

# DERIVATION AND COMPOSITION OF NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, VERBS IN GREEK AND SERBIAN SWEAR WORDS

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## Abstract

An impressive paradox seems to be the consolidated situation interwoven firstly with the use of obscene expressions characterized by a universal, diatopic and diachronic range and secondly with their inexplicable marginalization from thorough linguistic studies.

Indeed, this unquestionable ascertainment acquires multidimensional extensions. As long as we think that, although social components vary continuously, rational beings sometimes shamelessly utter insulting words regardless of their nationality, sex, age, spiritual background, financial status or religious identity. While ignoring sociolinguistic conventions consciously or unconsciously they turn to the inexhaustible wealth of imaginative profanities which they utilize with a great frequency as an effective means of externalization of their underlying feelings and innermost thoughts.

The orchestrated disapproval and the strong opposition, as they are manifested variously by traditional factors of constructional education and exemplary socialization (family, school) mainly come to be fruitless. In fact, they have not managed to remove the interhuman habit of swearing that is inseparable from everyday life, but not even to intercept its ecumenical onset.

Starting from the aforementioned principles in this paper we give emphasis to the theoretical review of the fundamental social, cultural, and linguistic data that are noticed in these “undignified” lexical applications. The contrastive approach to their main subcategories in Modern Greek and colloquial Serbian on the basis of selected cases from reliable lexicographical works achieves the emergence of the functional similarities and structural differences in the derivation and composition of nouns, adjectives, verbs.

**Key-words:** *swear word, Greek, Serbian, derivation, composition*

## Résumé

Un paradoxe impressionnant semble être la situation consolidée liée d'une part à l'utilisation des expressions obscènes de nature universelle, diatopique et diachronique et d'autre part à leur marginalisation inexplicable dans les études linguistiques approfondies.

En effet, cette constatation incontestable connaît des extensions multidimensionnelles. Tant que nous croyons que, bien que les composantes sociales varient constamment, les êtres rationnels prononcent parfois sans vergogne des mots offensants quels que soient leur nationalité, leur sexe, leur âge, leur fond spirituel, leur statut financier ou leur identité religieuse. Tout en ignorant, consciemment ou inconsciemment, les conventions sociolinguistiques, ils s'orientent vers la richesse inépuisable de langages imaginatifs qu'ils utilisent à haute fréquence comme moyen efficace d'extériorisation de leur plus intimes sentiments et pensées.

La désapprobation orchestrée et la forte opposition, car ils se manifestent de manière différente selon les facteurs traditionnels d'éducation constructive et de socialisation exemplaire (famille, école), deviennent pour la plupart inutiles. En fait, ils n'ont pas réussi à supprimer l'habitude interhumaine de dire de gros mots, inséparable de la vie quotidienne, et même pas à intercepter son début général.

A partir des principes susmentionnés, on met l'accent sur la révision théorique des données sociales, culturelles et linguistiques qui sont observées dans ces applications lexicales « indignes ». L'approche contrastive de leurs principales sous-catégories en grec moderne et en serbe colloquial, en base de certains cas choisis des travaux lexicographiques fiables, conduit à l'apparition de ressemblances fonctionnelles et de différences structurelles en cas de dérivation et de composition des noms, adjectifs et verbes.

**Mots-clés :** *gros mot, grec, serbe, dérivation, composition*

### **1. Introductory remarks**

In every period of time and social structure swearing appears as a dominant, universal<sup>1</sup> linguistic phenomenon. That is why in the rich fund of the examined languages (Greek and Serbian) we find an important frequency and a distinct diversity of these lexical units.

The primary subject of this paper is the theoretical research of basic features related to the derivation and composition of nouns, adjectives and verbs with indecent connotations in modern Greek (G) and Serbian (S). The contrastive analysis was applied as a methodological framework, while the synchronous approach to comparison was based on the corpus processing of the excerpted material. We have selected the most characteristic phrases using credible descriptive dictionaries and electronic lexicographic editions.

For the purpose of facilitating the readers we present all the Greek lexemes transcribed according to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), but also with their auxiliary accentuation.

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<sup>1</sup> Karjalainen (2002: 3) points out that "some languages more than others, but on the whole, swearwords can be said to be a universal phenomenon".

## 2. Structural components of swearing

Despite the attributed negative nuance that is in line with established sociological views and an authentically moralistic background, in almost every language code imaginary obscene words are considered a fundamental part of interpersonal and communicative everyday life (Ljung 1984a: 11). Because of this indisputable dynamics and strong spontaneity, the bearers of swearings express their thoughts with exemplary economy and true vividness (Holmes 2001: 195; Holster 2005: 31; Jay 2000: 23). On the other hand, the bad words significantly spoil the generally accepted value of written or oral embodiment of language. Reflecting intralingual and extralinguistic changes of lexicographic units they usually restrict the circle of their users, while disturbing sociolinguistic standards (Dumas, Lighter 1978: 14-15).

Their semasiological variety is mainly associated either with the characteristic manifestations of libido and typical sexual activities or with the human defecation and the religious data as well, especially by men<sup>2</sup>. The derogatory features, the emotional nuance and the offensive dynamics of that specific verbal violence are extremely obvious, since it primarily tends towards brutal slander of persons, while secondarily it aims at their minimal delineation.

In modern times<sup>3</sup> interesting studies on this ambivalent topic have been compiled by:

**2.1. Lars Andersson:** from an anthropological point of view he deals with obscene vocabulary in Swedish. In the pioneering work "*Fult språk. Svordomar, dialekter och annat ont*" he emphasizes its incomparable echo and powerful connection with taboo topics, mostly when it is personified in completely unexpected spatial circumstances (Andersson 1985: 114). Besides using inspired inscriptions the researcher indicates the cultural penetration of rude expressions, while by presenting three necessary conditions according to which a word is

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<sup>2</sup> Lakoff (1973: 51-52) explains that women consciously avoid obscene words, because in that way they keep the official language, but also they do not endanger their social identity (for children women act as exemplary persons whose behavior is worth imitating).

<sup>3</sup> Diachronically the indecent vocabulary is presented as a favorite topic of lexicographers:

(a) the German scholar Matthias Hütlin (1510) composes the "*Liber Vagatorum*" (The Book of Vagabonds);

(b) an anonymous author with the initials B. E. (1698) records 4000 words and expressions of marginalized layers in "*A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew*";

(c) in "*Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*" Grose (1785, 1788, 1796) is involved in obscene words of various social groups;

(d) Partridge (1933) is the main inspirer of the book "*A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*";

(e) in their book "*Sex Slang*" and in analyzed 3000 lemmas Dalzell and Victor (2007) are limited in the sexual act and intimate parts of the human body;

characterized as offensive he manages to reveal the positive or negative attitude of native speakers:

(a) a bad word is necessary to reflect the taboo topics and also (or) issues that are not in compliance with social norms;

(b) it cannot have a literal semantic nuance;

(c) it should express and display deep feelings (Andersson, Hirsch 1985a: 5).

On that occasion, it is worth mentioning that Andersson re-examines the sociolinguistic projections of swearing<sup>4</sup> and the main motivations that justify its wide use. He presents the drawn conclusions in collaboration with Hirsch in just two published issues of the magazine “*Swearing*” (Andersson, Hirsch 1985a, 1985b), but also with Trudgill in the monograph “*Bad Language*”:

(a) *psychological*: the negative events that each person experiences during his life contribute to the uncontrolled externalization of repressed feelings (anger, frustration) or result in shameless utterance of obscene words (Andersson 1985: 110; Andersson, Trudgill 1990: 53; Montagu 1967: 63, 72);

(b) *social*: the conscious adoption of established curses (Andersson, Trudgill 1990: 79) and the imaginative finding of new lewd expressions (Labov 1978: 257) are based on the inherent need of every human being to feel like as an equal member of the community, to preserve its cohesive identity and to manifest its solidarity or intimacy;

(c) *linguistic*: the remarkable dynamics that characterize obscene words explain their dominant presence in colloquial speech and the prevalence of their communication domain<sup>5</sup>.

**2.2. David Crystal:** the British academic clearly defines the separate features of swearing, while performing a three-part inclusion of obscene words (Crystal 1995: 173) in:

(a) *taboo vocabulary* – it refers either to religion or to the sexual act (Serbian ~ “fuck, make love” = fuck; „до ђавола“ = go to hell);

(b) *invective (abuse) vocabulary* – it sharply insults a person (Serbian ~ “ретардиран” = a retard, someone with mental disability);

<sup>4</sup> Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 36-37) distinguish four types of swearing:

(a) *expletive swearing* – the curse words not related to a specific person describe the sentimental state of the speaker (Serbian ~ “Јебига” = fuck it);

(b) *abusive swearing* – the offensive cuss words used with the clear intention of humiliating the interlocutor (Serbian ~ “Јеби се!” = fuck off!);

(c) *humorous swearing* – the hilarious swearwords that do not function vulgarly, but funnily (Serbian ~ “Јебем ти мајку блесаву” = I fuck your silly mother);

(d) *auxiliary (lazy) swearing* – the supplementary bad language directs attention to a person or a situation (Serbian ~ “Какав јебени цар!” = What a fucking emperor!).

<sup>5</sup> “We swear for one reason and one reason only. It’s the best fucking way to communicate!” (Johnson 1996: 7).

