i>sisata</i> 'bosomy', <i>platinasta</i> 'platinum', <i>seksi</i> 'sexy', <i>dugokosa</i> 'long-haired', <i>dugonoga</i> 'long-legged', <i>silikonska</i> 'silicone', <i>fatalna</i> 'fatal', <i>atraktivna</i> 'attractive', <i>bujna</i> 'opulent', <i>zamamna</i> 'enticing', <i>pohotna</i> 'lustful', <i>rasna</i> 'thoroughbred'	<i>lijepa</i> 'beautiful', <i>crnooka</i> 'black-eyed', <i>stasita</i> 'shapely', <i>tajanstvena</i> 'secretive', <i>krasna</i> 'stunning', <i>nježna</i> 'gentle'	<i>bjeloputa</i> 'pale-skinned', <i>sisata</i> 'bosomy', <i>dugokosa</i> 'long-haired', <i>rumena</i> 'rosy-cheeked', <i>postara</i> 'oldish', <i>kršna</i> 'sturdy', <i>zmotana</i> 'confused', <i>nabusita</i> 'irascible', <i>goropadna</i> 'truculent', <i>prpošna</i> 'joyful', <i>glupava</i> 'foolish'	<i>prezgodna</i> 'too cute', <i>plavooka</i> 'blue-eyed', <i>ljepušasta</i> 'comely', <i>platinasta</i> 'platinum', <i>zanosna</i> 'enchanting', <i>fatalna</i> 'fatal', <i>barokna</i> 'baroque', <i>mitska</i> 'mythic', <i>bujna</i> 'opulent', <i>praznoglava</i> 'empty-headed', <i>luckasta</i> 'silly'	<i>ofarbana</i> 'dyed', <i>obdarena</i> 'well-endowed', <i>postara</i> 'oldish', <i>rasna</i> 'thoroughbred', <i>vatrena</i> 'fiery'	<i>zgodna</i> 'handsome', <i>šesna</i> 'lovely', <i>lipa</i> 'good-looking', <i>talentirana</i> 'talented'	

* Many results refer to the title of the novel *Liepa/Lijepa plavka* 'Beautiful Blonde'.

** Many results refer to *Goge Bjondina*, a satirical character.

prelijepa 'gorgeous', *predivna* 'delightful'; *ljepuškast* 'nice-looking', *skladno građen* 'well-proportioned', *mršav* 'skinny', *blijed* 'pale', *krasan* 'stunning', *zgodan* 'handsome', *crnook* 'black-eyed' and *naočit* 'appealing'. A search for *crnokos* 'black-haired' + [male person] showed adjectives that refer to character: *misteriozan* 'mysterious', *markantan* 'striking', *tajanstven* 'secretive', and *zamišljen* 'pensive'.

TABLE 4

THE MOST COMMON ADJECTIVES OCCURRING WITH NOUNS DENOTING A FAIR-HAIRED MALE PERSON

<i>plavušan</i> (118)	<i>bjondin</i> (2)
<i>nakvarcan</i> 'solarium-tanned', <i>zgođušan</i> 'pretty cute', <i>geliran</i> 'gelled', <i>natapiran</i> 'backcombed', <i>tanašan</i> 'slim', <i>plavook</i> 'blue-eyed', <i>ljepuškast</i> 'nice-looking', <i>dugokos</i> 'long-haired', <i>nabildan</i> 'buffed'	no adjectives

Of the listed nouns denoting a black-haired woman, only the noun *crnka* is attested in the corpora. The noun *crnkulja* is attested in Babić's *Tvorba riječi u hrvatskom jeziku*²², *crnojka* in *HJP*¹⁶ with the label *lokal.* 'regional' and in *VRH*²¹ with the label *razg.* 'colloquial'. The noun *garavuša*, which denotes a female person with dark hair, dark skin, and dark eyes, is attested only in songs.

The noun *crnka* shows the stereotype of a striking, mysterious, hot-tempered woman much more than the noun *crnokosa* 'black-haired' [female person], which does not have adjectives referring to character traits in typical collocations. Along with the stereotypes that show the most common collocations that include the term *crnokos* 'black-haired' + [male person], the collocation potential of the word *crnka* reflects the stereotype of the striking, mysterious, and hot-tempered nature of black-haired persons regardless of their gender.

Black-haired men are also denoted by adjectives in the nominal function *crnokosi*, *crni*, for example *Crnokosi je duboko uzdahnuo*. 'The black-haired sighed deeply.'; *Nakit – odgovorio je crnokosi*. 'Jewellery – replied the black-haired.'; and *Je li prokleti crnokosi pogriješio?* 'Was the damn black-haired wrong?' They are primarily found in conversation.

