

Greek elements in Turkish argot

MARIA PETROU (Frankfurt am Main)

1. Introduction

Under language contact, lexical borrowing moves both ways between “high-prestige” and “low-prestige” languages and between “socially dominating” and “socially dominated” languages. Such movement takes place also between variants of the same language which speakers use when they address different audiences. One of such variant is the so-called “argot”, a special language used by certain population groups as a means of protection and communication. Argots develop over time just as “standard” languages do.

1.1. Generalities on Argot

Argot can be each form of sub-¹/secret² language of socially marginalized groups, which mainly deviates from the standard language because of its unique vocabulary. The need and desire to maintain its non-comprehensible meaning leads to a constant renewal of its vocabulary, making use either of conventional or metaphorical words and expressions from commonly spoken languages along with borrowings from foreign languages, but (usually) with a different meaning or sense³. Argot can be categorized as a kind of “mixed languages”; deliberate language mixing, having as a result the so-called “lexicon:grammar-split”⁴.

Socially marginalized groups or thieves, smugglers, drug-users, prostitutes or procurers use argot as a means of protection or exclusive communication related to their activities⁵. It can also be displayed by organizations that rebel for political reasons, such as e.g. the Filiki Eteria in Greece (1820) or the Filedoni among the Italians (1816). In the past the term argot was also used for specialized languages spoken by persons engaged in some specific profession, e.g. bakers or carpenters⁶; such was e.g. the language of sailors in the Eastern Mediterranean, whose words are often of Italian

¹ BUSSMANN 2002: 606: As a general term for language variants differing from standard languages due to their special vocabulary, which generally depends on the social layer, needs, purposes and interests of unrelated groups of people.

² BUSSMANN 2002: 238: Artificially created language system in order to keep something secret (e.g. political resistance), for the demarcation of clandestine groups from the entire society, or as a sign of connection to a group (e.g. pupils language). Argot can be a secret language because its purpose is to preserve its secret meaning but argot does not have its own grammar or character but a secret language (gizli) it is an independent, autonomous language having its own material and character (cf. KAYMAZ 2003: 2). Argot is also confused with jargon (which like argot is also a type of secret language). For some differences see ŞEN 2002: 14–15.

³ Cf. KAYMAZ 2003: 2.

⁴ MATRAS (?): 10.

⁵ Τριανταφυλλίδης 1963: 86.

⁶ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 25.

and Greek origin⁷. Nowadays as well, marginalized and/or criminalized groups, e.g. drug users or homosexuals, have their own argot, the latter having developed a complex linguistic system in the framework of some natural languages. With the social acceptance of these groups and their influence on main stream society, the term argot is now sometimes used for referring to slovenly speech of young people in an urban environment, including also some humoristic languages created or used by children growing up together; their aim may be to stress their opposition to their social environment and to keep secrets from their parents or teachers⁸.

Argot is a “special”⁹ language, but every “special” language is not an argot, since it does not reject or change the form of the words found in “non-special” languages; it can rather, reject those words and use idiolectic ones and idioms. In fact, argot is a vocabulary language¹⁰, or rather a “language of semantemes” placing its research in the field of lexical semantics. Although argot does show some particularities in grammar and syntax, it does not have its own grammatical system¹¹; rather, its grammar and syntax as well as its written form (if any) follow the rules of the standard variant. Some kinds of argot languages, e.g. the ‘kuş dili’¹² in Turkey, apply a system consisting of prefixes, infixes and suffixes for (de)forming lexical items. However, it cannot be considered as a language having its own morphology since that is taken over from the ‘standard’ language. A particular characteristic of special languages is the element of covert meaning; with words becoming unrecognizable. In this line of thought, argot is, as a variant of the “standard” language, a derivative, auxiliary language; those who speak it are able to use the dominating standard variant equally¹³.

1.2. Argot in Turkey

Turkish argot as we know it possibly originated in the 17th century, during a period in which we find local, secret languages also in Germany, Italy, Spain or Portugal¹⁴. Since argot is an essentially urban phenomenon, it developed mainly in Istanbul, which was large both by area and population¹⁵. Turkish terms which were used in the past for referring to argot are e.g. *külhanbeyi ağzı* ‘bullies’ dialect’, *ayak ağzı* ‘low class dialect’ or, related to professions, *tulumbacı ağzı* ‘firemen’s dialect’¹⁶; more

⁷ Cf. ΚΑΗΑΝΕ/ΤΙΕΤΖΕ/ΤΙΕΤΖΕ 1958 or ΚΑΡΤΑΝ 1984: 189.

⁸ Τσιανταφυλλίδης 1963: 86–87.

⁹ This term is also used by ΚΛΑΥΣ 1999: 8: “Sondersprachen – special languages – languages spéciales – bijzondere talen”. ŞΕΝ 2002: 13: One can define a language as special (özel) when it is related to professional terms or a social group of people. But when it is related to a socially marginalized group of people then it has to do with a further, or even a secondary type of “special languages”. Cf. ΚΑΥΜΑΖ 2003: 2. See also ΑΡΚΑΝ 2002: 165.

¹⁰ ΔΕΒΕΛΛΙΟĞΛΥ 1990: 22.

¹¹ ΔΕΒΕΛΛΙΟĞΛΥ 1990: 21, ΚΑΥΜΑΖ 2003: 2.

¹² ΔΕΒΕΛΛΙΟĞΛΥ 1990: 21–22.

¹³ ΔΕΒΕΛΛΙΟĞΛΥ 1990: 21.

¹⁴ ΣΥΜΕΟΝΙΔΕΣ 2001: 181.

¹⁵ ΔΕΒΕΛΛΙΟĞΛΥ 1990: 53.

¹⁶ ΔΕΒΕΛΛΙΟĞΛΥ 1990: 38–39.

recently one finds *teklifsiz dil* ‘informal language’, *halk dili* ‘folk language’ or *kaba dil* ‘coarse language’¹⁷.

Argot is generally considered to be as “kaba dil” due to the fact that it is used from a lower layer of the society. However, it is wrong to consider every coarse word as argot. Its association with “kaba dil” has to do with its origin: the language of thieves and beggars¹⁸. And besides that the swearing words of argot are different from the “common” swearing, because generally they carry a witty or black humor sense (apart from that, when a swearing argot word enters into the standard language a semantic meaning shift is to be observed)¹⁹. The current argots in Turkey are based on an old secret language called *kayış dili* (cf. *kayış etmek* ‘to steal’)²⁰.

