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CONFERENCE ON GREEK LINGUISTICS**

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και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ' όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέων Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσσου, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

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Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαριθμητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάριθμο. εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

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GRAMMATICAL GENDER AND OFFENSIVENESS IN MODERN GREEK SLANG VOCABULARY

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Περίληψη

Η μειωτική σημασία των περιθωριακών λέξεων στη Νέα Ελληνική μπορεί να περιοριστεί ή να αυξηθεί με σμικρυντικά ή μεγεθυντικά προσφύματα αντίστοιχα. Η χρήση αξιολογικών προσφυμάτων επιφέρει συχνά και αλλαγή στο γραμματικό γένος της παράγωγης λέξης. Η αλλαγή γένους με ή χωρίς τη χρήση αξιολογικών επιθημάτων δείχνει, μεταξύ άλλων, τη στάση του ομιλητή για το στοιχείο αναφοράς. Σε γενικές γραμμές, οι σμικρυντικές λέξεις και οι παράγωγες λέξεις που διατηρούν το γένος της βάσης χρησιμοποιούνται με λιγότερο μειωτική σημασία από τη λέξη-βάση, ενώ οι μεγεθυντικές και οι παράγωγες λέξεις που δε διατηρούν το γένος της βάσης χρησιμοποιούνται με περισσότερο μειωτική σημασία από τη λέξη-βάση.

Keywords: *slang vocabulary, grammatical-natural gender, diminution, augmentation, evaluative morphology, offensiveness*

1. The relation between grammatical and natural gender

In this paper we examine how the alteration of the grammatical gender of an item of slang vocabulary (SV) in Modern Greek (MG), with or without the use of evaluative affixes, can influence its meaning.

MG has a tripartite gender system with masculine, feminine and neuter values. In languages with a similar gender system the assignment of gender value depends on the

semantics and formal characteristics of the noun (Corbett 1991:8, 33, Ralli 2003:58). Hence, grammatical gender functions as a marker for masculine and feminine projections associated with the natural gender of the referent, whereas it often operates as an evaluation indicator for nouns marked [- animate] (Ralli 2003:38). In MG general vocabulary (GV), the gender of nominals is attributed to [+human] nouns based, mainly, on the agreement of grammatical and natural gender (see e.g. Ralli 2002, 2003). According to Pavlidou *et al.* (2004), there is almost absolute agreement between grammatical and natural gender for [+human] nouns listed in the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (Triantafyllidis 1998). However, the grammatical gender of a noun can be different from natural gender, because the former is related to properties of the referent (e.g. *ipálilos*_M ‘employee’, *yinekáki*_N ‘woman_{DIM}’, *agorína*_F ‘boy’) (see, among others Tsokalidou 1996:56, Setatos 1998, Pavlidou 2006: 44-47).

As we will see later in section 2.3, non-agreement between natural and grammatical gender is often observed in SV. Words of feminine or neuter grammatical gender can be used to express masculine natural gender (e.g. *aðelfí*_F¹, *prezáki*_N and words with neuter or masculine gender to express feminine natural gender (e.g. *ksékolo*_N, *pútanos*_M).

2. Evaluative Morphology and Slang Vocabulary

2. 1 Theoretical remarks

Gender change of the base often happens by the use of diminutives or/and augmentative suffixes (*skilos*_M ‘dog’ > *skiláki*_N, *yinèka*_F ‘woman’ > *yinekáki*_N), that are considered evaluative and are examined in the context of evaluative morphology (see Stump 1993, Körtvélyessy 2015, Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015). With the use of evaluative affixes, the speaker evaluates the referent and/or distances him/herself from it (basically with diminutive affixes) (see e.g. the item *psilo-*, Xydopoulos 2009).

According to Körtvélyessy (2015) and Grandi & Körtvélyessy (2015), evaluative affixes can express a descriptive, quantitative perspective, when they refer to size (small-big), or qualitative perspective when they refer to the emotional attitude of the speaker (good-bad) towards the referent.