Parallel word sketches for the nouns *plavuša* 'blonde' (12,285) and *crnka* 'a black-haired woman' (2,074) in *hr-WaC* show significantly different stereotyping: *plavuša* 'blonde' is *prsata* 'busty' (132 : 6), *sisata* 'bosomy' (99 : 0), *platinasta* 'platinum' (114 : 0); *crnka* 'a black-haired woman' is *vatrena* 'fiery' (10 : 22) and *rasna* 'thoroughbred' (40 : 48); both are *atraktivne* 'attractive' (213 : 92), and *zanosne* 'enchanting' (157 : 36). The noun *crnka* 'a black-haired female person' is less commonly associated with an attribute than the noun *plavuša* 'a fair-haired female person'.

TABLE 5

ADJECTIVES MOST FREQUENTLY APPEARING WITH THE NOUN *CRNKA* 'BLACK-HAIRED WOMAN'

<i>crnka</i> 2074	<i>zanosna</i> 'enchanting', <i>zamamna</i> 'enticing', <i>rasna</i> 'thoroughbred', <i>prsata</i> 'busty' <i>dugokosa</i> 'long-haired', <i>vitka</i> 'slender', <i>atraktivna</i> 'attractive', <i>zgodna</i> 'handsome', <i>tamnoputa</i> 'dark-skinned', <i>seksi</i> 'sexy'
	<i>fatalna</i> 'fatal', <i>markantna</i> 'striking', <i>misteriozna</i> 'mysterious', <i>temperamentna</i> 'hot-tempered', <i>vatrena</i> 'fiery'

brown hair: *brineta*, *smeđuša*, *smeđa*

A relatively small number of adjectives are coordinated with the adjective *smedokosa* 'brown-haired' denoting a female person: *bljedolika* 'pale-faced', *bucmasta* 'chubby', *vitka* 'slender', *prelijepa* 'gorgeous', *zgodna* 'handsome', *čudesna* 'wonderful', *predivna* 'delightful', *ošišana* 'chopped', and *privlačna* 'alluring'. It is interesting that *smedokos* 'brown-haired' in *VRH*²¹ is illustrated with the sentence: *Muškarci najviše vole smeđokose djevojke*. 'Men like brown-haired girls the most.', while other words denoting hair are illustrated only by collocations without sentences, such as *plavokosa djevojka* 'a fair-haired girl'; *plavokosi dječak* 'a fair-haired boy'; *crnokosa djevojka* 'a black-haired girl'; *crvenokosa ljepotica* 'a red-haired beauty'; and *riđokosa djevojčica* 'a ginger-haired little girl'.

Brineta and the rare *smeđuša* most often appear in collocations with adjectives in Table 6. In the corpora, *brineta* 'brunette' is described according to the general stereotype of a stable, rational person, e.g., *Brinete su doživljene kao promišljene i stidljive osobe. One imaju prednosti kada su u pitanju kuhinja, održavanje kuće, raspoređivanje novca*. 'Brunettes are perceived as thoughtful and shy persons. They have advantages when it comes to cooking, housekeeping, household budgeting.'; and *Brinete su vrlo lijepe i pametne žene, pa ako želite miran i uobičajen život, ofarbate se u smeđe*. 'Brunettes are very beautiful and smart women, so if you want a quiet and normal life, dye your hair brown.' Nevertheless, the most common collocations in which the noun *brineta* is found are very similar to those in which the noun *crnka* appears. The noun *smeđuša* occurs with a few adjectives, often in contexts where a woman speaks about herself. Parallel word sketches indicate that usually the same attributes are found with *crnka* (2074) and *brineta* (2345), but generally they occur more frequently with *crnka* (*rasna* 'thoroughbred' 48 : 10, *vatrena* 'fiery' 22 : 8, *fatalna* 'fatal' 16 : 9, *zgodna* 'handsome' 51 : 38, *misteriozna* 'mysterious' 12 : 10), less often with *brineta* (*zanosna* 'enchanting' 36 : 43, *atraktivna* 'attractive' 92 : 126), and that some adjectives occurring with *crnka* do not occur with *brineta* in the corpora (*markantna* 'striking', *temperamentna* 'hot-tempered').

red hair: *crvenka*, *crvenko*

Although it is impossible to distinguish between red and ginger hair colours (in the corpora sometimes used as synonyms, and sometimes with the adjective *riđ* 'ginger' denoting hair of orange, copper shades), they are described