Turkish argot also has a diatopic dimension. The argot of Adana, e.g., is different from the one spoken elsewhere in Turkey. Nor is there any homogeneity between argots spoken in various areas/neighborhoods of Istanbul; cf. the social distinction between the argot of Beyoğlu and that of Sulukule and Ayvansaray, which both came up and developed in Istanbul but were used by quite different populations²¹. Additionally one could say that even within an area argot shows varieties in meanings depending on the group from which it is used, e.g. in women’s argot *maydanoz* is not only used with its “common” meaning (see Appendix²²: ‘to pry into everything’) but also as ‘unneeded thing or person’²³, *mantar* (cf. Appendix) in women’s argot means only ‘the upper part of a man’s genital’²⁴, *palamut* (cf. Appendix) means ‘single and rich man’²⁵.

One of the most typical features of argot is the borrowing of words and expressions from other languages; especially in Istanbul, where language contacts were particularly intensive. The teenagers of Beyoğlu using argot enriched their language not only by borrowing but also by attributing new meanings to the borrowed words²⁶. Apart from Turkish it includes words of Italian, Greek, English, Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian, French, Dutch, German, Hebrew, Kurdish, Spanish, Latin, Persian, Rumanian, Russian, and Romani origin; 80 % are Italian or Greek²⁷.

1.3. Greek elements in Turkish argot

From a diachronic point of view, the Greek loans belong to the older layer of the argot vocabulary. This is due to the fact that, in former times, much of the non-Hel-

¹⁷ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 42. For the *öğrenci argosu* (students argot) see DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 35.

¹⁸ ŞEN 2002: 15. Cf. ARKAN 2002: 160–161. For *teklifsiz dil* and *halk dil* see ŞEN 2002: 18.

¹⁹ ARKAN 2002: 160–162.

²⁰ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 38–40. Cf. ŞEN 2002: 15–17.

²¹ KAPTAN 1984: 189.

²² See also: ERSOYLU 2004: 31.

²³ BİNGÖLÇE 2001: 111.

²⁴ BİNGÖLÇE 2001: 110, ERSOYLU 2004: 36.

²⁵ BİNGÖLÇE 2001: 122, ERSOYLU 2004: 76.

²⁶ About the argot of Beyoğlu see KAPTAN 1993.

²⁷ AKTUNÇ 2000: 24.

lenophone population of certain areas of Istanbul still had a basic knowledge of Greek²⁸.

1.3.1. Phonetics

A well-known phonetic substitution phenomenon in Greek-Turkish language contacts is the development of the Greek noun, adjective and pronoun suffix *-os* to Turkish *-oz* (and rarely *-as* > *-az* (*-oz*):

αφορισμός ‘excommunication’, αφορισμένος ‘excommunicated’ > *aforoz* ‘expulsion, dismissal, resignation’.

κόκορας ‘cock, rooster’ > *kokoroz* ‘ugly, someone in a bad situation without money’.

μαϊντανός ‘parsley’ > *maydanoz* ‘parsley’ > *maydanoz olmak* ‘to pry into everything’.

μώλος ‘rubble, debris’ > *moloz* ‘worthless, insignificant; pieces of meat in bean soup, rice and similar dishes’.

παπάς ‘priest, father’ > *papaz* ‘priest’ > ‘an old man who is despotic; toilet; German marks’.

σαλός ‘crazy’ > *saloz* ‘stupid, foolish’.

Exceptions are:

πιαστός ‘caught’ > *piyastos* ‘capture, catching or arresting someone’.

αυτός ‘himself’ > *aftos* (can also be *aftoz*) ‘lover, unmarried man or woman, mistress, woman or girl’.

It has also been observed that the suffix *-os/-oz* can become productive in Turkish argot (though not in standard Turkish); e.g. *piç* ‘bastard, child of a prostitute’ > *piçoz* ‘illegitimate child, bastard’²⁹.

1.3.2. Morphology

As far as the morphological adaptation of Greek verbs is concerned, Greek verbs are usually borrowed in a specific form, the imperative. In order to fit in the loan-blends (as discussed in chapter 2), the forms are taken over as nouns. E.g.³⁰:

katakofii (< [ε]κατό κόφτε ‘cut hundred’) ‘rascality, rascal words, false word, lie, lying’.

kitaksi/kitakse (< κοιτάξε ‘look’) ‘look’.

kofii (< κόφτε ‘cut’) ‘(thing, news, word) without meaning, worthless, fake; clumsy, incapable person, liar’.

²⁸ Note that argot borrowed from Greek dialects as well, e.g. from Pontic. One of the examples of SYMEONIDES 2001: 185 is n.gr.-pon. ημισόν ‘half’, pl. ήμισα > *imşa olmak* ‘to become a partner’. For the borrowing of Greek in Turkish dialects see TZITZILIS 1987.

²⁹ SYMEONIDES 2001: 186

³⁰ SYMEONIDES 2001: 186. Cf. TIETZE 2002: 106: *afaroz/aforoz/afaroz* and ERSOYLU 2004: 307.

1.3.2.a. Worth mentioning is also the adverb *έξω/όξω* which actually means ‘outside, out’ but gets used as imperative. With its imperative sense it is copied in argot: *okso* (< *όξω* ‘out’) ‘get lost, go away’.

2. “Loan-blends” and morphological adaptation

Borrowing consists of an attempted reproduction, in one language, of a pattern that exists in another language with several processes which have been called *loanword*, *hybrid*, *loan translation* or *semantic loan*³¹. JOHANSON 1992 considers the term “borrowing” to be misleading as nothing is actually borrowed in language contact. The donor language does not lose any of its patterns and the recipient language does not acquire exactly the same elements or patterns of the donor language. The term *copy* (*Kopieren*) seems to be more adequate. In language contact, the elements of the “foreign code” are copied into the code of the recipient language. Copying is neither a conversion from the “basic code” to the “foreign” one, nor an assimilation of the two³². The procedure of copying can be “global” (*Globalkopieren*) or “selective” (*Teilstrukturkopieren*)³³. Additionally, “mixed copies” (*Mischkopien*) are also noted, as including at least one *Globalkopie*; these correspond to HAUGEN’s *lexically mixed copies* or *loan-blends*.

In this paper, our interest is focussed on these *Mischkopien* or *loan-blends*, which may display a partial morpheme substitution and demonstrate both substitution and morpheme introduction³⁴. In addition, they fall into the categories of *blended forms*, *blended derivatives* and *blended compounds*³⁵.

Analysing the entries of three dictionaries³⁶ in search of Greek-Turkish *loan-blends* and morphologically adapted verbs of Greek etyma and words taken over from Greek used in Turkish argot, 126 verbal expressions have been found. 100 of these are Greek lexemes accompanied by a Turkish verb, 26 Greek lexemes morphologically adapted by the addition of Turkish derivative verbal suffixes.