- (c) *swearing vocabulary* –its intense sentimental background is divided into:
- (c<sub>1</sub>) obscenities – (Serbian ~ “ГОВНО” = shit);
  - (c<sub>2</sub>) blasphemies – (Serbian ~ “Бог те јебо!” = May God fuck you!);
  - (c<sub>3</sub>) profanities – (Serbian ~ “јебем ти кандило” = I fuck your candle).

About that Crystal notes that the caused language relief is usually followed by insulting gestures or appropriate grimaces, inasmuch as it functions as a substitute for a violent physical attack (Crystal 1995: 250-251).

**2.3. Dianna Holster:** according to her the hideous vocabulary which is characterized by fierce expressiveness and manifested with a unique spontaneity removes typical intersex parameters (Holster 2005: 31). On the other hand, the alleged vulgarity does not refer to its specific physiognomy, but to the disoriented attitude of speakers towards neutral language issues (Andersson 1985: 9).

**2.4. William Labov:** he classifies the obscene vocabulary into primary semantic categories (Labov, 1978: 252) and in special subcategories<sup>6</sup>:

- (a) *human being*:
  - (a<sub>1</sub>) age ~ Greek “*paliógeras*” = a nasty old person;
  - (a<sub>2</sub>) weight ~ Greek “*xontrélas*” = a fat man, a fatso;
  - (a<sub>3</sub>) external appearance ~ Greek “*bazménos*” = a runt man, a titch male;
  - (a<sub>4</sub>) color ~ Greek “*arápis*” = a nigger, a black person;
  - (a<sub>5</sub>) smell ~ Greek “*bíxilas*” = a scraggly man, a scruffy person;
  - (a<sub>6</sub>) gastronomic habits ~ Greek “*γυρούni*” = a pig // a contemptible person;
  - (a<sub>7</sub>) clothing ~ Greek “*kurelís*” = a shabby man, someone who wears tattered clothes;
  - (a<sub>8</sub>) financial situation ~ Greek “*dzabadzís*” = a freeloader;
  - (a<sub>9</sub>) sexual behavior ~ Greek “*pustára*” = a cocksucker, a big fag
- (b) *various*:
  - (b<sub>1</sub>) things ~ Greek “*kapóta*” = a condom, a johnny, a rubber;
  - (b<sub>2</sub>) state ~ Greek “*apóskata*” = a shit, a very bad situation;
  - (b<sub>3</sub>) activities ~ Greek “*skatoδoulá*” = a half-assed work // a skilful trickery

**2.5. Magnus Ljung:** the Swedish Professor focuses his scientific interest on authentic cultural issues related to his mother tongue, but also on different languages (Arabic, English, Chinese, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian). He emphasizes that, despite the relatively simple finding of cases with offensive meaning, the precise access to their content is not feasible (Ljung 1983: 278). There

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<sup>6</sup> According to the meaning and use, Labov (1992: 341) notices three subcategories of obscene words that: (a) characterize a person; (b) evaluate human activities; (c) are used in the free time of young people.

are two basic parameters that identify a word as impertinent: on the one hand its wider use is associated with a non-technical, emotional nuance of the term, while on the other hand it is described as a taboo topic that is against crystallized social conventions (Ljung 1984: 22- 23).

**2.6. Ashley Montagu:** by the significant study “*The Anatomy of Swearing*” which deals with the diachronic development of offensive expressions and more specifically from their fetal stages in all ancient cultures to modern times, he has contributed to their undisturbed analysis. In addition, he explicitly claims that even though swearing is incorporated in the corrupting character of language and in the rude way of communication, it appears on a daily basis (Montagu 1967: 2).

In terms of their origin, he considers that they belong to five principal subgroups (Montagu 1967: 100-105):

(a) Christian religion:

(a<sub>1</sub>) names of supernatural beings (God, saints, angels) or hellish forces (Satan);

(a<sub>2</sub>) terms related to sacred events, religious sites and consecrated objects;

(a<sub>3</sub>) data on the afterlife;

(b) names of heroes, legendary personalities, historical figures;

(c) natural phenomena (sun) and earthly features (animals);

(d) words by which society ascribes a vulgar connotation;

(e) phrases that in the context lose their positive meaning.

Furthermore, the author presents seven subtle types of obscene vocabulary:

(a) *swearing* – expressing verbal aggression;

(b) *cursing* – invoking evil for vengeful purposes or intrigue;

(c) *profanity* – conscious humiliation of holiness;

(d) *blasphemy* – insulting of honor, obscene access to divine qualities or shameless recourse to God and holy figures;

(e) *obscenity* – use of dirty words;

(f) *vulgarity* – pronouncing of words that do not fit into generally accepted social norms;

(g) *euphemistic swearing* – swearing as a joke,

while with clarity he determines the functional nuances of swearing in the act of communication:

(a) *abusive swearing* – the lowest type of swearing records the major goal of the speaker who aims at insulting his interlocutor;

(b) *adjurative swearing* – as a real curse it is a terrible request to a person to disappear in obedience to infernal forces;

(c) *exclamatory swearing* – one or a few words compose a swear word that carries an exclamatory nuance;

(d) *expletive swearing* – obscene words play a complementary role, since as desemantized words they strengthen the sentimental content of the spoken words;

(e) *objurgatory swearing* – indicates sharp disapproval and criticism striving for an immediate change in the behavior of the warned person.

### **3. The origin of borrowed curse words in Modern Greek and Serbian**

The polyhedral presence of authentic root words in frequent structures of vulgar Greek and Serbian vocabulary is considered catalytic. However, since “language is a living organism” (Battistella 2005: 155), in this process there is a remarkable participation of foreign loanwords<sup>7</sup> stemming from:

(1) English:

G<sub>1</sub>: blodzóbi (fellatio) < blowjob (oral stimulation of the penis)

G<sub>2</sub>: frikió (person with unconventional behavior) < freak (person with an unusual physical abnormality)

S<sub>1</sub>: фукнути (have intercourse) < fuck (have sex, copulate)

S<sub>2</sub>: биљарити (masturbate) < billiards (game played on an oblong table by driving three small balls against one another or into pockets round the edge of the table with a cue)

(2) Italian:

G<sub>1</sub>: gómēna (lover) < gommeno (smeared with brilliance and perfume)

G<sub>2</sub>: karjóla (immoral woman) < cariola (baby cot)

S<sub>1</sub>: бастард (illegitimate child) < bastardo (child born to unmarried parents)

S<sub>2</sub>: бута (ass) < botta (vault)

(3) Latin:

S: гладијатор (onanist) < gladiator (person engaged in a fight to the death as public entertainment for ancient Romans)

(4) Hungarian:

S: буља (ass) < bulyál (pile of dirty laundry)

(5) German:

G<sub>1</sub>: fiki-fiki (make love) < ficken (have intercourse)

G<sub>2</sub>: lubína (passive homosexual) < lumpen (dispossessed and unrooted individual cut off from the economic and social class)

S<sub>1</sub>: рашпати (make love) < Raspe (rasp, file)

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<sup>7</sup> Χατζηδάκης (1915: 104) points out five fundamental reasons for lexical borrowing: (a) the communication between foreign speakers; (b) their unpredictable interference (conquest of a country after war conflicts); (c) the emigration movement; (d) the economic, technological, and cultural supremacy of a nation; (e) the need for naming introduced foreign terms. In that regard Haspelmath (2009: 35) notes that the factors that enable or prevent the lexical borrowing may be: (a) social components relating to the knowledge and attitude of speakers towards the source language; (b) grammatical elements according to which the acceptance or reduction of foreign words depends on the type to which they belong (e. g. nouns are more adaptable than verbs).

S<sub>2</sub>: жлундра (female sexual organ) < Schrunde (cracked skin)

(6) Romanian:

G: balamúti (erotic caress) < balamút (courtship)

(7) Turkish:

G<sub>1</sub>: kolobarás (active homosexual) < gulâmpâre (paedophile)

G<sub>2</sub>: markútsi (penis) < markuç (hookah hose with a mouthpiece)

G<sub>3</sub>: binés (active – passive homosexual) < ibne (homosexual)

S<sub>1</sub>: лула (penis // oral stimulation of the penis) < lüle (pipe // bowl of a hookah or narghile)

S<sub>2</sub>: гајтанићи (perform intercourse) < gaytan (knitted ribbon for decorating clothes)

S<sub>3</sub>: будалаш (penis) < budala (stupid man, clumsy person)

(8) Spanish:

G: kohonátos (sexually active man) < cojones (testicles)

(9) French:

G<sub>1</sub>: kapóta (condom) < capote (winter coat with a hood)

G<sub>2</sub>: partúza (sexual act of several persons, group sex) < partouse / partouze (orgy)

S<sub>1</sub>: кретен (mentally retarded person) < crétin (naive)

S<sub>2</sub>: бордел (brothel) < bordel (whorehouse)

#### 4. Derivation mechanisms of obscene words and expressions

The morphological rules that are significantly applied in the enrichment of general vocabulary are also applied in obscene words of the Greek and Serbian languages. More specifically, we come across: (a) derivation (suffix); (b) composition (prefixation, blending, phrasal compounds); (c) special derivation processes (movement of syllables or accents, abbreviated forms, acronyms, idiomatic phrases):

##### 4.1. Derivation

The formation of new lexemes through derivation (Aronoff 1976; Plag 2003) is presented as a morphological process that usually combines two components: the impressive diversity and the significant number of derivational morphemes (Fromkin 2011: 48).