1 For the English equivalents see Greek-English SV base-words glossary after Section 5.

The boundaries between descriptive and qualitative interpretation are not always clear, as derived words can be polysemous (e.g. size, expression of feelings etc.). For example, the GV word *spitáki* 'house_{DIM}' can be used with a descriptive meaning, showing small size as well as with a qualitative one, showing the familiar attitude of the speaker and/or his/her contempt. Similarly, the SV words *vizáki* or *kolaráki* can be used either with a purely descriptive meaning showing small size or with a qualitative one expressing the familiar attitude of the speaker.

Therefore, we can assume the existence of a continuum with diminutive and augmentative forms that express quantity and/or quality which cause a fluctuation of the intensity in the taboo meaning of the base.

2. 2 *Evaluative affixes in slang vocabulary*

The use of evaluative affixes in SV words is a common way to decrease or increase the pejorative meaning of a slang word. Diminutive affixes in SV words decrease their word's negative meaning and/or create a familiar, friendly and ludling atmosphere (e.g. *psilomalákas*, *putanítsa*, *skatúla*). By contrast, augmentative affixes mainly operate as intensifiers of the meaning of SV words, both for words with a negative and with a positive evaluation (e.g. *arximalákas*, *karaputanára*, *múnaros*).

In SV we can find 16 out of the 36 diminutive suffixes that Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011 discussed in relation to MG [OR: identified in the GV], 10 out of 25 augmentative suffixes and all the prefixes of the GV with evaluative use (e.g. *psilo-*, *kara-* etc.). As a follow-up, in this paper, we focus on diminutive and augmentative affixes that are combined with a slang word-base and result in grammatical gender change.

2. 3 *Evaluative affixes and gender change*

2. 3. 1 *Diminutive suffixes*

Very often, diminutive suffixes are used in MG not only for denoting small size, but also as politeness markers, moderating the threat of speech acts (see Sifianou 1992). Obviously, diminutive suffixes assign both positive (tenderness, love, appreciation) and negative connotations (understatement, disapproval). Hence, they create a seman-

tic continuum expressing emotions that ranges from affection to disapproval (Haas 1978:82).²

In SV, diminutive suffixes that cause gender change of the base are: *-akis*, *-akos*³, *-oulis*. When attached to a neuter base, these suffixes give a masculine form (e.g. *arxíði*_N > *arxiðákis*_M, *arxiðákos*_M, *arxiðúlis*_M).

Suffixes *-aki* and *-i*⁴ are combined with feminine bases (e.g. *putána*_F > *putanáki*_N, *putani*_N) and masculine bases (e.g. *karjólis*_M > *karjoláki*_N, *karjolí*_N, *kólos*_M > *koláki*_N, *kolí*_N) and produce neuter forms.

Feminine diminutive suffixes *-itsa* and *-ula* tend to combine with words of neuter gender (*muni*_N > *muniútsa*_F, *skató*_N > *skatúla*_F) and derive forms that metaphorically express familiarity.

The learned diminutive suffix *-iðio* combines with masculine bases (*pústis*_M > *pustíðio*_N) but also with feminine colloquial ones (*putána*_F > *putaníðio*_N) giving neuter forms that may be the result of analogy, based on forms like *nimfíðio* ‘tart’. Derived words emerge, mainly, from feminine bases, whereas in words like *pustíðio* there are feminine connotations. The weakening of the meaning, compared to the word-base is maybe due to the incompatibility between the learned suffix and the colloquial base.

Finally, the diminutive suffix *-oni* attached mainly to GV words (*kléftis*_M > *kléftra*_F > *kleftróni*_N, *préza*_F > *prezóni*_N), only selects feminine bases and produces neuter forms (*pústra*_F > *pustróni*_N, *ylíftra*_F > *ylífróni*_N), thus reducing their negative meaning.