2.1. Adaptation with accompanying verb (*loan-blends*)

The basic form of *loan-blends* is a noun element in unmarked case (= the phonetically and morphologically adapted copy of a Greek lexeme) + a Turkish accompanying (not necessarily an ‘auxiliary’) verb. Other case forms also appear like verbs governing the dative ablative and accusative case (see 2.2.). There are a number of accompanying verbs; *et-* and *ol-*, well-known in the standard language in loan-blends from other languages (especially Arabic), are the ones most frequently used. The following is a list ordered by the accompanying Turkish verb according to its frequency. The translation and bibliographical reference of the argot expressions can be found in Appendix 5.

³¹ HAUGEN 1950: 213.

³² JOHANSON 1992: 175.

³³ See JOHANSON 1992: 177–183.

³⁴ HAUGEN 1950: 230, 214.

³⁵ HAUGEN 1950: 219.

³⁶ AKTUNÇ 2000, DEVELLIOĞLU 1990 and PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 1996.

2.1.a. The accompanying verbs with more than three instances are *etmek*, *yapmak*, *atmak*, *gelmek* and *olmak*:

etmek: *afaroz*, *akoz/akuz*, *anadolu*, *elado*, *gargara*, *kitaksi/kitakse*, *komalık*, *kopsi kefali*, *madara*, *okso*, *piyastos*, *saraka*.

yapmak: *afi*, *bocurgat*, *gargara*, *katakulli*, *palamut*, *pilaki*, *polim*.

atmak: *afi*, *fırça*, *katakofti*, *kofti*, *mantar*, *polim*.

gelmek: *anafor(dan)*, *gargara*, *katakulli+ye*, *mandepsi+ye*, *zoka+ya*.

olmak: *her boca maydanoz/maydanoz*, *komalık*, *madara*, *piyastos*, *yakamoz*.

2.1.b. Verbs with three instances are *basmak*, *çevirmek*, *düşmek*, and *getirmek*, with two instances *almak*, *bastırmak*, *çıkarmak*, *kesmek*, *koymak*, *vermek*, *vurmak*, *yatmak*, *yemek*, *yutmak* and *yutturmak*:

basmak: *gamato+yu*, *mandepsi+ye*, *mantar+a*.

çevirmek: *katakulli*, *poyraza*, *voli*.

düşmek: *katakulli+ye*, *mandepsi+ye*, *zoka+ya*.

getirmek: *gargara*, *katakulli+ye*, *mandepsi+ye*.

almak: *palamarı*, *sarakaya*.

bastırmak: *mandepsi+ye*, *mantar+a*.

çıkarmak: *çingar*, *midiye*.

kesmek: *afi*, *polim*.

koymak: *kodes+e*, *takoz*.

vermek: *anafora*, *palamar+ı*.

vurmak: *voli+yi*, *voli*.

yatmak: *erkete*, *voli+ye*.

yemek: *fırça*, *mantar*.

yutmak: *kofti*, *zoka+yu*.

yutturmak: *kofti*, *zoka+yu*.

2.1.c. Verbs with one instance only:

mantar+ın+ı açmak, *salya+sı akmak*, *kiremit aktarmak*, *mandepsi+ye bağlamak*, *istavroz+un+dan başlamak*, *kodes+ı boylamak*, *papaz+ı bulmak* / *papaz+ı (göt al-tın+da) bulmak*, *enginar çalıştırmak*, *fırça çekmek*, *çingar çıkmak*, *palamar+ı çözmek*, *fasulye mi dedin?(demek)*³⁷, *erkete durmak*, *mandepsi+ye düşürmek*, *koma+ya girmek*, *papaz+ı kaçırmak*, *anafor+a konmak*, *palamar+ı koparmak*, *çingar kopmak*, *katakulli okumak*, *gamato sallamak*, *afi satmak*, *koma+ya sokmak*, *afi sökmek*, *istavroz şaş(ır)mak*, *kodes+e tıkmak*, *palamar+ı toplamak*, *kefal tutmak*, *papaz uçurmak*, *fasulye yazmak*.

³⁷ Here we can observe the Greek word φασούλια ‘beans’ > *fasulye*, followed by the interrogative particle *mI* and the verb *demek* ‘to say/tell’, in simple past, 2nd pr. sg. An exact translation from Turkish to Greek would be *φασόλια/φασούλια είπες*; ‘Did you say ‘beans?’’. Maybe this expression is considered to be a phraseologism with a limited function and this might be the reason that it is not entered into the lemma of the dictionary with an infinitive form (*demek*) but in the fixed form which is to be used.

2.2. Morphosyntactics

Apart from the unmarked (indefinite) case, there are also verbs governing the dative $+(y)A$ and ablative $+DAn$, and a few transitive verbs governing the accusative $+(y)I$.

2.2.a. Phrases with dative government

gargaraya gelmek, gargaraya getirmek, katakulliyeye basmak, katakulliyeye gelmek, katakulliyeye getirmek, kodese koymak, kodese tıkmak, komaya sokmak, mandepsiyeye bağlamak, mandepsiyeye basmak, mandepsiyeye bastırmak, mandepsiyeye düşmek, mandepsiyeye düşürmek, mandepsiyeye gelmek, mandepsiyeye getirmek, mantara basmak, mantara bastırmak, papaza gitmek, poyraza çevirmek, sarakaya almak, voliyeye yatmak, zokaya düşmek, zokaya gelmek.

2.2.b. Phrases with accusative government

gamatoyu basmak, kodesi boylamak, mantarını açmak, papazı bulmak, papazı kaçırmak, voliyi vurmak, zokayı yutmak, zokayı yutturmak.

2.2.c. Phrases with ablative government

anafor(dan) gelmek, istavrozundan başlamak.

2.3. Morphological adaptation with derivative suffixes

The second kind of morphological adaptation to Turkish verbal forms uses the common derivative denominal suffixes $+IA-$, $+IAn-$ and $+IAş-$.

2.3.a. $+IA-$

afarozlamak/aforozlamak, akozlamak, anaforlamak, fırçalamak, kavallamak, kodeslemek, mantarlamak, mastorlamak, molozlamak, oksulamak/oksilemek/oksolamak, partallamak, pavyuryalamak, piyastoslamak.

2.3.b. $+IAn-$

fırçalanmak, kavallanmak, kodeslenmek, kokorozlanmak, piyastoslanmak.

2.3.c. $+IAş-$

koftileşmek, mastorlaşmak/masturlaşmak, molozlaşmak, pavyuryalaşmak, pilakileşmek, salozlaşmak.