##### 4.1.1. Suffixation

The verbal and noun suffixes as well as the suffixoids form curse words that are divided into three main subcategories (nouns, adjectives, verbs):



## NOUNS

### GREEK LANGUAGE

- a**: γamióla (immoral woman) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- áda**: numeráda (successive intercourse of a woman with many men) < número (number)
- áðiko**: lezviáðiko (lesbian bar) < lezvía (homosexual female)
- áki**: koláki (tush, buttocks) < kólos (ass, butt)
- ákas**: gomenákas (seducer) < gómenos (boyfriend, dude, male lover)
- ákos**: keratákos (dope, bugger) < keratás (cuckold, man whose wife is unfaithful)
- ára**: aðerfára (faggot, poofter) < aðerfí (homosexual, gay)
- aráki**: kolaráki (small ass) < kólos (ass, butt)
- arás**: tsoylanarás (hoodlum, troublemaker) < tsóylanos (scoundrel, scumbag)
- aría**: batsaría (police // police officers) < bátsos (cop, bobby)
- aros**: múnaros (very attractive woman) < muní (vagina, pussy // cunt, obnoxious person)
- arú**: kolarú (woman with a large ass) < kólos (ass, butt)
- ařo**: putanařo (brothel // bitch, fucking slut // group of hookers) < putána (prostitute)
- ás**: kolarás (man with a large ass) < kólos (ass, butt)
- as**: kurádas (fearful man) < kuráda (turd, piece of excrement)
- áto**: aðerfáto (group of homosexual persons) < aðerfí (homosexual, gay)
- dzís**: pipadzís (blabbermouth, jabberer) < pípa (pipe // blowjob // silly argument)
- erí**: kařolerí (meeting place of undignified women) < kařóla (immoral woman)
- í**: kolí (tight ass) < kólos (ass, butt)
- ía**: malakía (masturbation // nonsense // failure) < malákas (masturbator // idiot)
- íða**: muníða (type of women) < muní (vagina, pussy // cunt, obnoxious person)
- íði**: lezvíði (young lesbian) < lezvía (homosexual female)
- íðio**: porníðio (slapper, tart, jailbait, little whore) < pórni (prostitute)
- íðis**: paparíðis (stupid, silly) < papári (testicle)
- íθra**: muníθra (vagina // pretty girl) < muní (vagina, pussy // cunt, obnoxious person)
- íkos**: γamíkos (bad lover) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- íkós**: putanikós (group of whores // unlucky prostitute) < putána (slut)

**-íkulas:** γamíkulas (boastful lover) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-íla:** ḡesíla (defecating) < ḡézo (shit, defecate // scold)

**-líki:** pustrilíki (gayness, faggotry // sly and underhanded action) < pústis (gay, homosexual)

**-imo:** ḡésimo (shitting // swearing) < ḡézo (take a shit)

**-ína:** psolína (little penis // penis-oriented gal) < psolí (penis)

**-ing:** pútsing (inertness) < pútsa (penis)

**-ío:** pornío (brothel, whore house) < pórnι (prostitute)

**-iólis:** γamíólis (passive homosexual) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-ís:** munís (immoral man) < muni (vagina)

**-ískos:** gebelískos (propagandist politician) < *germ.* Gebels (minister of propaganda of Nazi Germany)

**-isa:** géisa (homosexual woman) < géi (homosexual)

**-ísimos:** γamísimos (able to be or worthy of being fucked) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-ístas:** psolístas (lazy) < psolí (penis)

**-istís:** γamistís (womanizer) < γamó (make love, copulate)

**-ístra:** γamístra (bed) < γamó (make love, have intercourse)

**-isḡátika:** γamísḡátika (money for making love with a prostitute // someone else's damages and responsibilities) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-ítiḡa:** keratítiḡa (embarrassment of the cuckold) < kérato (horn)

**-ítis:** mangítis (provocative bully) < mángas (yob, buster)

**-ítoras:** γamítoras (fucker) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-ítsa:** pustítsa (weak deception) < pustá (insidious behavior)

**-izmós:** tsutsekizmós (flattering behavior) < tsutséki (git, low-life)

**-iá:** ḡesíá (quantity of feces from a bowel movement) < ḡézo (defecate, shit // scold)

**-iáris:** psolíáris (сексуално дегенерисан мушкарац) < psolí (курац)

**-iás:** γamíás (fucker) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-iéra:** botomíera (passive homosexual) < *engl.* bottom (ass, buttocks)

**-lís:** katurlís (pisser) < katuró (pee, urinate)

**-ma:** kávloma (sexual excitement) < kávla (erection)

**-o:** kuráḡo (timid woman) < kuráḡa (turd, plop)

**-onas:** prézonas (drug addict) < préza (drug // dash)

**-ónas:** munónas (place full of girls) < muni (vagina)

**-óni:** batsóni (young policeman) < bátsos (cop)

**-oras:** γamítoras (fucker) < γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

**-os:** púlos (penis) < pulí (dick)

- osi**: kávlosi (sexual excitement) < kávla (erection)
- osíni**: pustosíni (homosexuality) < pústis (homosexual)
- otíras**: tsibukotíras (girl skilled in oral sex) < tsibúki (pipe // blowjob, fellatio)
- otís**: kavlotís (sexual stimulant) < kavlí (penis)
- ótita**: kavlotita (erection) < kavlí (penis)
- óvios**: tsondóvios (passionate viewer of pornography) < tsónða (pornographic film)
- ovits**: malákovits (stupid) < malákas (masturbator // asshole // idiot)
- simo**: ǵésimo (shit, defecation) < ǵézo (defecate, shit // scold)
- stis**: ǵístis (ejaculator) < ǵíno (cum, ejaculate)
- tíri**: malakistíri (stupid young person) < malákas (masturbator // asshole // idiot)
- tírio**: ǵestírio (pamphlet) < ǵézo (shit, defecate // scold)
- tis**: ǵéstis (defecator // coward) < ǵézo (defecate, shit)
- ú**: vizitú (out call prostitute, call girl) < vízita (visit)
- úklis**: keratúklis (mind-cheater // resourceful person) < keratás (cuckold)
- úla**: skatúla (turd, small piece of excrement) < skató (shit, plop)
- ulas**: ǵamíku<sup>la</sup> (arrogant fucker) < ǵamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- úli**: skatúli (turd, small piece of excrement) < skató (shit, plop)
- úlis**: malakúlis (half-wit, stupid) < malákas (masturbator // asshole // idiot)
- úlakas**: stravúlakas (stone-blind, unable to see) < stravós (blind)
- úra**: patúra (woman with an attractive butt) < pátos (bottom, buttocks)
- uřó**: ǵezuřó (great desire to defecate) < ǵézo (defecate, shit // scold)

## SERBIAN LANGUAGE

- a**: љуба (butt, buttocks, ass) < љубити (kiss // love)
- авелѝа**: куравелѝа (intercourse // confusion) < курац (penis)
- авиѝа**: куравиѝа (intercourse // snowstorm) < курац (penis)
- ад**: говнад (rascal, scum) < говно (shit, excrement)
- ада**: јебада (problematic situation) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- ажа**: пичкажа (fight, wrangle) < пичка (vagina)
- ајбер**: курајбер (man having large genitals // boring man) < курац (penis)
- ак**: лудац (madman) < луд (crazy, insane)
- ака**: пишцака (urine, pee) < пишати (urinate)
- алина**: мудалина (person with large testicles) < мудро (testicle)
- алица**: дркалица (empty story) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)
- алиште**: пичкалиште (boxing ring) < пичка (vagina)

- ало**: дркало (elderly person) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)  
 -**аљка**: пишаљка (vagina) < пишати (urinate)  
 -**ан**: пишан (man prone to frequent sexual contacts) < пица (vagina)  
 -**ана**: сисана (big-breasted woman) < сиса (breast)  
 -**анија**: јебанија (intercourse) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)  
 -**анце**: гованце (turd, small piece of excrement) < говно (shit, plop)  
 -**анција**: јебанција (intercourse // waste of time // mess) < јебати (have sexual intercourse)  
 -**ањак**: пишањак (urine, pee) < пишати (urinate)  
 -**ање**: јебање (intercourse) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)  
 -**аоница**: јебаоница (brothel, whore house) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)  
 -**ар**: говнар (man with a bad reputation) < говно (shit, plop)  
 -**ара**: вимара (big-breasted woman) < виме (breast)  
 -**арија**: пиздарија (unpleasant situation // stupid person) < пизда (vagina)  
 -**арка**: говнарка (woman with a bad reputation) < говно (shit, plop)  
 -**арница**: пиларница (place of intercourse) < пилар (boring lover)  
 -**арош**: дркарош (masturbator // asshole // less important man) < дркати (masturbate)  
 -**арчина**: пиздарчина (large vagina) < пизда (vagina)  
 -**ата**: пиздата (woman with a large vagina) < пизда (vagina)  
 -**аћа**: пишаћа (urine // lukewarm water // weak brandy) < пишати (urinate)  
 -**ац**: јебац (man prone to contact with prostitutes) < јебати (have sexual intercourse)  
 -**ација**: швалерација (intercourse // philandering) < швалер (skirt chaser, ladies' man)  
 -**ача**: жутача (asshole) < жут (yellow)  
 -**ација**: дркација (masturbator // asshole // idiot) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)  
 -**аш**: дупеташ (homosexual, gay) < дупе (butt, buttocks, ass)  
 -**ашце**: мудашце (little testicle) < мудро (testicle)  
 -**евина**: пичевина (vaginal flesh) < пичка (vagina)  
 -**езина**: дркезина (masturbator) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)  
 -**ек**: пиздек (egoist // stingy // bad friend) < пизда (vagina)  
 -**екања**: курчекања (big penis) < курац (penis)  
 -**еља**: гузеља (less worthy person) < гуза (buttock)  
 -**ељак**: шупељак (pudgy child) < шупак (asshole)  
 -**ељачина**: шупељачина (very pudgy child) < шупак (asshole)  
 -**ење**: пиздење (nonsense // nervousness) < пизда (vagina)  
 -**енце**: дупенце (little butt) < дупе (butt, buttocks, ass)  
 -**ер**: гузер (wider part of testicles) < гуза (buttock)