2. 3. 2 Augmentative suffixes and prefixes

Augmentative suffixes mostly appear with an intensifying meaning without a necessary implication of big size, but also ender change (*kaθiyítis*_M ‘teacher’ > *kaθiyitára*_F, *aftokínito*_N ‘car’ > *aftokinitára*_F). Augmentative derived forms may express respect, tenderness, evaluation, familiarity, but also irony, belittlement or disapproval for the referent (Sifianou 1992:157, Efthymiou 2015).

In SV, augmentative suffixes *-aras* and *-aros* combine with feminine (*psoli*_F > *psoláras*_M, *psólarios*_M) and neuter bases (*vizí*_N > *vizarás*_M, *vízaros*_M) and produce ma-

2 For diminution in GV see among many others Alexopoulos 1994.

3 We have detected only one case of the suffix *-akos* on a feminine: *psolára*_F > *psolárákos*_M.

4 Suffix *-i* in Standard MG does not seem to be really productive; however, it is very frequent in SV, for its diminutive function see Anastassiadi-Symeonidi & Cheila-Markopoulou 2003:17) and Daltas (1985:69-71).

sculine augmentative forms that are used either with approving or with sarcastic and deprecatory attitude.

The feminine suffix *-ara* selects masculine (*pústis*_M > *pustára*_F) and neuter bases (*vizí*_N > *vizára*_F), whereas the suffix *-os* selects only neuter bases (*vizí*_N > *vízos*_M) and transforms them into masculine forms with a slight differentiation in meaning, but surely more emphatic. Derivation of words with stress shift and the use of the augmentative suffix *-os* amplifies the characteristics of the base and transfuses more concrete and intense characteristics, if compared with the neuter form in *-i* (for GV see Ralli 2005:143-144).

The inclusive suffix *-arjo* forms words of neuter gender and is combined with masculine (*pústis*_M > *pustarjó*_N) and feminine bases (*putána*_F > *putanarjó*_N). In many instances the derived forms in *-ario* are combined with the prefix-like item *kara-* in order to intensify the negative meaning of the base, *pútsos*_M > *karaputsarjó*_N (chaotic situation)).

Finally, the feminine gender suffixes *-a* and *-o⁵* are interesting cases, as they seem to assign augmentative properties to the base (cf. Daltas 1985:69). In SV, these suffixes are combined with feminine bases (*savúra*_F - *savúro*_F, *patsavúra*_F - *patsavúro*_F) or give feminine types from masculine bases (*malákas*_M - *maláko*_F, *o arxídas*_M - *arxído*_F); this may increase the derogatory meaning of a word. Forms in *-o* appear to be more derogatory than forms in *-a* (*pústis*_M > *pústra*_F > *pústro*_F) (Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011). Interestingly, feminine forms in *-a* and *-o* appear in cases where the referent is of masculine gender with a meaning of disapproval (see section 2.4.1).

2. 4 Evaluative affixes, gender change and semantic features

As we can see from the examples in section 2.3 above, SV words with gender alteration mainly refer to: (a) people characterizations and (b) words for the genitals. In both categories we find derived words of all three grammatical genders, regardless of the gender of the referent.

The words of the first category, that are used for people characterizations, carry a negative meaning for the referent, because they are used with a disapproving stance from the speaker's point of view, with literal (*pustára*_F) or figurative meaning (*putanáki*_N).

5 For the suffix *-o* in GV see: Anastassiadi-Symeonidi & Symeonidis 2007; in SV see: Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011.

Words of the second category that refer to genitals are rarely chosen by speakers in their literal meaning (*pútsos*_M > *putsúla*_F / *putsítsa*_F). Derived words are used with either disapproving or approving attitude; e.g. *muní*_N > *munítsa*_F⁶ ‘pussy vs. young girl’, *arxiði*_N >*arxiðáki*_M *arxiðákos*_M ‘petty, worthless’ (mitigation of the negative meaning of the base), *pútsos*_M > *putsula*_F / *putsítsa*_F (worthless item with a ludling meaning among familiar people, e.g. *Sas árese i putsúla pu fáyate tin Kiriakí mésa stin édra sas?* ‘Did you like the “small penis” that you ate in Sunday in your home ground?’; *muní*_N > *múnaros*_M ‘beautiful and attractive woman’.