TABLE 6

THE MOST COMMON ADJECTIVES WITH THE NOUNS *BRINETA* AND *SMEĐUŠA*

<i>brineta</i> (2,345)	<i>zanosna</i> 'enchanting', <i>dugokosa</i> 'long-haired', <i>prsata</i> 'busty', <i>dugonoga</i> 'long-legged', <i>plavooka</i> 'blue-eyed', <i>atraktivna</i> 'attractive', <i>zamamna</i> 'enticing', <i>vitka</i> 'slender', <i>kovrčava</i> 'curly', <i>fatalna</i> 'fatal', <i>seksipilna</i> 'hot', <i>zgodna</i> 'handsome', <i>tamnoputa</i> 'dark-skinned', <i>rasna</i> 'thoroughbred', <i>šarmantna</i> 'charming', <i>prelijepa</i> 'gorgeous', <i>krhka</i> 'fragile', <i>raskošna</i> 'luxurious', <i>prekrasna</i> 'adorable', <i>slatka</i> 'sweet', <i>x-godišnja</i> 'x-year-old', <i>predivna</i> 'delightful'
	<i>tajanstvena</i> 'secretive', <i>misteriozna</i> 'mysterious', <i>vatrena</i> 'fiery', <i>topla</i> 'warm'
<i>smeđuša</i> (6)	<i>prirodna</i> 'natural', <i>tamna</i> 'dark'

in two separate chapters. In the corpora, the noun *crvenka* occurred only three times in colloquial/slang use: *Pa čujete, nekada se netko zaljubi, zavoli neku tamo brinetu, crvenku, plavušu...* 'Well, you know, sometimes someone falls in love with or gets to like a brunette, a redhead, a blonde ...'; *Ček samo kad se u Zagreb dovlčem sa svojom crvenkom*. 'Just you wait until I come to Zagreb with my redhead girl'; *Plavojke, crнке, brinete, crvenke, živile vi meni*. 'Here's to the blondes, black-haired women, brunettes, redheads.'; *Al' valjda misle kad je bila crvenka, sad je i ona plavojka*. 'I guess they think when she was a redhead, now she's a blonde, too.'

According to *RHJ*¹⁹ and *VRH*²¹, the entry *crvenko* also means 'a red-haired man', but this noun was not attested in the corpora. Adjectives with which, according to word sketches, the expression *crvenokosa* 'red-haired' + [female person] appears most frequently are (referring to physical traits): *pogrbljena* 'hunched-over', *blijeda* 'pale', *premorena* 'exhausted', *tanašna* 'slim', *dugokosa* 'long-haired', *kovrčava* 'curly', *bujna* 'opulent', *sujetloputa* 'fair-skinned', *pjegava* 'freckled', *vitka* 'slender', *krupna* 'large', *predivna* 'delightful', *atraktivna* 'attractive', and *očaravajuća* 'entrancing'; (referring to character traits): *ekscentrična* 'eccentric', *enigmatična* 'enigmatic', *vrckava* 'playful', *nastrana* 'perverse', *fatalna* 'fatal', *misteriozna* 'mysterious', *pokvarena* 'corrupt', and *vatrena* 'fiery', confirming the double stereotyping of red-haired women. It is reflected also in the examples from the corpora: *crvenokose žene iznimno su senzualne, crvenokose se žene često doimaju tajanstvenim i vilenjačkima* 'red-haired women are exceptionally sensual, red-haired women often seem mysterious and elven', but also *crvenokose žene su u srednjem vijeku palili kao vještice* 'red-haired women were burned as witches in the Middle Ages', and *stereotip o zločestim, pokvarenim i katkad nastranim crvenkosim ženama* 'the stereotype of wicked, corrupt and sometimes perverse redheads', also implying the stereotypes about their specific biological characteristics: *imaju povećan rizik roditi bebū prevelike težine, dulje krvare, imaju manje kose, imaju manju razinu antistresnih hormona* 'they have an increased risk of giving birth to an overweight baby, bleed longer, have less hair, have lower levels of anti-stress hormones'.

The expressions with the structure *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’ + [male person] are relatively rare, and the only adjective that appears to be more common – *vitak* ‘slender’ – cannot be considered typical. Examples from the corpora confirm the negative stereotype about red-haired men, e.g., *pri odabiru donatora sperme žene eliminiraju crvenokose muškarce* ‘women eliminate red-haired men when choosing a sperm donor’; *crvenokosi muškarci nisu među seks-ikonama* ‘red-haired men are not among sex icons’; *crvenokosi muškarci nisu privlačni ženama, manje su inteligentni, nervozniji i manje sigurni u sebe* ‘red-haired men are not attractive to women, they are less intelligent, more nervous and less self-confident’; and *dobro je da u goste prvi dođe muškarac, ali ne crvenokos ni plavokos jer to znači nesreću* ‘it is good that the first visitor is a man, but he should not be red-haired or fair-haired because it brings bad luck’; however, there are also many results that are mostly related to the world of fashion or show business, which are not in line with this stereotype, for example *crvena kosa dominantan je dio muškog izgleda* ‘red hair is a dominant part of the masculine look’; *svojom modernom frizurom... uspjeli su pokazati klasičnu i divlju stranu crvenokosih muškaraca* ‘with their modern hairstyle... they managed to show the classic and wild side of red-haired men’; and *tanji okviri najbolje pristaju plavokosim i crvenokosim muškarcima* ‘thinner frames best look on fair-haired and red-haired men’.