2.3.d. Other cases:

Derivation without derivative suffix:

manyamak < manya < μανία 'mania'.

Denominal nominal derivation in:

komalık etmek / olmak < κόμα 'coma' > koma +lık

2.4. Morphosemantics

In this section we should briefly discuss the notion of *synonymy*. Expressions with the same meaning are *synonymous* but there is a difference between *absolute* and *partial* synonymy. To be absolutely synonymous, words or phrases have to satisfy three conditions: 1. All of their meanings have to be identical. 2. They have to be synonymous in all contexts. 3. Their meanings have to be identical in both descrip-

tive and non-descriptive meaning³⁸. Partial synonymy meets the criterion of identity of meaning but fails to meet the conditions of absolute synonymy³⁹. What is significant for the following examples is the *expressive (socio-expressive) meaning*⁴⁰. Speakers use specific words or phrases in order to express their feelings towards what they are describing: They can express approval, disapproval or feel neutral⁴¹. *Descriptive synonymy* is closely related to expressive meaning because two words or phrases can describe the same matter but the connotation can be positive or negative⁴².

2.4.a. In cases where both the “loan-blend” form and the derivative verb form are to be found, we find that the two adaptations are *synonymous*:

aforoz etmek and *aforozlamak/aforozlamak* ‘to expel, throw out; to lose interest’.

akoz/akuz etmek and *akozlamak* ‘to tell secretly’.

fırça çekmek and *fırçalamak* ‘to rebuke, scold, blame a younger person; to rub the penis on another genital or body, to ejaculate’.

okso etmek and *oksolamak/oksulamak/oksilemek* ‘to drive someone away, get rid of a person’.

piyastos etmek and *piyastoslamak* ‘to arrest, catch, imprison, seize someone, catch alive’.

piyastos olmak and *piyastoslanmak* ‘to get arrested, be held, imprisoned, caught alive’.

The concept of synonymy is here used in its broader sense, not excluding connotative differences in single cases. An evident example is the pair *akoz etmek* and *akozlamak*. Even though both of them have the meaning of ‘telling secretly’, the verb *akozlamak* is mostly used to convey this meaning, while some other meanings of theirs express similarity and even antonymy:

akoz etmek ‘to shut up, be quiet; to tell, warn; to give, to tell something secretly’.

akozlamak ‘to tell something secretly, to explain non-stop, to inform’.

Synonymy obtains also with pairs in which either other accompanying verbs are put to use in loan-blends or forms adapted with derivative suffixes turn up:

etmek and +*lA-* (in four couples of verbs).

çekmek and +*lA-* (in two couples of verbs).

olmak and +*lAn-* (in one couple of verbs).

2.4.b. There seem to be cases where argot verbs copied from Greek, formed with a certain derivative suffix are “synonymous” to verbs formed with another Turkish derivative suffix. In the following couples of verbs we find that +*lAş-* thrice corresponds to +*lA-*:

³⁸ LYONS 2002: 61. Μπαμπινιώτης 1985: 31–33 presents these three conditions as full, total and complete synonymy.

³⁹ LYONS 2002: 60: Partial synonymy must not be confused with *near-synonymous* which are similar expressions but not identical in meaning.

⁴⁰ LYONS 2002: 64.

⁴¹ LYONS 2002: 64.

⁴² Μπαμπινιώτης 1985: 33. For example: *to die* and *to kick the bucket* are descriptive synonymous but they differ in their expressive meaning.

mastorlamak and *mastorlaşmak* ‘to be addicted to narcotics or alcohol, get intoxicated by drugs or alcohol’.

molozlamak and *molozlaşmak* ‘to grow or get old, lose one’s previous value, grow ugly’

pavuryalamak and *pavuryalaşmak* ‘to walk and show off by lowering one shoulder and putting the other one forwards’.

Although we are not able to establish the exact semantic connotative relations, it is interesting to note that current standard Turkish verbs having these derivative suffixes are usually not synonymous, because +*LAŞ-* has reciprocal (though sometimes also reflexive) meaning while +*LA-* does not assume any of those functions⁴³.

3. Semantics and semantic shift

3.1. Argot and meaning

As pointed out above (section 1.2.), a characteristic of argot is the use of foreign lexemes and the semantic shifting of the borrowings. Standard Turkish contains many Greek loans, but the argot borrowings are exposed to more extensive semantic changes. Words which are possibly comprehensible to non-argot speakers are generally avoided, so that the secret character of the conversation is preserved⁴⁴: *okso* (< ὄξω; ἔξω ‘out’) ‘Get lost! Go away!’, *saloz* (< σαλός ‘crazy’) ‘stupid, foolish’. Words of Greek origin which are present in the standard language or ones which became international terms are also exposed to semantic shifting: *koma* (< κόμα ‘coma’) as ‘the situation of being very drunk’, *manyamak* (< μανία ‘mania’) as ‘behaving in an unstable way, losing one’s mind or getting mad, due to fatigue, confusion or drunkenness’⁴⁵. Non-international Greek loans can, however, also convey new meanings in Turkish argot; e.g. γαργάρα ‘gargle’ > *gargara*, which in standard Turkish has the same meaning as in Greek, but in Turkish argot signifies ‘incoherence, verbiage’. Even Greek κάνω γαργάρα ‘to gargle’ > *gargara yapmak*, which is synonymous in standard Turkish, in argot means ‘to jabber, not to fall in for (a fraud)’⁴⁶.

In other cases, argot expressions were also taken up by the standard colloquial. Such are *aftos* < αὐτός ‘he, himself’, in argot (AKTUNÇ 2000: 31, DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 186) ‘girlfriend, mistress, single man, boyfriend’⁴⁷, or *kodes* ‘prison’ (see Appendix 5.). The same is true for many words of non-Greek origin as well:

⁴³ LEWIS 2000: 227–228.

⁴⁴ SYMEONIDES 2001: 183.

⁴⁵ Cf. SYMEONIDES 2001: 184.

⁴⁶ According to SYMEONIDES 2001: 184: Greek words like *gargara*, *anafor*, *kotes/kodes* copied into standard Turkish, can obtain a new meaning, which has developed in argot and does not exist either in Greek or Turkish.