However, a difference in the meaning of the same word is often noticed, depending on the referring entity. Regarding the word: *muní*_N, the derived words: *munítsa*_F, *munáki*_N, *múna*_F, *múnos*_M, *munára*_F, *múnaros*_M are used metonymically when they refer to a woman and have mostly positive connotations, regardless of the obvious sexist implications involved. When reference is made to a male person, though, the forms selected are mainly *munáki*_N and the word-base *muní*_N and are used metaphorically with derogatory connotations only.

The forms *arxiðákos*, *arxiðas*, *kara-(α)rxíðas* are derived from the word *arxiði* with gender change. They are used figuratively with a disapproving meaning referring to a man. Only the word-base *arxiði* can be used as a characterization for a woman, again, with a very derogatory meaning (see Christopoulou & Xydopoulos 2014).

2. 4. 1 Feminine grammatical gender

Derived feminine forms in SV appear to be more insulting because of the gender change of the base from masculine to feminine. A representative example is the word *pústis*_M which shifts to *pústra*-*o*_{FEM}. More specifically, the diminutive suffixes *-akos* and *-aki* combined with the base *pústis*_M i.e. *pustákos*_M, *pustáki*_N, their meaning seems to be more derogatory. When the same suffixes are combined with the feminine base *pústra*_F i.e. *pustrákos*_M, *pustráki*_N then the meaning is more humiliating for the referent, based on native speakers intuitions⁷. Actually, a similar differentiation in the meaning can also be detected to the pairs: *alítis*_M - *alítra*_F, *karjólis*_M - *karjóla*_F.

6 This is a case of metonymy (see Christopoulou & Xydopoulos 2014).

7 These claims were also indirectly verified by a questionnaire-based survey we conducted in 2011 aiming at assessing the offensiveness of such forms (cf. Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011 & Xydopoulos in prep.). However, we have not been able to further test these intuitions using data from texts since there are no substandard corpora for MG.

*yamiólis*_M - *yamióla*_F, *ylíftis*_M - *ylíftro*_F. The conversion to feminine can also be done with the suffix *-o*, e.g. *malákas*_M - *maláko*_F, *pústis*_M - *pústro*_F, *arxiðas*_M - *arxiðo*_F, *ylíftis*_M - *ylíftro*_F.

So, a feminine form when referring to a male entity attributes to it a derogatory meaning. This happens because characteristics (e.g. craft, dishonesty, irresponsibility) that have been traditionally correlated with women in our society are assigned to a man. Of course, if we examine the pairs above we notice that only forms that are marked as [+feminine] can be used with humiliating meaning to refer to a man. Words that express masculine features, like *arxiðo*, *psóla* are not selected to refer to a male. It is worth noting that we have not found any such cases in GV referring to a man e.g.

(1) *O Giánnis*_M *eína i meyalíteri ylíftra*_F/*ylíftro*_F *tis táksis.*

‘Giannis is the biggest sidekick of the class.’

(2) * *O Giánnis*_M *eína i meyalíteri pséfta*_F *tis táksis.*

‘Giannis is the biggest liar of the class.’

Based on the above data, we can conclude that the pejorative meaning of a word of masculine natural gender has in the SV of MG seems to increase importantly when it shifts to feminine, with or without evaluative suffixes.

In the following sections, we will see how the pejorative meaning of words of the SV is scaled, thus being more or less offensive for the interlocutors.