ginger hair: *riđa, riđokosa; ridan*

In the reviewed corpora and sources, no nouns denote a ginger-haired woman. Still, there are numerous examples of the substantival use of adjectives *riđa* and *riđokosa* (for a ginger-haired woman), such as *vatrena riđokosa poznata po tv-seriji Momci s Madisona* ‘the fiery ginger-haired woman known from the TV series *Mad Man*’; *na scenu stupe zanosne i nage plavuše, crнке, riđokose itd.* ‘on the scene stepped some enchanting and naked blondes, brunettes, ginger-haired women, etc.’; *Ma dobra je cura dobra cura može bit dobra plavuša ili crnka ili riđa* ‘Well, a good-looking girl is a good-looking, she can be a good-looking blonde or brunette or ginger’; and *Brineta, plavuša, riđa ... Svejedno!* ‘Brunette, blonde, ginger-haired ... It doesn't matter!’

Examples from the corpora reflect the double stereotyping of ginger-haired women, from negative: *Zato su babe prije gledale koja je "snaša" zdravija (široki kukovi, da je "malo ima", da nije riđa...)*. ‘That’s why, in the past, elderly women used to access which “eligible maid” was healthier (wide hips, that she’s a bit plump, that she is not ginger-haired ...)’; *ova bapska vještica usto ima i riđu kosu* ‘what is more, the sorceress vixen has ginger hair’, emphatically positive, for example, *Sjećam se da mi je upravo on stvorio arhetip žene – krasotice: to je u pravilu bila riđokosa dama zelenih očiju*. ‘I recall it was him to impress upon me the archetype of female beauty: typically a green-eyed ginger-haired woman.’; and *Tamaru volim, premda se ne čini tako zbog mojih upadica, zato što ima riđu kosu*. ‘I love Tamara, although my comments might suggest the opposite because she has ginger hair.’, to negative when it comes to appearance and positive when it

comes to intelligence, for example, *Neugledna, pjegava riđokosa sa sisama veličine prosječnog plika nakon ugriza komarca, ali sa IQ-om 155*. ‘Inconspicuous, freckled, ginger-haired, with tits the size of an average mosquito bite swellings, but an IQ of 155.’ The stereotype of ginger-haired men is negative: *čudak s dugom riđom kosom* ‘a weirdo with long ginger hair’, and *neuredan riđ muškarac* ‘a sloppy ginger-haired man’; however, the number of results is small. The negative stereotype in the corpora is most clearly recognized in sentences referring to ginger-haired people regardless of their gender.

In the *HJR*, *ridan* meaning ‘a ginger-haired male person’ was attested in only one instance: *Toga sam čovjeka negdje vidio u svom životu – reče malen, na seljačku odjeven ridan svomu susjedu u kolu pred slijepcem*. ‘I have seen this man before – said the short ginger-haired man dressed as a peasant to the man dancing next to him in a wheel formed in front of the blind fiddle-player.’ and in four instances in *hrWaC*. These few instances suggest negative stereotyping of ginger-haired men: *malen, na seljačku odjeven ridan* ‘a short ginger-haired man dressed as a peasant’; *malen, na seljačku odjeven ridan* ‘a gaunt, short ginger-haired man with a pointed nose’; *mali seljak ridan* ‘a short ginger-haired peasant’; *A tog mi se riđana čuvaj, jer je hulja i nečovjek*. ‘And beware of that ginger-haired man because he is a rogue and a scoundrel.’

An analysis of synonyms suggests that the third hypothesis is only partially confirmed. A comprehensive explanation can be found in conclusion.

Word-Formation Analysis

This chapter provides an overview of the formation of nouns denoting people of particular hair colour. The following word-formation models for nouns denoting people with a particular hair colour were confirmed:

suffixation + adjectival stem denoting colour (Table 7)

substantivisation: *plavokosa, plava, crnokosa, crna, crni, smeđa, riđa, crvena*

masculine noun formed from the feminine noun: *plavuša – plavušan*

diminutivisation: *plavuša – plavušica, crnka – crnkica, brineta – brinetica*

The nouns denoting fair-haired persons (*blondina, blondinka, blonda, bjondina; blondin*) and the noun for a brown-haired woman *brineta* originate from German or Italian and are phonologically and morphologically adapted to the Croatian language.