⁴⁷ The meaning of this word is now known beyond the argot-speaking-circles. One could say that it has lost its secret meaning, but still according to ARKAN 2002: 163 even if its meaning is known to non-argot speakers it is used for their own friends (probably with a neutral sense) but in argot it is used for the girlfriend of someone else and only in order to mock and/or ridicule. Consequently *aftos* for argot and non-argot speakers could be regarded as a descriptive synonymous with a different expressive meaning.

araklamak (< arm. arak ‘disgraceful, shameful’⁴⁸): AKTUNÇ 2000: 42, ‘to steal, to flirt (a woman or a girl), to have a close relationship (with a woman or a girl), (police) to arrest a guilty person’. DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 86 ‘to steal, rob, take something from its owner without getting noticed’.

çakmak (Turkic): AKTUNÇ 2000: 74 and DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 98 ‘to have a hunch, to understand, to realize; (while drinking) to clink, to use drug in powder, (at school) not to pass the class; to slap or punch someone’.

imam (< arab. imām ‘imam’) *suyu*: AKTUNÇ 2000: 148 and DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 125, ‘rakı’.

moruk [< arm. mōruk ‘beard’, moruk (arm. slang ‘old man, dotard, father’⁴⁹): AKTUNÇ 2000: 217 and DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 150 ‘an old person’, as an address ‘my friend’. Cf. also the metaphoric use of *okutmak* ‘to teach’ in argot with the meaning ‘to sell’⁵⁰. Thus, not only did argot borrow words from the colloquial, but the colloquial borrowed from argot as well. The difference between the two varieties is often merely semantic. The standard Turkish expression *fos* (< fr. faux < fausse ‘wrong, unimportant, untrue, insincere’⁵¹) *çıkılmak* ‘not to have a successful result, to draw a blank’ is, e.g., used idiomatically: «Verdiğin haber fos çıktı» ‘the news you gave were fruitless’. In argot, the word *foslamak* is used with the similar meaning ‘to be ashamed, not to be successful’: «Ahmet, söylediği sözün asılsız olduğunu öğrenince fosladı» ‘Ahmet was embarrassed when he heard that his words were baseless’⁵².

One of the most important features of argot is synonymy. As argot is used in the context of activities considered socially lower, 80 % of its vocabulary concerning prostitution, taverns, drugs, violence, bad habits, bad behavior, obscenities, illegality and death⁵³, there frequently result synonymies. As an example, the meaning of ‘escaping, getting away’ is rendered by⁵⁴:

açmak < turk. *açmak* ‘to open’.

dümeni kırmak < ven. *timon* ‘steer’⁵⁵.

ferlemek < arab. *farr* ‘to flee, escape, run away’⁵⁶.

fertiklemek < germ. *fertig* ‘to be ready, to finish’.

palamarı çözmek / palamarı koparmak < gr. *παλαμάρι* ‘cable’.

panik kırmak < fr. *panique* ‘panic’.

⁴⁸ DANKOFF 1995: 21.

⁴⁹ DANKOFF 1995: 111.

⁵⁰ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 41, 154.

⁵¹ GOL 1979: être dans une situation fausse ‘to be in an unpleasant, embarrassing situation’.

⁵² DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 48.

⁵³ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 46.

⁵⁴ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 46.

⁵⁵ See KAHANE & TIETZE 1958: 432–436: ven. *timón* ‘rudder’, with the accompanying verb *kırmak* ‘to change the direction or course, to veer’, slang ‘to run or flee’.

⁵⁶ Cf. NRH 1968: based on Arabic slang: to run away.

The meaning of ‘fool, stupid’ is rendered by⁵⁷:

abeci < turk.dial. (manisa) abeci= abulabut ‘stupid, foolish’⁵⁸.

ablat < gr. ἀχλάδι ‘pear’.

armut < pers. *armūd* ‘pear’⁵⁹.

aval < arm. yawanak ‘ass’es foal; (dial.) ass’⁶⁰.

cacıklık < ? cacık ‘eatable weed, wild grass, herb’⁶¹.

dümbelek < pers. *dumbalag* ‘a musical instrument, similar to drum made out of wood’.

gebeş < arab. *kabş* ‘ram’⁶².

hafız < arab. *hafīz* ‘someone who preserves something’.

hırbo (< kurd. *hırbe/hırabe* ‘defective, broken, demolished building, ruin’⁶³).

ıspanak < gr. σπανάκι ‘spinach’.

kanser ilacı < fr. *cancer* ‘cancer’ + arab. ‘*ilāğ* ‘medicine’.

kaşkaval < ital. *caciocavallo* ‘a kind of cheese’.

koroydo < gr. κορόιδο ‘fool’.

mantar < gr.μανιτάρι ‘mushroom’.

saloz < gr. σαλός ‘crazy’.

3.2. Factors affecting the semantic shifting

Generally the factors affecting the semantic shifting are amplification, function, aetiology, metonymy, metaphor, irony, stereotypes, phraseology.

3.2.1. simple semantic amplification

e.g. *aforoz etmek*, *aforozlamak* (< *aforoz* < αφορισμένος/αφορισμός – ‘excommunicate, excommunication’): ‘to throw out, to expel, to lose interest in something or someone, to ostracize, to cut off the relation with a person’.

3.2.2. comparison in function and aetiology

e.g. *fırça çekmek*, *fırçalamak* (*fırça* < βούρτσα ‘brush’): ‘to rub the penis on another genital or body’.

⁵⁷ DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 46.

⁵⁸ DS 1993. Cf. TIETZE 2002: 75: maybe from the abc.

⁵⁹ EREN 1999: 18, cf. TIETZE 2002: 199: armud/armut < pers. emrud/emruz.

⁶⁰ In many Turkish dialects as *avanak*, *avel*, *avalak* etc. See DANKOFF 1995: 111, cf. DS 1993: *aval*, *avalağ* [*avanak*, *avalak* etc.]: 1. stupidly naïve, 2. lazy. Cf. TIETZE 2002: 266: *aval/avel* (argo), cf. KAYMAZ 2003: 61: *avanak* < arm., cf. AKTUNÇ 2000: 46: *aval* < kurd., DEVELLIOĞLU 1990: 88: *aval* < fr., cf. Turkish phrase: *Niye aval aval bakıyorsun?*

⁶¹ TIETZE 2002: 411.

⁶² Cf. NRH 1968: *gebeş* vulg. ‘short and fat, dumpy, squat’, slang ‘idiot, blockhead’ [Note: *gebe* ‘pregnant, expectant, big (with a child)’, cf. DS 1993: someone with big stomach, someone who is incompetent, clumsy, cf. ERSOYLU 2004: 60.