3. The notion of offensiveness

SV words, depending on the referred entity and their use (literal or metaphorical) differ semantically as to how much they can offend someone in an interaction. By the term *offensiveness* we will henceforth refer to how offensive or annoying an interlocutor considers a word. Janschewitz (2008:1067) differentiates *offensiveness* from *tabooness* based on the personal or general abuse caused by the use of SV. In *offensiveness*, the presence of a slang or taboo word is optional. On the contrary, in *tabooness*, there must be a slang word with a taboo-meaning⁸. The degree to which a word/phrase can be considered offensive depends on subjective criteria (e.g. attitudes, beliefs of the

⁸ Here we will use the term offensiveness for both offensiveness and tabooness.

interlocutor), independent variables (e.g. age, gender, cultural attitudes) and the communication circumstances (e.g. formal conversation vs conversation between friends) (see Janschewitz 2008:1070-1, Jay & Janschewitz 2008:269).

In an attempt to better explain *offensiveness*, we could understand it in conjunction with the theory of impoliteness (see e.g. Culpeper 1996), as the use of SV is generally perceived as an impolite way of communication (see e.g. Mills 2003). Impoliteness as a feature can be found in a person's behaviour, without it being an inherent utterance feature. If we follow Culpeper (1996:356-7), we obtain *bald on record impoliteness* every time the interlocutor insults and underestimates his/her interlocutor with a direct, articulate and clear manner (regardless of him/her using slang words); the use of SV is what Culpeper (op. cit.) calls a *positive impoliteness* strategy.

Using SV with augmentative affixes and the non-correspondence of natural and grammatical gender in words of the SV seem to be strategies of positive impoliteness. By contrast, the use of SV with diminutive suffixes seems to correspond to an off record impoliteness strategy. This happens because, by using diminutive affixes, the interlocutor distances him/herself from the utterance and expresses his/her impolite attitude, implicitly rather than explicitly. When SV is used as an indication of familiarity, among members of the same group, it seems to induce sarcastic or mock impoliteness (Culpeper op. cit.).

Hence, an utterance is offensive when it offends the interlocutor, taking into consideration the interlocutor's intentions (cf. impoliteness categories) (Christopoulou 2016).

3. 1 Scaling offensiveness as a continuum

We have concluded so far that SV words in MG are not used with the same level/degree of offensiveness. Depending on their meaning, their use, their referent(s) and the ext-
ralinguistic means that the speaker uses, offensiveness can fluctuate from a minimum to a maximum. In addition, the level of offensiveness can vary for the same slang word, according to the referent and/or its literal or metaphorical use (Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011). On the basis of our earlier discussion in sections 2.3 and 2.4, the alteration of the grammatical gender of the base (or else the non-correspondence between natural and grammatical gender) and the use of evaluative affixes constitute, among other things, the verbal means that contribute to the fluctuation of offensiveness in SV.

If we assume a continuum where SV words are dispersed according to how impo-

lite or offensive they are, it could be represented as follows (see also Christopoulou 2010:15-18 and Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011):

[-offensiveness]	[±offensiveness]	[+offensiveness]
no offensiveness	slight offensiveness	increased offensiveness
<i>(putanítsa, pustákos)</i>	<i>(putána, pústis)</i>	<i>(arxiputána, karáputas, pústra)</i>

Figure 1 | Offensiveness continuum in SV of MG.

4. Continuum of offensiveness: evaluative morphology and gender alteration

Based on the above, it follows that the use of evaluative morphology, with or without gender alteration, in SV can lead to a continuum for each word, that includes derived forms with higher or lower degree of offensiveness. A scaling of offensiveness that stems from gender alteration of the base and the use of evaluative affixes differs according to the base gender.⁹ Offensiveness of words with masculine grammatical and natural gender could be presented as follows:

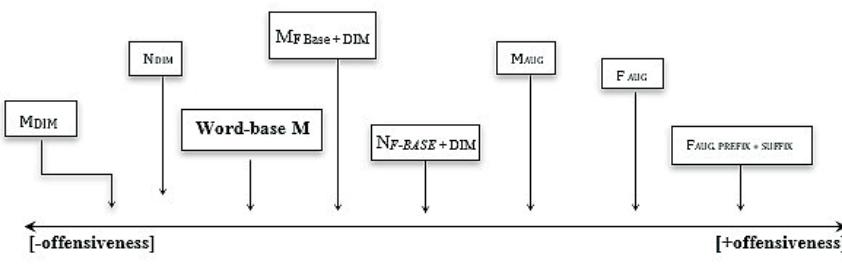


Figure 2 | Offensiveness continuum of masculine words with evaluative morphology or/and gender alteration

⁹ In this paper we only deal with masculine and masculine bases.