Formation from adjectives denoting colour

-uša: *plavuša, smeđuša, garavuša*

The suffix *-uša* is used to form the nouns *plavuša, smeđuša, garavuša*. The noun *smeđuša* has been attested in only a few instances. Regardless of the stem to which it is added (noun, adjective, or verb), the suffix has a de-

TABLE 7

SUFFIXES ADDED TO ADJECTIVAL STEMS TO DENOTE PEOPLE OF A PARTICULAR HAIR COLOUR

-uša	plavuša, garavuša*, smeđuša
-ojka	plavojka, crnojka
-ulja	crnkulja
-ka	crnka, plavka, crvenka
-an	riđan
-ko	crvenko

rogatory meaning (from nouns: *divljakuša* ‘a savage woman’, *prostakuša* ‘a coarse woman’, *seljakuša* ‘a common woman’; *oficiruša* ‘a military spouse’, *soldatuša* ‘a soldier’s wife’; from verbs: *blebetuša* ‘a bigmouthed woman’, *nami-guša* ‘minx’). Derivatives formed with the suffix *-uša* added to adjectives denoting colours also denote animals^{23,24}: *mrkuša* ‘a dark cow’, *riđuša* ‘a ginger cow’, *šarenuša* ‘a two-tone cow’²², the same model is used to form nouns denoting a woman with fair, brown, or black hair.

-ka: *crnka, plavka, crvenka*

The word-formation model colour + *-ka* is applied to form nouns that are often polysemous, e.g., *plavka* 1. a fair-haired woman, 2. a light-coloured cow, 3. a grapevine; and *crvenka* 1. a fish, 2. a disease, 3. a woman. Many nouns in *-ka* denote animals (*bijelka* for a hen, a fish, *vranka* for a mare)²⁵. These nouns often become names of animals, toys, etc., such as *kujica Plavka* ‘female dog Plavka’, *plišana zečica Plavka* ‘plush bunny Plavka’^{23,25}. In the following example, all cows’ names are derived from adjectives that denote colours by adding the suffix *-ka*: *Te lijepe, zdrave kravice (...) Rumenka i Plavka, i Riđanka i Bijelka, i Crnka i kako se već sve zvuha*. ‘Those beautiful, healthy cows (...) Rumenka and Plavka, and Riđanka and Bijelka, and Crnka, and whatever they were called.’ (*rumen* ‘red’, *plav* ‘blond’, *riđ* ‘ginger’, *bijel* ‘white’, *crn* ‘black’).

-ojka: *plavojka, crnojka*

The suffix *-ojka* in adjective substantivization appears, for example, in *mladojka* ‘a young woman’ or *ljepojka* ‘beauty’. The words formed by adding this suffix are often used in deprecatory contexts (as is the case with the noun *plavojka* ‘blonde’: *prpošna i zabave željna plavojka za kojom se okreću svi bauštelci* ‘a joyful and fun-loving blonde who makes all construction workers turn their heads after her’, *razuzdana plavojka s po grama mozga* ‘a debauched pea-brained blonde’) or, like the word *ledojka* ‘a cold woman’, have a pejorative meaning. The corpus shows that the noun *plavojka* can denote an animal: *skida jaram s plavojke i riđana* ‘he removed the yoke from the light-coloured cow and the ginger steer’^{23,25}.

-an: *riđan*

The noun *riđan* is formed from an adjective denoting colour and the suffix *-an*. It denotes a male person with ginger hair and a male animal with of reddish, ginger

colour (corpora results, *HJP*)^{23,25}. From 200 examples in *hrWaC*, four are examples for a ginger-haired man, and there are several instances of the surname and nickname *Riđan*, while the other results indicate horse names/nouns denoting horses. As a noun denoting a man, it appears in negatively intoned contexts.

-ko: *crvenko*

The noun *crvenko* is formed from the adjective denoting colour and the suffix *-ko*. The same model is also applied in the formation of the nouns *bijelko, sivko, vranko*²³⁻²⁵, which denote animals of a particular colour (white, grey, and black, respectively). In the masculine/feminine pair *crvenko – crvenka* it is impossible to answer which noun is derived from the other. Since both are used extremely rarely to denote hair colour, their formation from the stem *crven* ‘red’ independently is suggested.

substantivisation: *plavokosi, plavi*, etc.

Often the adjective denoting hair colour is used without a noun, for example *Puno je izrečenog o plavušama i crvenokosim, kao i o brinetama i smeđokosima*. ‘A lot has been said about the blondes and the red-haired, as well as about the brunettes and the brown-haired.’; *Hit krpica za nježne smeđokose je baloner*. ‘A must-have item of clothing for the gentle brown-haired woman is a trench coat’; *Postoje stereotipi glupih plavuša, pohotnih riđokosih itd*. ‘There are stereotypes of stupid blondes, lustful redheads, etc.’; *Od plavuše nastane čudesna crnokosa*. ‘The blonde turned into a wonderful black-haired woman.’; and *Zašto su u romanima zle uloge uvijek bile rezervirane za crvenokose, a ljubav su odnosile plavokose?* ‘Why have the evil roles in novels always been reserved for the red-haired, and love taken by the blondes?’ In these examples, the adjective refers to men: *Crnokosi je duboko uzdahnuo*. ‘The black-haired man sighed deeply.’ and *Volim i crne i plave*. ‘I love both the black-haired and the blond men.’