- етин**: куретин (skin of the penis) < курац (penis)
- етина**: курветина (whore, bitch // immoral woman) < курва (prostitute)
- ећина**: курећина (skin of the penis) < курац (penis)
- ешко**: мудешко (man with large testicles) < мудро (testicle)
- ија**: товарија (ass, butt) < товар (load, cargo)
- ијада**: пишијада (funny affair) < пишати (urinate)
- ик**: празник (impotent) < празан (empty)
- ика**: пушика (female person prone to oral sex) < пушити (fellate, perform oral sex)
- ина**: трупина (sexually attractive body) < труп (trunk, body)
- ић**: пенисић (little penis) < пенис (penis)
- ич**: јебич (lover) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- ичина**: јебичина (woman with uncontrollable sexual desire) < јебати (copulate)
- иште**: пиздиште (deserted place) < пизда (vagina)
- ка**: жутка (little ass) < жут (yellow)
- кара**: шупкара (woman with developed glutes) < шупак (asshole)
- киле**: шупкиле (woman with developed glutes) < шупак (asshole)
- ко**: пицко (womanizer) < пица (vagina)
- кош**: пицкош (womanizer) < пица (vagina)
- кур**: пишкур (coward) < пишати (urinate)
- лаћ**: дрклаћ (bad meat to eat // stunted plant without branches and leaves) < дркати (masturbate)
- ло**: мицало (penis) < мицати (move // slip)
- ља**: сраља (woman who charges for the entrance to the toilet) < срати (defecate // talk nonsense)
- на**: гузна (woman with developed glutes // greedy woman) < гуза (buttock)
- ница**: мудница (testicle sac, scrotum) < мудро (testicle)
- ња**: вожња (intercourse) < возити (drive)
- њак**: вритњак (anal sex) < врит (kick in the butt)
- ње**: чукање (intercourse) < чукати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- о**: куро (penis) < кура (penis)
- ован**: пицован (man prone to grooming) < пица (vagina)
- ојка**: пиздојка (young girl) < пизда (vagina)
- ока**: пиздока (woman with freer behavior // womanizer // bad person) < пизда (vagina)
- оница**: јебаоница (brothel, whorehouse) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- оња**: главоња (penis) < глава (head)
- орак**: пичорак (short girl) < пичка (vagina)

- ос**: гузос (butt, buttocks) < гуза (bottom, ass)
- ост**: курчевитост (sexual agility) < курац (penis)
- ош**: дркош (masturbator) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)
- рење**: пиздрење (weeping, crying) < пизда (vagina)
- ство**: јепство (intercourse) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- уд**: јебуд (unsuccessful lover) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- уља**: јебуља (woman with uncontrollable sexual desire) < јебати (have sexual intercourse)
- уљак**: пичуљак (woman with uncontrollable sexual desire) < пичка (vagina)
- уљина**: пиздуљина (large vagina // woman with uncontrollable sexual desire) < пизда (vagina)
- унче**: пиздунче (baby) < пизда (vagina)
- ура**: пиздура (large female sexual organ) < пизда (vagina)
- урда**: пичкурда (large vagina) < пичка (vagina)
- урија**: пиздурија (stupid person // nonsense, odds and ends) < пизда (vagina)
- урина**: пичкурина (large vagina) < пичка (vagina)
- уша**: пиздуша (vagina // attractive woman) < пизда (vagina)
- чић**: пупчић (vagina) < пупак (belly button)
- чина**: пиздарчина (large vagina) < пизда (vagina)
- шезина**: дркшежина (masturbator) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)

## I. ADJECTIVES

### GREEK LANGUAGE

- átos, -áti, -áto**: arxidátos (guttty // courageous // capable) < arxídi (testicle)
- éks, -éks, -éks**: kavléks (sexually undesirable) < kavlí (penis)
- éños, -éña, -éño**: skatéños (worthless) < skató (shit, excrement)
- éos, -éa, -éo**: psolaréos (well-endowed man) < psolí (penis)
- erós, -erí, -eró**: gamisterós (excellent) < gamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- ikos, -iki, -iko**: pústikos (insidious, treacherous) < pústis (homosexual, gay)
- ios, -ia, -io**: tsondóvios (pornographic) < tsóna (pornographic film)
- ís, -iá, -í**: skatís (shit-coloured, shit-brown) < skató (shit, excrement)
- ísimos, -ísimi, -ísimo**: gamísimos (fuckable) < gamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- ístikos, -ístiki, -ístiko**: putanístikos (tarty, dishonest) < putána (prostitute)
- īáris, -īára, -īáriko**: skatīáris (dirty) < skató (shit, excrement)
- os, -i, -o**: gkávalos (stupid) < gkávalo (horse manure)

## SERBIAN LANGUAGE

- ав, -ава, -аво:** говнав (soiled with feces) < говно (shit, excrement)  
**-ави, -ава, -аво:** балави (penis) < бале (snot)  
**-ан, -ана, -ано:** зајебан (difficult // complicated) < јебати (have sexual intercourse)  
**-арски, -арска, -арско:** говнарски (man with a bad reputation) < говно (shit, excrement)  
**-аст, -аста, -асто:** гузаст (of large buttocks) < гуза (bottom, ass)  
**-ат, -ата, -ато:** мудат (guttu // courageous) < мудро (testicle)  
**-ачки, -ачка, -ачко:** загребачки (Zagrebian) < загребачка млекара (Zagrebian dairy // big-breasted woman)  
**-ђи, -ђа, -ђе:** говеђа нога (veal leg // penis) < говеђи ~ veal  
**-ев, -ева, -ево:** курчев (which refers to the penis) < курац (penis)  
**-евит, -евита, -евито:** курчевит (arrogant) < курац (penis)  
**-ежљив, -ежљива, -ежљиво:** јебежљив (horny, fuckable, fuckworthy // sexually stimulated easily) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)  
**-ен, -ена, -ено:** говнен (smearred with feces // of poor quality) < говно (shit, excrement)  
**-ео, -ела, -ело:** загорео (without sexual intercourse) < горети (burn)  
**-иг, -ига, -иго:** пициг (neat, grooming, perfect) < пица (vagina)  
**-ин, -ина, -ино:** пицин (vaginal) < пица (vagina)  
**-ичав, -ичава, -ичаво:** пишичав (worthless, useless) < пишати (urinate)  
**-ичан, -ична, -ично:** пишичан (funny) < пишати (urinate)  
**-ичаст, -ичаста, -ичасто:** гузичаст (of large buttocks) < гуза (bottom, ass)  
**-љив, -љива, -љиво:** пишљив (worthless, useless) < пишати (urinate)  
**-нат, -ната, -нато:** гузнат (voracious, gluttonous) < гуза (bottom, ass)  
**-ни, -на, -но:** гузни (relating to the buttock) < гуза (bottom, ass)  
**-њи, -ња, -ње:** гужњи (relating to the buttock) < гуза (bottom, ass)  
**-ски, -ска, -ско:** градски (urban) < градско млекарство (city dairy // big-breasted woman)  
**-ћи, -ћа, -ће:** висећи (hanging) < висећи врт (hanging garden // sagging breast)

## III. VERBS

### GREEK LANGUAGE

- áro:** trobáro (masturbate) < tróba (pump)  
**-ázo:** burđelázo (often go to brothels) < burđélo (brothel, whore house)

- évo**: putévo (become homosexual) < pústis (gay, homosexual)
- izo**: putanizo (act like a whore) < putána (prostitute)
- íazo**: balamutíazo (snog, touch passionately) < balamúti (fondling, snog)
- óno**: kavlóno (have an erection, be sexually aroused) < kavlí (penis)

## SERBIAN LANGUAGE

- арити**: пичарити (look for girls) < пица (vagina)
- ати**: говнати (talk nonsense // do a bad job) < говно (shit, excrement)
- ачити**: закундачити (have sexual intercourse, copulate) < кундак (gunstock, butt)
- екнути**: пиздекнути (beat, hit) < пизда (vagina)
- ети**: пижђети (get nervous, be upset) < пизда (vagina)
- икати**: јебикати (make love // curse) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- ирати**: сексирати (have sexual intercourse, copulate) < секс (act of sexual intercourse)
- исати**: рендисати (make love) < ренде (plane, grater, plough)
- ити**: гузити (make love // hesitate) < гуза (bottom, ass)
- кати**: јепкати (make love) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- нути**: дркнути (make love) < дркати (masturbate, jerk off)
- осовати**: пиздосовати се (quarrell, argue) < пизда (vagina)
- укнути**: пицукнути (be wrong, mistake) < пица (vagina)
- унити**: зајебунити се (make love // be deceived) < јебати (male love, copulate)
- уцати**: јебуцати (make love // be deceived) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)
- уцкати**: јебуцкати (make love // be deceived) < јебати (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

### 4.2. Composition

In the extremely imaginative obscene words of the Greek and Serbian languages composition (Bauer 1983, 1988; Booij 2005; Haspelmath 2002) as a “process that creates morphologically complex data at least by two stems” (Pállı 2005: 164) has a high degree of frequency.