⁶³ GÜLENSOY 1986: 227. Cf. NRH 1968: *vulg.* ‘booby, lout, clumsy, boorish, fellow’ and RH 1999: *hırbo slang.* ‘lummox, oaf, lout, big and dim-witted man’ but cf. *harabe* ‘ruins, building on the point of collapse’, cf. arab. *ḥarāba* ‘decayed building, ruins, rubble cities’.

palamarı almak (*palamarı almak* < παλαμάρι ‘cable’): ‘to move off, leave, escape’,
palamarı koparmak ‘to leave, slip away, run away’.
mandallamak (< μάνταλ[α] ‘bolts’): ‘(in wireless communication) to prevent the
 communication of two by interrupting it continuously’.
ber boka maydanoz olmak (< μαϊντανός[ς] ‘parsley’): ‘to pray into everything, to
 poke one’s nose into everything/other people’s business either it concerns one or
 not’.

3.2.3. comparison in form or sound, metonymy

e.g. *enginar çalıştırmak* (*enginar* < αγινιάρα ‘artichoke’): ‘to think, to use one’s
 mind’.

gargara gelmek (*gargara* < γαργάρα ‘gargle’): ‘to be fooled, to be deceived’.

kodese koymak (*kodes* < κότες ‘hens’): ‘to put in prison, throw in jail, imprison’,
kodesi boylamak ‘to be imprisoned, stay in jail for the night’, *kodeslemek* ‘to im-
 prison, shut up in jail, put in prison’, *kodeslenmek* ‘to be imprisoned’.

çingar çıkarmak (*çingar* < τσούγκο[α] ‘clink, quarrel(ling), scolding’): ‘to provoke a
 fuss/noise/commotion, to quarrel without a serious reason’.

pavuryalamak (*pavurya* < πα(γ)ούρια ‘crabs’): ‘to walk while lowering one shoulder
 and moving the other (mostly the right) one forwards in order to show off’.

3.2.4. metaphor

e.g. *anaforlamak* (*anafor* < αναφορ[ά] ‘literally: bring; carry of something (back)
 again’, ‘reference, report’) αναφόρ[ι] (= αντίδωρο ‘gift in return, holy bread offered
 in the church in place of the divine gifts’): ‘to get something for free’.

3.2.5. irony

e.g. *elado etmek* (*elado* < έλα ’δω ‘come here!’): ‘to take, get, steal’.

mandepsiye düşmek (*mandepsi* < μάντεψε ‘guess!’): ‘to fall into a trap’.

3.2.6. stereotypes

e.g. *papaza gitmek* (*papaz* < παπάς ‘priest/father’): ‘to go to the toilet’ and *papazi
 bulmak* ‘to face a difficult situation, get into trouble, die’.

3.2.7. phraseology

Some of the expressions derive their meaning directly from the idiomatic meaning of
 the original language (Greek), in part existing also in Turkish phraseology:

kofti yutmak ‘to be deceived’, *kofti yutturmak* ‘to deceive’.

κόφτε ‘cut! (imp.)’ is truncated from the phrase εκατό κόφτε ‘cut hundred’ (see
katakofti) or from κόφτε αυτά που λέει ‘cut from what (s)he says’; i.e. ‘(s)he is
 lying’. Cf. also germ. ‘aufschneiden’ with similar semantics.

afi < άφη[σε] ‘let/let go’ and *afi atmak* ‘to tell lies’ and similar expressions. Isolated
 from the phrase ‘άφη[σε] τα ψέματα’ ‘let the lies be!’.

kokoroz < κόκορας ‘cock, rooster’ and *kokorozlanmak* ‘to challenge, to try to scare
 someone, to threaten’. Cf. the Greek idiom κάνει τον κόκορα ‘he behaves provo-
 catively, bullying’, the verb κορορεύομαι ‘to behave provocatively, to put on airs,
 to take pride in’ and the metaphor τσακώνονται σαν τα κοκόρια ‘they quar-
 rel/fight like the cocks’.

polim/polüm < πώλημ[α] πώλημ[α] ‘selling’ and *polim atmak* ‘to tell lies, say unfounded things’; see also *polim kesmek* and *polim atmak*. Cf. the Greek phrase πουλάω ψέματα (σε κάποιον) ‘to sell someone lies’, which means ‘to tell someone lies’. Note the connection with the previous example and especially the expression *afi satmak* ‘to sell lies’.

salya < σάλια ‘saliva, spittle, slaver’ and *salyası akmak* ‘to long for, be very jealous of, have one’s mouth water for something, feel great desire’. Cf. the phrase μου τρέχουν τα σάλια ‘my mouth is watering’.

takoz < τάκος ‘heel’ and *takoz koymak* ‘to (try to) prevent an action’. Cf. the Greek phrase βάζω τάκο ‘to put a heel’, i.e. ‘to put an obstacle, to prevent’.

Phraseology and derivation can be connected with semantic shifting:

fasulye yazmak ‘to write, note down the share of the owner of the gambling house’.

Greek φασούλια ‘beans’ is connected with the semantic field ‘money’ in the proverb φασούλι φασούλι γεμίζει το σακούλι ‘little and often fills the purse’; literally ‘bean (and) bean fills the little sack’⁶⁴.

Concerning *kavallamak* ‘to talk too much and annoy’ cf. the Greek phrase καβαλώ το καλάμι (literally: to mount the reed/cane) ‘to go off the chump’, which is used for someone who overdoes something.

3.2.8. Unclear cases

One such case is *anadolu etmek* (*anadolu* < ανατολή ‘east, sunrise’) ‘to deceive, to mislead’. The semantic shift may here be related to “time”, i.e. deceptions etc. are (usually) done at nights until the sun rises (ανατολή ‘sunrise’). It could also be related to “direction”: *anadolu et-* “to do east to someone”, with the sense ‘to send someone to a wrong place’, i.e. ‘to mislead’. Or it has to do with stereotypes, that is, with a negative image of Anatolia (Anadolu), ‘to behave like an Anatolian (peasant, deceiver etc)’, hence ‘to deceive’.

4. Difficulties by the determination of the lexemes “origin”

To determine which word was copied from which language or dialect into argot is not always an easy solvable question, if solvable at all, especially in this case, where we deal with Greek and Turkish; two languages having a long lasting language contact. Even if the origin of a word is Greek, then there is in many cases the question: Is it copied from Greek directly into argot or from standard Turkish, or from another European language? Both cases (for a word to be copied from Greek or standard Turkish) can be possible for various factors. The fact that in Beyoğlu, the heart of argot, Greeks and Turks lived together⁶⁵ switching in every day life not only from

⁶⁴ Cf. BİNGÖLÇE 2001: 66, ERSOYLU 2004: 48: Women’s argot: *fasulye çarığa basmak* ‘to accumulate, save much money’.