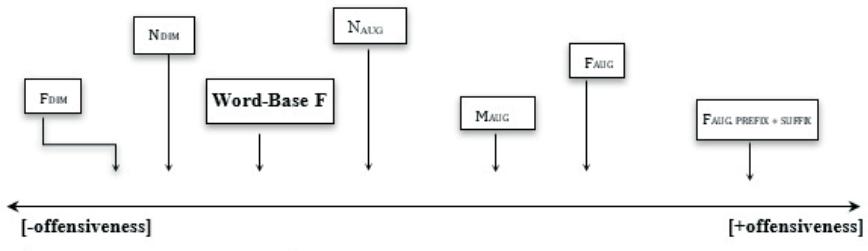


Figure 3 | Offensiveness continuum for feminine words with evaluative morphology or/and gender alteration.

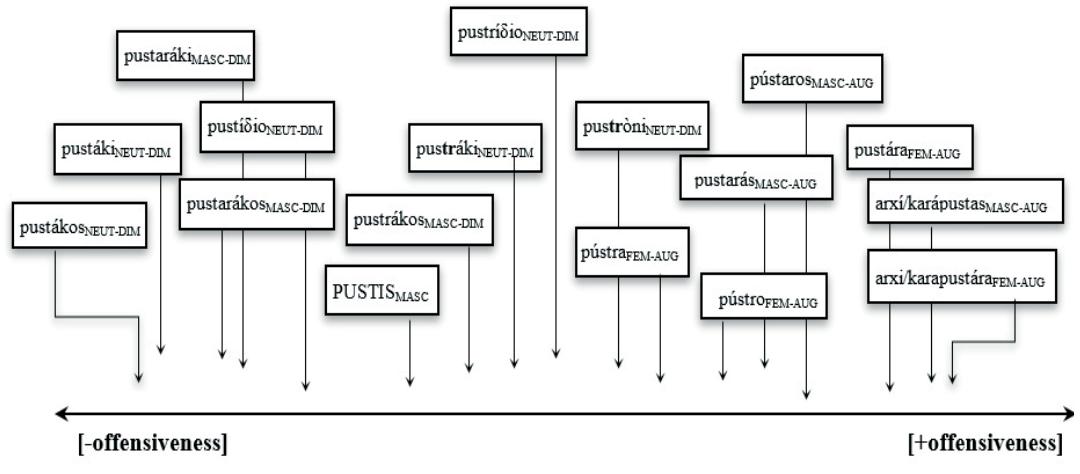


Figure 4 | Impoliteness and offensiveness continuum for *pústis*_M

As Figure 2 shows, when the word-base is of masculine grammatical gender and its referent is normally classified as male (e.g. *pústis*_M), the derived forms with the highest level of offensiveness are those that are either converted to feminine or stem from a feminine base. The words that are turned into feminine and combine two augmentative affixes, a prefix and a suffix (e.g. *arxi/karapustára*_{F-AUG}) display the highest level of offensiveness.

The scaling of offensiveness for words of grammatical and natural feminine gender could be shown as follows:

As shown in Figure 3, when a word-base is of feminine grammatical and natural gender ($putána_F$), the derived forms of the base with the highest level of offensiveness are those that either maintain the base gender those that are turned into masculine. The highest level of offensiveness is found with feminine words that also combine augmentative affixes, a prefix and a suffix ($arxi/karaputanára_{F-AUG.}$).

If we apply the derivational paradigm of $pústis_M$ to Figure 2, the morphological combinations (with or without gender alteration) that are available in SV of MG offer “finer” shades in the continuum of offensiveness.