The substantivization of adjectives denoting colour is common in animal names; thus, the adjective *riđa* ‘ginger’ is not often used as an animal name (of a cow or a mare)^{23,25}, e.g., *Prolaznici su u utorak mogli vidjeti nesvakidašnji prizor: tri mlade kobile, Zoru, Bunju i Riđu, kako na leđima nose cjepanice*. ‘Passers-by were able to see an unusual sight on Tuesday: three young mares, Zora, Bunja and Rida, carrying logs on their backs.’; and *Šampionskim grlom izložbe proglašena je kobila RIDA*. ‘The mare RIDA was declared the champion of the exhibition.’ It also appears as a nickname: *Ime joj bilo Lea, a svi su je naravno zvali Riđa*. ‘Her name was Lea, but everyone, of course, called her Rida.’ and *Mladić kojeg su zvali Riđi počinio je samoubojstvo i ostavio svoje najbliže u potpunom očaju*. ‘A young man called Ridi committed suicide and left his loved ones in utter despair.’ The nicknames *Crni* ‘Black’ and *Žuti* ‘Yellow’ are also formed by substantivization of adjectives denoting hair colour: *To se pokazalo pametnom odlukom – kaže Simović, poznat pod nadimkom Crni*. ‘This proved to be a smart decision – says Simović, known by the nickname Crni.’ and *Svi ga u kvartu znaju*

pod nadimkom Žuti. ‘Everyone in the neighbourhood knows him by the nickname Žuti.’

Word-formation from nouns

formation of a masculine noun: *plavušan*

Formation of a masculine noun from a feminine noun was attested only in the example *plavušan*. Although the typical word-formation model is derivation of the feminine noun from the masculine noun, the noun *plavušan* was derived from the feminine *plavuša*. This information fits into the picture that hair colour is more often used to denote women than men.

diminutization: *plavušica*, *crnkica*, *brinetica*

Results for *crnkica* ‘a little black-haired woman’ and *brinetica* ‘a little brunette’ indicate a hypocoristic (*slatka mala brinetica* ‘a cute little brunette’; *moja mamica je brinetica* ‘my mummy is a little brunette’; *tanahna crnkica* ‘a small little black-haired woman’). Other than as a hypocoristic with the adjectives *smišna* ‘cute’, *simpa* ‘nice’, and *zgodušna* ‘pretty cute’, the noun *plavušica* has been attested in extremely disparaging contexts (*spoblajhana* ‘bleached’, *odeblja* ‘fat’, *celulitna* ‘dimpled’, *zagorena* ‘burned’, *bezuba* ‘toothless’, *koitalna* ‘coital’, *psihopatska* ‘psychopathic’).

The fourth hypothesis is confirmed, that word-formation models in the formation of words denoting persons with a particular hair colour tend to be particularly prolific in forming pejorative and depreciative nouns, and/or words denoting animals and animal names. The fact that in the only female/male pair *plavuša – plavušan*, the masculine noun was derived from the feminine noun further strengthens the first hypothesis, confirming that hair colour more frequently defines women than men.

Pravi ‘real’, običan ‘ordinary’, and jedan ‘one’ as stereotype signifiers

With nouns denoting hair colour, the adjective *pravi* ‘real’ appears in two meanings: 1. ‘natural’ indicating that the hair colour is natural, and 2. ‘which corresponds to all assumed characteristics of a person of a particular hair colour, that is which largely or completely corresponds to the stereotype about them’. *Prava plavuša* ‘a real blonde’ means both, mostly the latter; it is interesting that women often say this about themselves, and that it refers to the stereotype of low intelligence: *s dvije različite cipele, kao prava plavuša* ‘with two different shoes, like a real blonde’; *prava plavuša, blentava do jaja* ‘a real blonde, dumb as hell’ and *danas sam prava plavuša, izgubljena kao burek u svemiru* ‘today I am a real blonde, lost like a burek in space’.¹³ In addition to the noun *plavuša* ‘blonde’, the focus markers *obična* ‘ordinary’ and *jedna* ‘one’, in Croatian often postpositional, indicate the use of the noun *plavuša* ‘blonde’ reflecting the stereotype mentioned above: *prepa-metni (ste) za mene, ja sam samo jedna obična plavuša* ‘you’re too smart for me, I’m just an ordinary blonde’ and *ja, plavuša jedna ženska, pa što bih ja uopće mislila o tako važnoj muškoj stvari* ‘how could I, a blonde female, even

think of such an important guy thing’. However, these focus markers are not found in the context of any other terms mentioned in this paper. In addition to a relatively large number of results with the noun *plavuša* ‘blonde’, the focus marker *prava* ‘real’ was attested only with the noun *plavojka* ‘blonde’: *Danas sam išla vadit zub umnjak, sad bum manje umna – ma prava plavojka*. ‘Today I had my wisdom tooth extracted; now I’ll be less wise – like a real blonde.’ In *prava crnka* ‘a real brunette’, *prava ridokosa* ‘a real ginger-haired’, and *prava crvenokosa* ‘a real red-head’ it just means ‘natural’.