According to the percentage of compounds, they appear as a result of a combinatorial function between nouns and adjectives (examples: 1, 2), nouns and verbs (examples: 3, 4), less often nouns and adverbs (example: 5):

G<sub>1</sub>: putanófatsa (woman with bitchy view) ⇔ putána (prostitute) + fátsa (face)



G<sub>2</sub>: pornoðiastrofikós (person with sexual perversion) ⇒ pórnī (prostitute) + ðiastrofikós (perverted)

G<sub>3</sub>: alaksokolá (successive exchange of active and passive role between homosexual men) ⇒ alázo (change) + kólos (buttock)

G<sub>4</sub>: γamospérno (be outstanding) ⇒ γamó (make love) + spérno (sow)

G<sub>5</sub>: poteγamísis (who has never experienced an intercourse) ⇒ poté (never) + γamó (make love)

S<sub>1</sub>: курцоглавац (stupid) ⇒ курац (penis) + глава (head)

S<sub>2</sub>: белогуз (man with white ass) ⇒ бео (white) + гуза (bottom, ass)

S<sub>3</sub>: бабофакер (who tends to copulate with older women) ⇒ баба (grandmother // old woman) + факер < *engl.* fucker (who makes love)

S<sub>4</sub>: јебозован (sexually attractive) ⇒ јебати (fuck, make love) + звати (call)

S<sub>5</sub>: ускопиздити (be stubborn) ⇒ уско (narrowly) + пиздити (talk nonsense // lose my temper)

Of particular interest is the fact that compound words with a vulgar meaning are characterized by complete semantic opacity and a quadruple structure:

(a) stem + stem:

G: savuroγámis (who indiscriminately makes love to any woman) ⇒ savur- < savúra (useless thing // unappealing woman) + -o- + γamó (make love)

S: јебигуз (homosexual // bad person // stingy) ⇒ јеб- < јебати (make love) + гуз- < гуза (buttocks)

(b) stem + word:

G: pustoférno (behave as a passive homosexual) ⇒ pust- < pústis (passive homosexual) + -o- + férno (act)

S: гузолизац (flatterer) ⇒ гуз- < гуза (buttocks) + -o- + лизац (licker)

(c) word + word:

G: ksanaγamó (make love again) ⇒ ksaná (again) + γamó (make love)

S: дупепевач (babblers) ⇒ дупе (ass, butt) + певач (penis)

Very often in obscene vocabulary we may notice:

(a) a combination of two Greek or Serbian stems:

G<sub>1</sub>: kolóγeros (old asshole) ⇒ коло- < kólos (buttock) + γéros (old man)

G<sub>2</sub>: tsondémboras (porno material dealer) ⇒ tsond- < tsónða (pornographic film) + émboros (merchant)

S<sub>1</sub>: вртигуз (restless person) ⇒ врти- < вртети (swing) + -гуз < гуза (butt)

S<sub>2</sub>: голопичка (woman dressed provocatively) ⇒ гол- < го (nude) + -o- + пичка (vagina)

(b) the presence of Greek (Serbian) and foreign stems:

G<sub>1</sub>: γamotél (hostel for ephemeral intercourse) ⇒ γam- < γamó (make love) + -o- + motél < *Engl.* motel (pension)

G<sub>2</sub>: seksonárki (sexy short woman) ⇒ seks (sex) + -o- + nárki (mine)

S<sub>1</sub>: φωτοσοπичка (girl who looks beautiful because of photoshop) ⇨  
 фотошоп < *Engl.* photoshop + пичка (vagina)

S<sub>2</sub>: сексканица (insomnia after excessive sex) ⇨ seks (sex) + сан (sleep //  
 dream)

(c) the simultaneous use of three stems:

G: malakoputsoyliftra (immoral woman) ⇨ malak- < malákas (masturbator)  
 + -o- + puts- < pútsa (penis) + -o- + ylif- < ylífo (lick)

S: курцоподизач (aphrodisiac) ⇨ курц- < курац (penis) + -o- + по (on // in  
 // at // against) + дизач < дизати (lift)

(d) the cardinal numbers in the function of the prefix:

G<sub>1</sub>: trimálas (stupid, lunkhead) ⇨ tría (three ~ 3) + malákas (masturbator)

G<sub>2</sub>: xíloputána (whore) ⇨ xílja (thousand ~ 1000) + putána (prostitute)

S<sub>1</sub>: трогуз (man with bulky buttocks) ⇨ три (three ~ 3) + гуза (ass)

S<sub>2</sub>: двопичњак (man who has intercourse with two women) ⇨ два (two ~2)  
 + пичка (vagina)

#### 4.2.1. Prefixation

The obscene word formed with prefixes or prefixoids is characterized by semantic differentiation (intensification nuance and radical change):

### GREEK LANGUAGE

**a-**: apíðixtos (unfucked, virgin) ⇨ a- (not) + píðó (make love, copulate)

**аγαθο-**: аγαθoмúnis (gullible man prone to sexual activities) ⇨ аγαθός  
 (good) + muní (vagina)

**αγριό-**: αγριόmuно (very sexy woman) ⇨ áγrios (wild) + muní (vagina)

**aero-**: aeroxésimo (evacuation in public toilet) ⇨ aéras (air) + xésimo  
 (defecation)

**aksio-**: aksioγámiti (woman worth fucking) ⇨ áksios (worthy) + γaмó  
 (copulate)

**alazo-**: alaksokólis (man who is alternatively active and passive homosexual)  
 ⇨ alázo (change) + kólos (bottom)

**aleksi-**: aleksipáparo (condom) ⇨ alékso (prevent) + papári (testicle)

**alilo-**: alilokatúrima (mutual ignoring between close friends) ⇨ alílon (each  
 other) + katúrima (pissing)

**alitó-**: alitópustas (gay tramp) ⇨ alítis (vagrant, scoundrel) + pústis (male  
 homosexual)

**alvanó-**: alvanómorfo (Albanian person) ⇨ Alvanós (Albanian) + morfi  
 (form, shape)

**amfi-**: amfípsolo (double penetration) ⇨ amfi- (bilateral) + psolí (penis)

- ana-**: anakávlosi (unreasonable erection) ⇨ aná- (again) + kavlí (penis)
- anarx̄o-**: anarx̄omúni (anarchist vagina) ⇨ anarx̄ía (anarchy) + muní (vagina)
- andi-**: antiséks (antisexual) ⇨ andí- (against) + séks (intercourse)
- anemó-**: anemókavla (weathering hardon) ⇨ ánemos (wind) + kavlí (penis)
- anġelo-**: anġelomúna (angelic broad) ⇨ ángelos (angel) + muní (vagina)
- ano-**: anomalákas (perverted wanker) ⇨ áno (up, above) + malákas (masturbator)
- apó-**: apóskata (remnants of excrement) ⇨ apó- (from) + skató (feces, excrement)
- arapó-**: arapóputsa (black man's penis) ⇨ arápis (niger) + pútsa (penis)
- araxno-**: araxnomúna (female who abstains from sex) ⇨ aráxni (spide) + muní (vagina)
- arseno-**: arsenoknítis (gay communist) ⇨ arsenikós (male) + knítis (member of the Communist Youth of Greece)
- arhondo-**: arhondomúna (tall and stately woman) ⇨ árhondas (lord, master) + muní (vagina)
- arx̄eó-**: arx̄eókavlos (pathologically dedicated to ancient Greece) ⇨ arx̄éos (ancient) + kavlí (penis)
- arx̄i-**: arx̄imalákas (stupid) ⇨ arx̄í- (major // principal) + malákas (masturbator)
- arx̄iðo-**: arx̄iðoķeftés (asshole) ⇨ arx̄íði (testicle) + ķeftés (meatball)
- avnano-**: avnanoloyía (foolishness) ⇨ avnánas (masturbator) + lóyia (words)
- avro-**: avrovóstrixos (homosexual man with girly locks of hair) ⇨ avrós (polite) + vóstrixos (curl)
- axlaðo-**: axlaðomúna (female with a pear-shaped body) ⇨ axláði (pear) + muní (vagina)
- berðévo-**: berðepsomuñá (mixture) ⇨ berðévo (confuse, complicate) + muní (vagina)
- betó-**: betóvlakas (stupid) ⇨ betón (concrete) + vlákas (idiot)
- burðeló-**: burðelótsarka (brothel-hopping) ⇨ burðélo (brothel, whorehouse) + tsárka (stroll)
- buzuġo-**: buzuġomúna (cheap female person // woman frequenting bouzouki clubs) ⇨ buzúġi (bouzouki, Greek stringed instruments) + muní (vagina)
- ġaiðuró-**: ġaiðuróputsa (large penis) ⇨ ġaiðúri (donkey) + pútsa (penis)
- ġamo-**: ġamokatástasi (very difficult condition) ⇨ ġamó (copulate, make love) + katástasi (situation)
- ġero-**: ġerobinés (dirty active and passive homosexual) ⇨ ġéros (old man) + binés (active and passive homosexual)
- ġlifo-**: ġlifomúni (cunnilingus) ⇨ ġlifo (lick) + muní (vagina)