Figure 4 seems to imply that forms with the lowest level of offensiveness are neuter, whereas forms with the highest level of offensiveness are feminine. Derived forms of the word $pústis$ with gender alteration from masculine to feminine and neuter, like $pustáki_N$, $pustráki_N$, $pustríði_N$, $pustróni_N$, $pústra_F$, $pústro_F$, $pustára_F$, $karapustára_F$, seem to be used mostly in their literal interpretations. On the contrary, derived forms without gender alteration of the base, like $pustákos_M$, $pustarákos_M$, $pustarás_M$, $kará-pustas_M$ seem to have mostly metaphorical interpretations.

Concluding, based on the application of the paradigms of the word $pústis_M$ we saw above, it follows that the shift of a masculine form into neuter or feminine, with a parallel diminution or augmentation, gives literalness in SV meaning, and so intensification of the semantic features of the base. On the contrary, maintaining the grammatical gender of the base-word, with a parallel diminution or augmentation, highlights the metaphorical features of the semantics of the base.

5. Concluding remarks

As we saw in the previous section, when the word-base is and maintains its masculine gender or is turned into feminine, its offensiveness degree is increased. Derived forms without gender alteration are used, mostly, metaphorically. Derived forms that are turned into feminine or neuter are used, mostly, literally. Derived words, mainly of neuter gender with a diminutive affix appear on the [-offensiveness] edge. These words are used, largely, with a derisive attitude and encourage friendly bonds among interlocutors. On the contrary, derived words, mainly of feminine gender with one or two augmentative affixes appear on the [+offensiveness] edge.

Parameters that influence the fluctuation of offensiveness for an SV word can be summarized as follows (Christopoulou 2016):

[-offensiveness]		[+offensiveness]	
(i)	[-gender change]		[+gender change]
(ii)	Masculine, Neuter gender		Feminine gender
(iii)	Diminutive forms	[...]	Augmentative forms
(iv)	Metaphor		Literalism
(v)	Familiarity, saturnine style		Irony, disapproval

Table 1 | *Parameters that influence offensiveness*

So, a derived SV word is considered less offensive than a word-base when it: (i) keeps its gender, (ii) (often) is of masculine or neuter grammatical gender, (iii) is combined with a diminutive affix and (iv) is mostly used with metaphorical interpretations. In this case derived words are used by the speaker with a familiar and ludling, attitude. By contrast, a derived slang word is considered more offensive than the word-base when (i) its gender has changed, (ii) it has feminine grammatical gender (especially when the referent is male), (iii) it is combined with an augmentative affix, and (iv) it is used literally. In this case, derived words express either ironic attitude and/or intense disapproval or dispute on the part of the speaker.

Our initial hypothesis is thus confirmed. In SV of MG, offensiveness appears to significantly increase when the gender of the base is shifted to feminine or even when maintaining the feminine, with or without the parallel use of evaluative affixes. We obtain the highest level of offensiveness when a word of feminine gender is used to refer to a male entity.

Greek-English SV base-words glossary

<i>alítis</i> _M	‘punk’	<i>pústis</i> _M	‘fag’
<i>arxídi</i> _N	‘prick’	<i>putána</i> _F	‘whore’
<i>aðelfí</i> _F	‘gay’	<i>pútsos</i> _M	‘dick’
<i>yamiólis</i> _M	‘motherfucker’	<i>skató</i> _N	‘shit’
<i>ylíftis</i> _M	‘schmoozer’	<i>vizí</i> _N	‘tit’
<i>karióla</i> _F	‘bitch’		
<i>karjólis</i> _M	‘motherfucker’		
<i>kléftis</i> _M	‘thief’		
<i>kólos</i> _M	‘ass’		
<i>ksékolο</i> _N	‘slut’		
<i>malákas</i> _M	‘wanker’		
<i>muní</i> _N	‘pussy’		
<i>patsavúra</i> _F , <i>savúra</i> _F	‘swab/rag’		
<i>préza</i> _F	‘pinch’		
<i>prezáki</i> _M	‘junky’		
<i>psolí</i> _F	‘cock’		

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