Conclusion

The research conducted in this paper confirmed the conclusion of many studies (see the *Introduction*) that fair and ginger/red hair attract the most attention. Of the observed adjectives denoting hair colour, the most common adjective is *plavokos* ‘fair-haired’ (3454 results, 50.8%), followed by the adjective *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’ (1884 results, 27.7%), *crnokos* ‘black-haired’ (980 results, 14.4%), *smedokos* ‘brown-haired’ (278 results, 4.1%) and *ridokos* ‘ginger-haired’ (201 results, 3%).

1. The first hypothesis, that hair colour more frequently defines women than men, was confirmed: *crvenokos* ‘red-haired’ (88.5% F, 6.5% M, 5% M/F), *smedokos* ‘brown-haired’ (77.7% F, 17.3% M, 5% M/F), *crnokos* ‘black-haired’ (68.5% F, 27% M, 4.5% M/F), *ridokos* ‘ginger-haired’ (58.7% F, 31.3% M, 19% M/F), and *plavokos* ‘fair-haired’ (57.5% F, 39.5% M, 3% M/F); the fact that in the only feminine/masculine pair, *plavuša – plavušan*, the masculine noun derived from the feminine noun additionally strengthens the first hypothesis and confirms that women are more frequently and more commonly denoted by their hair colour than men.
2. The second hypothesis, that more synonyms denote a female person of particular hair colour than a male person was confirmed.
3. The third hypothesis was confirmed partially; the stereotype of a fair-haired female person as exceptionally physically attractive and of low intelligence is closely associated with the word *plavuša* ‘blonde’; the stereotype of a black-haired female person as secretive and mysterious is more strongly implied in the word *crnka* ‘a black-haired woman’ than in the noun *crnokosa* ‘black-haired’ + [female person]; and contrary to expectations, *crnka* ‘a black-haired woman’ and *brineta* ‘brunette’ occur with the same most common adjectives. However, despite different stereotypes associated with brown-haired and black-haired people, the collocation potential of the noun *brineta* ‘brunette’ comes close to that of the noun *crnka* ‘a black-haired woman’; the hypothesis could not be verified for people with red and ginger hair because there are no nouns denoting them, or such nouns (*crvenka*, *crvenko*) are attested only in a few

instances. However, the negative stereotyping of male persons is notably more manifest with the signifiers *rid/ridokos* 'ginger/ginger-haired'.

4. The fourth hypothesis, that formation models for denoting persons with a particular hair colour tend to be particularly prolific in the formation of pejorative and depreciative words, and/or words denoting animals and animal names, was confirmed.
5. The fifth hypothesis was confirmed partially: the adjectives (focus markers) *jedan* 'one', *običan* 'ordinary', and *pravi* 'real' proved to suggest expressions reflecting stereotypes only in the case of the nouns *plavuša* 'a blonde woman' and (in one instance) *plavojka*; in the expressions *prava crnka* 'a real brunette', *prava ridokosa* 'a real ginger-head', *prava crvenokosa* 'a real redhead', etc., *prava* 'real' means 'natural'.

Regardless of the hair colour in question, it is usually mentioned in the context of female desirability. This fact, along with the confirmed existence of longer synonyms for

women of a particular hair colour than for men of particular hair colour, also speaks of the woman's role in society. If we look at the adjective *sjedokos* 'grey-haired' in this context, the most common nouns refer to men: *bradonja* 'bearded man', *debeljko* 'fat man', *djedica* 'granddaddy', *djedo* 'grandpa', *novinarčić* 'a lousy reporter', *očalinko* 'glasses', *poet* 'poet', *starčić* 'little old man', *bonvivan* 'bon vivant', and *nametljivac* 'meddler'; for women: *gospodična* 'miss', *bakica* 'granny', *naiuka* 'naïve woman', and *umirovljenica* 'retired woman'. It is also interesting that there are no nouns denoting a person with grey hair. The nouns mentioned above suggest that expressions with *sjedokos* 'grey-haired' are often used to deprecate and ridicule, further touching upon the problem of old-age stereotypes and the perception of elderly people in society.

Acknowledgements

This paper is the result of the work on the projects Male and female in the Croatian language and Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik*.