**γliko-:** γlikoputañá (sexually provocative action) ⇒ γlikós (sweet) + putañá (trickery)

**γrafo-:** γrapсарχίdis (indifferent person) ⇒ γράφο (write) + αρχίdis (testicle)

**δi-:** δitsíbuko (oral stimulation of two penises) ⇒ δίο (two) + tsibúki (long-stemmed tobacco pipe)

**dardano-:** dardanomúna (large and robust female) ⇒ dardána (butch woman) + muní (vagina)

**de-:** dekavlé (person not in good sexual form) ⇒ de- (off // down // away) + kavlí (penis)

**eđiό-:** eđiόpano (disgusting man) ⇒ eđiό (vagina) + paní (cloth)

**ek-:** ekpustévo (make someone homosexual) ⇒ ek- (from) + pústis (homosexual)

**ekso-:** eksokolíasi (showing the buttocks) ⇒ ékso- (out) + kólos (ass, bottom)

**en-:** éngavlos (erect) ⇒ en- (in // into) + kavlí (penis)

**etero-:** eterópustas (heterosexual groomed as homosexual) ⇒ éteros (other) + pústis (homosexual)

**evro-:** evropéos (aggressive European policy) ⇒ evro- (European) + péos (penis)

**fak-:** fákman (stallion) ⇒ fak < *Engl.* fuck (make love, have intercourse) + *Engl.* man < man (man)

**farmako-:** farmakopsólis (man whose partner dies) ⇒ farmáki (poison, venom) + psolí (penis)

**fasisto-:** fasistomúna (fascist woman) ⇒ fasístas (fascist) + muní (vagina)

**flap-:** flapútsos (loose penis) ⇒ *engl.* flappy (giddy // unsteady) + pútsos (penis)

**frango-:** frangofoñás (stingy person) ⇒ frángo (money) + foñás (killer)

**ftoxo-:** ftoxobineđjárís (cheapskate) ⇒ ftoxós (poor) + binés (active and passive homosexual)

**thalaso-:** thalasomúna (jellyfish) ⇒ θálasa (sea) + muní (vagina)

**θεό-:** θεόputsa (intercourse without prior warning to the partner) ⇒ Θεός (God) + pútsa (penis)

**θrasí-:** θrasípustas (arrogant gay person) ⇒ θrasís (impudent) + pústis (homosexual)

**imí-:** imíkavla (penis during erection) ⇒ imí- (half) + kavlí (penis)

**internet-:** internetomalákas (internet jerk) ⇒ internet (worldwide computer network) + malákas (masturbator // asshole // idiot)

**iper-:** iperkávlas (obsessed with cars) ⇒ ipér- (more // extra) + kavlí (penis)

**jerondo-:** jerondomúna (spinster) ⇒ jérondas (old man) + muní (vagina)

**kako-:** kakoyamiméni (hellcat) ⇒ kakós (bad) + γamó (have sexual intercourse, copulate)

- kara-**: karaputána (whore) ⇒ *turk.* kará- (black // more) + putána (prostitute)
- karafló-**: karaflómuno (bald vagina) ⇒ karafló (bald) + muní (vagina)
- karjolo-**: karjolotsibukoýliftra (prostitute who performs fellatio) ⇒ karjóra (immoral woman) + tsibúki (pipe // blowjob, fellatio) + ýlífo (lick)
- katsiko-**: katsikoyámis (man who copulates with goats) ⇒ katsíka (goat) + ýamó (copulate, make love)
- katuró-**: katurókavla (erection while urinating) ⇒ katuró (urinate) + kávla (erection)
- kavlo-**: kavlomúni (attractive woman) ⇒ kavlí (penis) + muní (vagina)
- kleo-**: klapsomúnis (whiner, weeper) ⇒ kléo (cry) + muní (vagina)
- klepsíðro-**: klepsíðromúna (hourglass-shaped woman) ⇒ klepsíðra (hourglass) + muní (vagina)
- koló-**: kolótripa (asshole) ⇒ kólos (ass, bottom) + trípa (hole)
- kondo-**: kondopútano (short and horny woman) ⇒ kondós (short) + putána (prostitute)
- kopso-**: kopsopsólis (circumcised person) ⇒ kóvo (cut) + psolí (penis)
- krifó-**: krifópustas (homosexual who hides his sexual identity) ⇒ krifós (secret) + pústis (homosexual)
- kse-**: ksekolóno (exhaust // perform wild anal sex) ⇒ kse- (out // away) + kólos (buttock)
- ksero-**: kseroyamó (perform non- penetrative sex) ⇒ kserós (dry) + ýamó (make love)
- ksino-**: ksinomúna (bad-tempered woman) ⇒ ksinós (sour, bitter) + muní (vagina)
- ksó-**: ksóvizo (tit-flaunting attire) ⇒ kso- (out) + vizí (tit, boob, breast)
- kutso-**: kutsopútsis (insecure lover) ⇒ kutsós (lame) + pútsos (penis)
- levendó-**: levendómuno (tall and beautiful woman) ⇒ levéndis (young and strong man) + muní (vagina)
- maðo-**: maðomúni (quarrel between women // plucking pubic hair) ⇒ maðó (pluck, remove feathers) + muní (vagina)
- malako-**: malakokávlis (idiot, jerk) ⇒ malákas (masturbator) + kavlí (penis)
- maľaro-**: maľaromúna (hairy-bushed woman) ⇒ maľarós (hairy) + muní (vagina)
- mikro-**: mikropsólis (with a little penis) ⇒ mikrós (little) + psolí (penis)
- mikso-**: miksoparþéna (experienced virgin) ⇒ míksi (mixture, blend) + parþéna (virgin)
- misó-**: misomúna (short woman) ⇒ misós (half) + muní (vagina)
- mito-**: mitokóli (brown-nosing) ⇒ míti (nose) + kólos (bottom)
- munó-**: munófatsa (disgusting man) ⇒ muní (vagina) + fátsa (face)