⁶⁵ ARKAN 2002: 153: In the end of the first half of the 19th century lived in Beyoğlu 6.120 Greek citizens, where other foreign citizens (English, Austrians, French) did not reach the amount of 2.000). Cf. SYMEONIDES 2001: 183. See also ARKAN 2002: 151; he gives an example of the spoken language of that time, presenting some lines of Ahmet RASIMS work *Istanbul’da*

Turkish to Greek and the other way around but probably also to argot (code-switching and code-mixing), plays an important roll for the present question, because even if a word is copied from Greek to standard Turkish, there is the possibility that it is nevertheless copied into argot not from standard Turkish but from Greek.

This question has never really occupied the researchers. In this section some of the “problematic word-cases” are to be presented mainly with the intention to generate the questioning but also the interest/need for further researches on this matter.

The verbal expression *kilo almak* (AKTUNÇ 184 ‘to laugh, to giggle’; DEVELLIOĞLU 137 ‘to laugh’) has not been taken into consideration, since the Greek word χιλιόγραμμα ‘unit of weight equal to 100 grams’ > *κίλο* is taken over from European languages. Though if the Greek phrase παίρνω *κίλα* ‘to gain weight’ is to be considered, then one could have second thoughts. The same expression exists in standard Turkish as well, having the same meaning and then the question is: If the verbal expression (and not only the word kilo) is copied into argot, is it from the Greek or from the Turkish idiomatic expression?

On the other hand there is no semantic connection between *kilo (almak)* and its argot meaning ‘to laugh’. Hence it wouldn’t be an exaggeration to think of the possibility that *kilo* is a substitution of the Greek verb *γελάω, γελώ* ‘to laugh’ and in fact for a simple reason; it might have been substituted by the word kilo, which sounds similarly not only because *γελάω, γελώ* might have been a non well known word but also through a process of making fun of: *γελώ* > *gelo* > *gilo* > *kilo*.

Also the verbal expressions *omuzlamak* (AKTUNÇ 225 ‘to pick up (an object) and take, swipe, steal, take and leave, kidnap’; DEVELLIOĞLU 154 ‘to take something secretly and leave, steal, swipe’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 115 ‘to take and leave, take secretly, steal, swipe’, *omuz vermek* (AKTUNÇ 225, DEVELLIOĞLU 154; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 115 ‘to take no notice of, pay no attention to, be indifferent to’) and *omuz vurmak* (AKTUNÇ 225; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 115 ‘to annoy’), were not considered. In Greek ώμος (< anc.Gr. ώμος ‘shoulder’) is used literally as a verbal expression παίρνω στους ώμους ‘to lift on the shoulders’, σηκώνω στους ώμους ‘to take on the shoulders’, the latter being also metaphorically used with the meaning ‘to be indifferent, not know’ probably related with the gesture; shrug. This meaning suits with the meaning of *omuz vermek* ‘to be indifferent’ (cf. RH 1999: *omuz vermek* slang ‘to pay no attention to’). But since in standard Turkish there are various verbal expressions with *omuz*, which exists in Turkish irrespectively of the Greek lexeme, the possibility that the semantic shift in argot took place directly from standard Turkish seems to be likely.

koma (*komalık etmek komalık olmak komaya girmek komaya sokmak*, see Appendix) < κόμα ‘coma’ < anc.Gr. κόμαι < κείμαι, has been presented as copied directly from Greek, though one could allege that it has been taken from any European language, especially French, but if it was copied from French then it would have been *ko’ma* and not ‘koma.

çingar (*çingar çıkarmak, çingar çekmek, çingar kopmak*, see Appendix) < n. τσούγκρα ‘quarrel(ling), scolding’ < v. τσουγκρ[ίτζ] ‘to clink (lightly objects)’ < συγ-

Hovardalık “Fuşh-i Atik”. It is a conversation in a “bar-like tavern” called “Dore”, where code switching text (Turkish-Greek) dominates.

κρίζω < συγκρώ < anc.Gr. συγκρούω⁶⁶. The etymology of this word but also the Greek idiom: *τα τσουγκρίζανε* ‘they have clinked them’ meaning ‘they had a tiff/scrap, they quarreled’ leaves no other choice but to countenance the view that this word was taken into argot directly from Greek even if it assumed that *çingar* is a Turkish onomatopoeic word⁶⁷. However one should not neglect the fact that the old *çingra:-* (etc.) survives in some Turkic languages with a similar meaning ‘a loud and clear sound, the bell on the horses neck jingled and the bridle rattled’⁶⁸, *çiñramak* (*çiñremek*) ‘to reverberate, ring clearly or sharply, to tinkle, to rattle, to clink’⁶⁹.

mastor (*mastorlamak*, *mastorlaşmak*, see Appendix) < μάστορ[ας] ‘master’ < mdv.Gr. μάστορας < μάλιστα < lat. magister. One could think of the possibility that this word was taken into argot from the Arabic passive participle *masṭūl* ‘high on hashish’, v. *saṭala* ‘intoxicate’⁷⁰. However the root seems to be secondary⁷¹ [cf. *iṣṭīl* ‘beggar (with a feigned disability in the eyes)’, found since the 9th century with an uncertain etymology⁷², cf. *uṣṭūl* ‘fleet’⁷³ < ? gr. στόλος ‘fleet’. Isn’t there a semantic connection between *uṣṭūl* and *masṭūl*? ‘high (on hashish)’, note that in Arabic there is the word; passive participle *masṭūr* meaning ‘hidden, invisible veiled’⁷⁴]. Such as, the possibility that it has been taken from Greek seems to be greater, since it was and still is a very usual habit to address someone, who is very skilful (at something), as “master”. In this case the semantic shifting has to do with irony (see 3.2.). But also with stereotypes (see 3.2. cf. *papaz*), especially when we take in to our consideration that in *karagözcü* argot *mastor* Yani was a Greek (who holds Turkish citizenship; Rum) drunk and unstable person wandering with a bottle of alcohol in its hands⁷⁵.

moloz (*molozlamak*, *molozşmak*, see Appendix) < μώλος ‘rubble, debris’, μωρός? ‘stupid, fool’ < anc.Gr. μωρός. If the etymology of this word is μώλος or the Turkish *moloz*, then it is difficult to determine whether it has been taken directly from Greek or standard Turkish, since the meaning is in both languages is the same⁷⁶, having an amplification of meaning in argot, for ‘rubble, debris’ is something useless used in argot not only for material but for people, as well. The fact that this lexeme has in its initial position *m-* (hence not originally Turkish) and in its final position *-oz* (< *-os* Greek) reinforces our assumption that it was taken over from Greek. In fact *μωρός*, which besides ‘stupid’ denotes an old man acting like a child (cf. argots meaning ‘to

⁶⁶ Cf. TIETZE 2002: 438, EREN 1999: 90.