REFERENCES

1. CLAYSON DE, MAUGHAN MRC, Psychological Reports, 59 (1986) 811. — 2. GUÉGUEN N, Psychological Studies, 57 (2015) 369. doi: 10.1080/10911359.2014.976697. — 3. GUÉGUEN N, LAMY L, Perceptual and Motor Skills, 109 (2009) 941. doi: 10.2466/pms.109.3.941-948. — 4. LYNN M, Archives of Sexual Behavior, 38 (2009) 737. doi: 10.1007/s10508-008-9379-0. — 5. FEINMAN S, GILL GW, Journal of Social Psychology, 105 (1978) 43. — 6. SWAMI V, FURNHAM A, JOSHI K, Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 49 (2008) 429. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9450.2008.00651.x. — 7. JUNI S, ROTH MR, Social Behavior and Personality, 13 (1985) 11. — 8. PRICE MK, Economics Letters, 100 (2008) 351. — 9. TAKEDA MB, HELMS MM, ROMANOVA N, Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 13 (2006) 85. doi: 10.1300/J137v13n03_06. — 10. HECKERT DM, BEST A, Symbolic Interaction, 20 (1997) 365. doi:10.1525/si.1997.20.4.365. — 11. FROST P, Evolution and Human Behavior, 27 (2006) 85. doi: 10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2005.07.002. — 12. SHACKELFORD TK, SCHMITT DP, BUSS DM, Personality and Individual Differences, 39 (2005) 447. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2005.01.023. — 13. HUDEČEK L, Rasprave: Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 47/2, (2021) 511. doi: 10.31724/rihjj.47.2.9. — 14. LJUBEŠIĆ N, KLUBIČKA F, Croatian web corpus hrWaC 2.1, Slovenian language resource repository CLARIN.SI, 2016. http://hdl.handle.net/11356/1064. — 15. BROZOVIĆ RONČEVIĆ D, ČAVAR D, Hrvatska jezična riznica kao podloga jezičnim i jezičnopovijesnim istraživanjima hrvatskoga jezika. In: PETROVIĆ B, SAMARDŽIJA M (Eds): Vidjeti Ohrid: referati hrvatskih sudionica i sudionika za XIV. međunarodni slavistički kongres. (Hrvatsko filološko društvo, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Zagreb, 2008). — 16. HJP Hrvatski jezični portal. https://hjp.znanje.hr/. — 17. ANIĆ V, Veliki rječnik hrvatskoga jezika (Novi Liber, Zagreb, 1998). — 18. HER Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik (Novi Liber, Zagreb, 2002). — 19. RHJ Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 2002). — 20. ŠR Školski rječnik hrvatskoga jezika. http://rjecnik.hr. — 21. VRH Veliki rječnik standardnoga jezika (Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 2015). — 22. BABIĆ S, Tvorba riječi u hrvatskome književnome jeziku (Nakladni zavod Globus, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2002). — 23. HORVAT J, Rasprave: Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje 42/1 (2016) 21. — 24. BARIĆ E, LONČARIĆ M, MALIĆ D, PAVEŠIĆ S, PETI M, ZEČEVIĆ V, ZNIKA M, Hrvatska gramatika, (Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1997). — 25. GORUP, A, 2019. Mocijska tvorba u hrvatskom jeziku, Undergraduate thesis (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, 2019).

L. Hudeček

Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, Ulica Republike Austrije 16, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

e-mail: lhudecek@ihjj.hr

STEREOTIPI POVEZANI S BOJOM KOSE U HRVATSKIM JEZIČNIM KORPUSIMA

SAŽETAK

U radu se pokazuje kako se stereotipi povezani s bojom kose odražavaju u hrvatskim jezičnim korpusima hrWaC-u i Hrvatskoj jezičnoj riznici. Istraživanje se provodi u dvama hrvatskim jezičnim korpusima, Hrvatskome jezičnom korpusu hrWaC-u te Hrvatskoj jezičnoj riznici. Korpusi se pretražuju s pomoću alata za pretragu korpusa SketchEnginea, odnosno s pomoću njegove mogućnosti dobivanja skica riječi (*word sketches*), sažete informacije o najčešćim kolokacijama u kojima je izraz potvrđen. Istražuju se sinonimni nizovi imenica kojima se označuju ženske i muške osobe plave, smeđe, crne i rde/crvene kose. Potvrđuju se ili se dijelom potvrđuju hipoteze: da se bojom kose češće određuju ženske nego muške osobe; da sinonimni nizovi koji označuju žensku osobu određene boje kose imaju više članova nego sinonimni nizovi koji označuju mušku osobu određene boje kose; da se neki članovi sinonimnoga niza češće pojavljuju u kontekstu iz kojega se iščitava stereotip; da su u tvorbi naziva za osobe određene boje kose, osobito ženskih, plodni modeli kojima se tvore pejorativi i deprecijativi te (onimizacijom) imena životinja; da su pridjevi *jedan*, *običan* identifikatori izraza u kojima se odražavaju stereotipi. Na temelju provedene kolokacijske i tvorbene analize zaključuje se da se iz kolokacija i tvorbenih obrazaca povezanih s nazivima za boju kose može iščitati mnogo izvanjezičnih podataka, između ostaloga i o društvenome položaju žene.