**nikoĩiro-**: nikoĩiroputána (desperate housewife) ⇨ nikoĩirá (housewife) + putána (prostitute)

**opisθo-**: opisθoyamikós (passive homosexual) ⇨ ópisθen (rear, back) + γamó (make love)

**palió-**: paliópustas (dishonest man) ⇨ paliós (old) + pústis (homosexual)

**paparo-**: paparozúmi (sperm, ejaculate) ⇨ papári (testicle) + zumí (juice)

**para-**: parapsóli (large clitoris) ⇨ pará- (next to) + psolí (penis)

**pasi-**: pasipórni (prostitute who does not choose her lovers) ⇨ pás (every) + pórni (prostitute)

**pefto-**: peftopiðíkulas (skirt chaser) ⇨ péfto (fall) + piðó (make love, copulate)

**peo-**: peoθilazmós (fellatio) ⇨ péos (penis) + θilázo (suck)

**pinezo-**: pinezopútano (short prostitute) ⇨ pinéza (thumbtack) + putána (prostitute)

**pír-**: pírkavlos (ultra-horny man) ⇨ pír (fire) + kavlí (penis)

**plako-**: plakomúni (vagina-rubbing by lesbians) ⇨ pláka (board, panel) + muní (vagina)

**porðo-**: porðovúloma (short person // butt-plug) ⇨ porðí (fart) + vúloma (blockage, stopper)

**pornó-**: pornóγeras (perverted old man) ⇨ pórni (prostitute) + γéros (old man)

**prízo-**: priksarxíði (nagger) ⇨ prízo (make swollen // annoy // pester) + arxíði (testicle)

**psalidó-**: psalidókolos (man wearing a tuxedo) ⇨ psalíði (scissors) + kólos (bottom)

**psilo-**: psilomalákas (stupid) ⇨ psilós (thin // fine) + malákas (masturbator)

**psoló-**: psolóγala (jizz, cum) ⇨ psolí (penis) + γála (milk)

**psoro-**: psoroaderfí (scorned homosexual) ⇨ psóra (scabies) + aderfí (passive homosexual)

**puro-**: purolubína (old faggot) ⇨ puró (old man) + lubína (passive homosexual)

**pustó-**: pustóγria (old faggot) ⇨ pústis (old man) + γriá (old woman)

**putso-**: putsomúni (genitals of a fat man) ⇨ pútsa (penis) + muní (vagina)

**p̃xano-**: p̃xasokolé (very expensive) ⇨ p̃xano (seize, catch) + kólos (bottom)

**ruf̃xanó-**: ruf̃xanóspito (whorehouse) ⇨ ruf̃xános (informer // squealer) + spíti (house)

**rufo-**: rufokavléta (little cocksucker) ⇨ rufó (suck) + kavlí (penis)

**savuro-**: savuroγámis (man who makes love with any woman) ⇨ savúra (ballast // trash) + γamó (make love)

**sfihito-**: sfihitokólis (not amenable to anal sex // stingy) ⇒ sfihτός (tight) + kólos (bottom)

**skato-**: skatothíki (buttocks) ⇒ skató (excrement) + thíki (place)

**skilo-**: skilopidíēme (be prone to frequent intercourses) ⇒ skílos (dog) + pidíēme (make love)

**spam-**: spamarxíidas (annoying spammer) ⇒ *engl.* spám (unsolicited e-mail) + arxíði (testicle)

**spazo-**: spasarxíidis (ball-buster) ⇒ spázo (break) + arxíði (testicle)

**sufro-**: sufroxilú (woman with penis sucking lips) ⇒ súfra (bottom) + xílos (lip)

**tile-**: tileyañás (user of computer or telephone sex) ⇒ tile- (from a distance) + yañás (fucker)

**tiro-**: tirovromíkulas (filthy person who smells of cheese) ⇒ tirí (cheese) + vrómikos (dirty)

**ton-**: tombérnulas (male homosexual) ⇒ tón (him // it) + péno (take)

**tri-**: trípustas (uber gay person) ⇒ trí (three) + pústis (male homosexual)

**tsatsó-**: tsatsóyeros (old fart) ⇒ tsatsá (whorehouse madam) + yéros (old man)

**tsaxpino-**: tsaxpinokolarákas (flirty gay person) ⇒ tsaxpínis (sassy) + kolaráki (buttocks)

**tsibukó-**: tsibukóxíla (penis sucking lips) ⇒ tsibúki (pipe // blowjob, fellatio) + xílos (lip)

**tsinganó-**: tsinganópustas (gay gypsy) ⇒ tsingános (gypsy) + pústis (male homosexual)

**tsutsuno-**: tsutsunopéxtis (masturbator) ⇒ tsutsúna (penis) + péxtis (player)

**vari-**: varipsólis (tough man who is full of himself) ⇒ varís (heavy) + psolí (penis)

**varvató-**: varvatópustas (butch-looking gay man) ⇒ varvátos (strong) + pústis (homosexual)

**vizo-**: vizoyamísi (tit-fucking) ⇒ vizí (tit) + yamísi (sexual activity)

**vromo-**: vromomúna (unclean woman) ⇒ vrómikos (dirty) + muní (vagina)

**xadzi-**: xadzipapáras (stupid) ⇒ xadzís (Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca) + papáras (contemptible person)

**xaiðo-**: xaiðokólis (male homosexual) ⇒ xaiðévo (caress) + kólos (ass, bottom)

**xamilo-**: xamilokóla (woman with hanging buttocks) ⇒ xamilós (low) + kólos (ass, bottom)

**xazo-**: xazomúna (dumb woman) ⇒ xazós (stupid) + muní (vagina)

**xondro-**: xondromalákas (stupid) ⇒ xondrós (fat) + malákas (masturbator)

**ḡezo-**: ḡezokláni (shart // unintentionally defecating due to relaxing the anus to flatulate) ⇒ ḡézo (shit, defecate // scold) + kláno (fart)

**ḡino-**: ḡisomúna (woman with incredible orgasm) ⇒ ḡíno (ejaculate) + muni (vagina)

**ḡiro-**: ḡiroyámis (masturbator) ⇒ ḡíra (hand) + ḡamó (make love, copulate)

**zaxaro-**: zaxaromúna (sexually excitable woman) ⇒ záxari (sugar) + muni (vagina)

## SERBIAN LANGUAGE

**без-**: бескурчевић (sexually weak man) ⇒ без- (without) + курац (penis)

**бел-**: белогуз (with white buttocks) ⇒ бео (white) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**буља-**: буљаксер (little ass) ⇒ буља (ass, bottom) + срати (shit, defecate // talk nonsense)

**виси-**: висибабић (impotent man) ⇒ висити (hang, dangle) + баба (grandmother)

**врти-**: вртигуз (restless person) ⇒ вртети (swing) + гуза (butt)

**вук-**: вукојebина (remote place, backwoods) ⇒ вук (wolf) + јebати (make love)

**говно-**: говноглавас (man with a bad reputation) ⇒ говно (shit) + глава (head)

**гол-**: гологуз (man with uncovered buttocks // poor person) ⇒ го (naked) + гуза (bottom)

**гузо-**: гузолизас (flatterer) ⇒ гуза (bottom) + лизати (lick)

**дво-**: двоцeвка (woman who at the same time makes love to two men) ⇒ два (two) + цев (tube)

**дебел-**: дебелјгуза (person with a big butt) ⇒ дебео (fat) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**дери-**: деригуз (prickly plant // field overgrown with thorns) ⇒ драти (strip, skin) + гуза (bottom)

**до-**: дојebати (complete an intercourse) ⇒ до- (until // to) + јebати (make love, copulate)

**драма-**: драмосер (overly frugal person) ⇒ драма (drama) + срати (shit // talk nonsense)

**дроњ-**: дроњгуз (spoiled child) ⇒ дроња (rag, shred) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**дупе-**: дупеглаваc (stupid // homosexual) ⇒ дупе (butt, buttocks) + глава (head)

**з-**: згуза (from the back) ⇒ с- (from) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**за-**: завиличити (copulate, make love) ⇒ за- (for // towards) + вилица (jaw, jowl)

**игло-**: иглодркало (gramophone) ⇒ игла (needle) + дркати (masturbate)



**из-:** издркати (complete a masturbation) ⇨ из- (from // exit) + дркати (masturbate)

**ис-:** испичкати (quarrel, argue) ⇨ из- (from) + пичка (vagina)

**јеби-:** јебигуз (bad person // homosexual // stingy) ⇨ јебати (make love) + гуза (ass)

**кито-:** китоловац (homosexual) ⇨ кита (penis) + ловити (hunt)

**клати-:** клатимуда (idler) ⇨ клати (slaughter, slash // make love) + мудро (testicle)

**криво-:** кривогуз (distorted buttocks) ⇨ крив (curved, crooked) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**курц-:** курцоломка (woman prone to intercourses) ⇨ курац (penis) + ломити (break)

**лажи-:** лажикурац (weak penis) ⇨ лагати (lie) + курац (penis)

**лижи-:** лижигуз (flatterer) ⇨ лизати (lick) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**липти-:** липтигуз (dangler) ⇨ липтати (flow, pour strongly) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**луфти-:** луфтигуз (irresponsible person // slowpoke, bone idle) ⇨ луфт (air) + гуза (ass)

**мило-:** милокурка (woman prone to intercourses) ⇨ мио (dear) + курац (penis)

**минђо-:** минђослава (vagina // young girl) ⇨ минђа (vagina) + слава (glory)

**мрдо-:** мрдогуза (woman prone to intercourses) ⇨ мрдати (move) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**мрљи-:** мрљимуда (idle person) ⇨ мрља (fleck, stain) + мудро (testicle)

**мрсо-:** мрсомуд (useless person) ⇨ мрсити (ruffle // mess up) + мудро (testicle)

**муво-:** мувосерина (place contaminated with fly droppings) ⇨ мува (fly) + срати (defecate, shit // talk nonsense)

**мудо-:** мудобоља (testicular pain) ⇨ мудо (testicle) + бол (pain)

**на-:** натакнути (copulate, make love) ⇨ на- (on // in // at // against) + такнути (touch)

**наби-:** набигуз (idler) ⇨ набити (shove // make love) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**не-:** недојебан (not fucked up sufficiently) ⇨ не- (not) + до- (until // to) + јебати (make love)

**о-:** опиздити (make love // beat, hit) ⇨ о- (on // around) + пизда (вагина)

**од-:** одјебати (make love // leave) ⇨ од- (from) + јебати (make love)

**от-:** отјецати (masturbate, jerk off) ⇨ од- (from) + јецати (moan, weep)

**пала-:** паламудити (annoy) ⇨ пасти (fall) + мудо (testicle)

**пизд-:** пиздодер (penis // capable lover) ⇨ пизда (vagina) + драти (tear)

**пиц-:** пицомеханичар (gynaecologist) ⇨ пица (vagina) + механичар (mechanician)

**пичк-:** пичкојебина (intercourse) ⇨ пичка (vagina) + јебати (make love)

**плачи-:** плачипичка (whiner, weeper) ⇨ плакати (cry) + пичка (vagina)

**по-:** повалити (make love) ⇨ по- (on // against // completion) + валити (roll)

**под-:** подјебавати (harass, torment) ⇨ под- (under // on) + јебати (make love)

**пре-:** препичити (surpass, overmatch) ⇨ пре- (before) + пица (vagina)

**при-:** пријебати (be in a state of sexual arousal) ⇨ при- (at // near) + јебати (copulate)

**про-:** прокурчити се (begin an intense sex life // become conceited) ⇨ про- (through // completed) + курац (penis)

**прц-:** прцокоз (man who has intercourse with goats) ⇨ прц (intercourse) + коза (goat)

**пуши-:** пушикурац (homosexual) ⇨ пушити (smoke // fellate) + курац (penis)

**раз-:** разгузивати се (shake buttocks during intercourse) ⇨ раз- (dispersion) + гуза (ass)

**рас-:** распичити (deflorate // beat up) ⇨ раз- (dispersion) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**распа-:** распандркача (prostitute) ⇨ распа (file, rasp) + дркати (masturbate)

**рук-:** рукотворине (masturbation // caress) ⇨ рука (hand) + творити (create)

**с-:** сјебати (ridicule // ruin // have a bad time) ⇨ с- (from // down) + јебати (make love)

**свири-:** свиригуз (poor) ⇨ с- (from // down) + вирити (peek, peep) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**сери-:** серигаћа (timid person) ⇨ срати (shit, defecate // talk nonsense) + гаће (pants)

**сис-:** сисикур (homosexual) ⇨ сисати (suck) + курац (penis)

**слад-:** сладогузас (homosexual) ⇨ сладак (sweet) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**спис-:** списогуз (skinny man) ⇨ с- (from // down) + писа (vagina) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**сто-:** стопичка (prostitute) ⇨ сто (hundred) + пичка (vagina)

**стрмо-:** стрмопиздити се (tumble) ⇨ стрмо- (aslope // abruptly) + пизда (vagina)

**сув-:** сувогуза (thin woman) ⇨ сув (dry // slim) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**тари-**: таригуз (тоалетни папир) ⇨ тара (packaging, wrapping material) + гуза (bottom)

**транс-**: трансфузија (intercourse) ⇨ транс- (across // through // beyond) + фузија (fusion)

**три-**: тросиса (fat woman // witch) ⇨ три (three) + сиса (breast)

**трк-**: тркопиљ (troublemaker) ⇨ трка (race) + пишати (urinate)

**трт-**: тртомудити (be intrusive, be meddlesome) ⇨ трти (swingle // rub // scour) + мудо (testicle)

**у-**: усрати (defecate) ⇨ у- (into) + срати (shit, defecate // talk nonsense)

**уз-**: узјебати (betray // spoil) ⇨ уз- (with) + јебати (copulate, make love)

**уск-**: ускопиздити (be stubborn) ⇨ узак (narrow) + пизда (vagina)

**шант-**: шантигуз (informer // denunciator) ⇨ шантати (whisper) + гуза (ass, bottom)

**шиб-**: шибигуз (person of bad character) ⇨ шибати (copulate, make love) + гуза (ass)

**шиљ-**: шиљокур (man with spiky penis) ⇨ шиљак (peak) + курац (penis)

**шур-**: шургуза (person of bulky buttocks) ⇨ шура (butt) + гуза (ass, bottom)

#### 4.2.2. Blending

Blending is a limited mechanism of word formation which in the first place conditions the omission of one or more syllables of the first word, and secondarily the combination of other parts of the included lexemes (Bugarski 2001: 1-5; Fromkin 2011<sup>9</sup>: 43-70; Halupka-Rešetar, Lalić-Krstin 2009: 115-124; Halupka-Rešetar, Lalić-Krstin 2012: 101-109; Lalić-Krstin, Halupka-Rešetar 2007: 26-30).

The main difference between blending and compounding lies in the morphological, semantic, and functional combination of simple components, but also in the emergence of a new signifier and signified as well.

In fact, most most of portmanteau words are formed according to the following methods:

(a) the initial part of the first word joins the concluding syllable of the second one:

G: vláma (dork, stupid person) ⇨ vlákas (fool) + vláma (missile)

S: пичкохолик (addicted to female sexual organs) ⇨ пичка (vagina) + алкохолик (alcoholic)

(b) the last part of the first word and the identifying beginning of the second one overlap:

G: papústis (homosexual who makes love to older men) ⇨ papúspústis < papús (old man // grandfather) + pústis (homosexual)

S: пиздахнути (make love to exhaustion) ⇔ пиздадахнути < пизда (vagina) + дахнути (breathe)

(c) a splinter merges with an entire word:

G: lesvitrína (homosexual who is presented as a lesbian's boyfriend) ⇔ lesvívitrína < lesvíavitrína < lesvía (lesbian) + vitrína (showcase)

S: педераја (plenty of homosexuals) ⇔ педерраја < педерраја < педер (homosexual) + раја (non-Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire)

#### 4.2.3. Phrasal compounds

Two phonologically autonomous words without a connecting vowel compose phrasal compounds. By structure the most common cases are:

(a) noun + noun

G: γαμίσι astrapí (secret intercourse) ⇔ γαμίσι (intercourse) + astrapí (lightning)

S: говно осећај (unpleasant sight) ⇔ говно (excrement) + осећај (feeling)

(b) noun + adjective

G: pútses blé (nonsense) ⇔ pútses (penises) + blé (blue)

S: пичка космичка (well-groomed girl) ⇔ пичка (vagina) + космичка (cosmic)

(c) adjective + noun

G: anápodó γατότο (ugly person) ⇔ anápodó (inverse) + γατότο (fuck it)

S: гузичка каријера (beginning of a female singer's career) ⇔ гузичка (of buttock) + каријера (career)

#### 4.3. Other types of word formation

The authentic parole character of offensive words in combination with their double identity as lexical means of ridicule, but also as successful methods for achieving closeness between intragroup members justifies the wide use of special derivational processes:

##### 4.3.1. Adjacent metathesis

The transposition of contiguous syllables aims at coded formation of new words whose widespread use is avoided for reasons of decency:

G<sub>1</sub>: menagó ⇔ gómena (young female lover)

G<sub>2</sub>: raputsá ⇔ putsára (big penis)

S<sub>1</sub>: зицагу ⇔ гузица (buttock)

S<sub>2</sub>: чкапи ⇔ пичка (vagina)

### **Abbreviated forms**

The morphological shortening of offensive lexemes with its neologistic nuance occurs with a limited frequency in the analyzed languages. This fact indicates the inexhaustible creative ability of their users, but also reflects their strong desire to apply intelligible structures in order to achieve understandable communication:

G: malá ⇐ malákas (masturbator)

S: клитор ⇐ клиторне (the external parts of female genitalia)

### **4.3.2. Acronyms**

Despite their high productivity and transformative flexibility acronyms (Cannon 1989: 99-123; McArthur 1988: 36-42; McCully, Holmes 1988: 27-43) are related to an extremely limited percentage in scurrilous vocabulary.

However, more impressive is the fact that, due to their semantic figurativeness and accomplished resignification, the ironic and humiliating content of acronyms becomes absolutely clear to experts, but conceptually inadmissible to other speakers.

They can be of Greek (Serbian) origin or foreign loanwords:

G<sub>1</sub>: A. E. L. P. A. ⇐ ά[kros] e[pikínðinos] l[όγο] p[aratetaménis] a[γαμίας] < very dangerous person because of his prolonged celibacy = nervous behavior due to long abstinence from sexual activities

G<sub>2</sub>: A. F. P. ⇐ ά[peptos] f[itikós] p[útsos] < indigestible herbal penis = soft sexual contact

G<sub>3</sub>: S. W. A. G ⇐ *Engl.* S[ecretly] W[e] A[re] G[ay] = man of good taste

S<sub>1</sub>: Б. М. К. ⇐ Б[оли] М[е] К[урац] < my penis hurts = don't care, be indifferent

S<sub>2</sub>: ЈБ. Г. ⇐ j[e]б[и] r[a] < fuck it = withdraw, accept bad conditions

S<sub>3</sub>: П. И. Т. А ⇐ *Engl.* P[ain] I[n] T[he] A[ss] = boring person

### **4.3.3. Idiomatic phrases**

Established word combinations that meet the basic recognition criteria (Gross 1996: 9-23) function as stereotypical expressions with marginalized meaning. The most common subcategories are:

(a) verb + noun (pronoun)

G: pérno tón púlo < take the penis ⇐ disappear

S: дићи пичку у ваздух < raise the vagina in air ⇐ beat up

(b) noun (pronoun) + verb

G: mí mé gamás < do not make love to me ⇐ do not ruin my plans

S: говно се обесило < the excrement was hung ⇐ do not concern anyone

(c) verb + noun (noun)

G: xése mas < defecate us ⇒ leave us alone

S: скресати буџет < prune the budget ⇒ spend all the money on prostitutes

(d) sentence

Г: mé trói o kólos mu < my bottom itches me ⇒ strive for trouble

C: жебе га као шипов звиску < he copulates him as a stilt makes love to a young sheep ⇒ do something in vain

(e) proverbs

Г: tó muní sérni karávi < the vagina pulls the ship ⇒ great influence of women on men

C: кажи лудом да прдне, он се и усеpe < say to a mad to fart, but he defecates on himself ⇒ an unimportant person considers himself worthy of attention

(f) catch phrases

Г: γιά τίς orphanís tón kólo, éhi o θεός meγálo psólo < for the bottom of the female orphan, God has a big penis ⇒ the poor person constantly experiences trouble

C: молим – опалим те голим (курцем) < please – I make love to you with naked (penis) ⇒ a threat of great punishment

(g) tongue-twisters

Г: tó muní tó léne Jóta ké tón pútso Panajóta < the vagina is called Jota and the penis Panajota

C: пичка личка католичка < the vagina grooms itself as a Catholic

## 5. Concluding considerations

The fundamental characteristics of offensive words as the theoretical approach proves in the first part of this paper compose a strictly intralingual variant which, due to its specific nuance, conditions the accession or exclusion of persons from the appropriate features of a closed social group. Despite the diachronic opinion that obscene words refer to marginalized behaviors, since they aim at brutally insulting a person or ruthlessly humiliating the interlocutor, they actually satisfy compromise communication needs (intimacy, wittiness, expression of sentimental states).

In the practical part, we perform a morphological analysis of derived and compound nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The large, almost equal number of standard affixes reflects the equivalent tendency of native Greek and Serbian speakers to enrich their codified vocabulary with impressively vivid structures. Furthermore, we emphasize their semantic connection with sexual contact, physical needs or religious data, while providing elementary guidance for their translation or lexicographic processing.

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