⁶⁷ Note: RH 1999: *çingar*: slang: row, ruckus, *çingar çıkarmak*: to start a row.

⁶⁸ See CLAUSON 1972: 426.

⁶⁹ TS 1996: 901.

⁷⁰ ROSENTHAL 1971: 75.

⁷¹ See ROSENTHAL 1971: 76. WEHR 1997 has listed *masṭūl* separately from the root giving the meaning ‘fool’. Cf. BOSWORTH 1976: 236: Modern Syrian *masṭūl* ‘idiot’, Egyptian Arabic ‘stuffed with drugs’.

⁷² BOSWORTH 1976: 39. Cf. BOSWORTH 1976: 235: *iṣṭīl* ‘blind person’, v. *saṭṭala* ‘to strike someone blind’.

⁷³ WEHR 1997.

⁷⁴ WEHR 1997.

⁷⁵ AKTUNÇ 2002: 210.

⁷⁶ Cf. EREN 1999: 296.

become useless, grow old’) can be the key word affecting the semantic shift in argot, being somehow substituted by *moloz* ‘rubble, debris’, hence ‘small pieces of stones’, which reminds of someone stupid; someone with a head without “brains” but with pieces “pieces of stones”. Cf. the idiom *να το κεφάλ να το μερούμι* literally ‘here is the head here is the marble’, consequently a head hard like a stone, used to denote someone stupid, worthless.

zoka (*zokaya düşmek*, *zokaya gelmek*, *zokayı yutmak*, *zokayı yutturmak*, see Appendix) < ζοχά[δα] ‘hemorrhoids; (metaphorically) whim, amalgamation of sentiments like sadness and annoyance’ < lt. mdv. Gr. ζοχάδα < εσοχάδα. In Turkish *zoka* means ‘fish-shaped lure (used to catch fish) and it suites perfectly with argots meaning ‘to be deceived, fall into a trap’. But wouldn’t it be quite thoughtless to use such a word for such a meaning? Wouldn’t it be too easy to for non-argot speakers to comprehend the meaning of this word? Isn’t it possible since argot speakers’ endeavour to keep the meanings secret to have thought about the Greek ζοχάδα, thinking that someone who is deceived feels so uncomfortable like a person who has hemorrhoids? Even if the word was copied due to its metaphorical meaning – note that the metaphorical meaning of words are preferred in argot – suites to argot meaning because these kind of feelings are caused to someone who has been deceived. Important is also the fact that all the verbal expressions (apart from *yutturmak*), signify the result of the action; referring to the “passive” person and not to the “active” one. If *zoka* was taken from the Turkish *zoka*, then it is more likely that the “active” person would have been indicated and not the “passive” (if someone thinks of a fish lure, the first thing which come in ones mind, is the action of someone trying to trap a fish, if someone thinks of hemorrhoids, or sentiment, one can think of nothing else but of passivity). Besides that if *zoka* < ζοχάδα, then it has to do with irony, a factor of semantic shifting frequently found in argot.

5. Appendix: Vocabulary

The vocabulary does not aim at a complete listing of all originally Greek elements in Turkish argot; it is limited to Graecisms which occur in verbs and verbal expressions (see above, ch. 2).

afaroz < αφορισμένος, αφορισμός – ‘excommunicated, excommunication’, AKTUNÇ 30 (also mentioning the variant *aforoz*) ‘persecution, expulsion, resignation’; DEVELLIOĞLU 82 ‘expulsion’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18 ‘rupture of a relationship, ostracism, expulsion’.

afaroz etmek AKTUNÇ 30 ‘to expel, throw out, lose interest in something or someone’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18 ‘to ostracize, expel, put an end to one’s relation (with someone)’.

afarozlamak AKTUNÇ 30 (also mentioning the variant *aforozlamak*); see *afaroz etmek*. DEVELLIOĞLU 82 ‘to expel’.

afi < άφι[σε] ‘let, let go’, AKTUNÇ 30 ‘lying, show off, self display, ostentation, rowdy behavior’; DEVELLIOĞLU 82 ‘ostentation’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18 ‘rowdy behavior, show off, swagger, ostentation’.

- afi atmak* AKTUNÇ 30 ‘to tell lies, show off, display oneself, boast, behave in a tough, swaggering way’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18 ‘to behave in a tough, swaggering way or rowdily, show off, pretend to be superior, put on airs, brag’.
- afi kesmek* AKTUNÇ 30–31; see *afi atmak*. DEVELLIOĞLU 82 ‘to show off, swagger’. PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18 see *afi atmak*.
- afi satmak* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18 see *afi atmak*.
- afi sökmek* AKTUNÇ 31 ‘to be deceived by lies, fooled or be affected by show off or self display (of someone), to cower down/cower in fear before someone’s tough; swaggering behavior, to humiliate oneself (before)’.
- afi yapmak* AKTUNÇ 30–31 see *afi atmak*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 18, see *afi atmak*.
- akoza* < άκουσα ‘I heard’, AKTUNÇ 33 ‘talk! explain! tell!’; DEVELLIOĞLU 83 ‘Tell! give the news!’.
- akoz etmek* AKTUNÇ 33 (also mentioning the variant *akuz etmek*) ‘to shut up, be quiet; to tell, warn, give’. For the meaning of ‘telling something secretly’ *akozlamak* is used. DEVELLIOĞLU 83 ‘to shut up, be quiet’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 20 ‘to tell something to someone secretly’.
- akozlamak* AKTUNÇ 33 ‘to tell (something) secretly, explain continuously (to someone), inform’; DEVELLIOĞLU 83 ‘to tell secretly’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU: 20, see *akoz etmek*.
- anadolu* < ανατολή ‘east; sunrise’, AKTUNÇ 38 ‘outlay, capital (for tradesmen), faulty products, defective material, person behaving stupidly (in trade or commerce), immodest woman (slut), indecent person’.
- anadolu etmek* AKTUNÇ 38 ‘to deceive, to mislead’.
- anafor* < αναφορ[ά] ‘reference, report, (literally) bring; curry of something (back) again’, αναφόρ[ι] (= αντίδορο ‘gift in return, holy bread offered in the church in place of the divine gifts’) AKTUNÇ 38–39 ‘(something) acquired without money, for free; protection money, tax, payment’; DEVELLIOĞLU 84 ‘what has been achieved for free, what one gets without labour or pains (money, objects)’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 22 ‘(something) acquired illegally, without spending money, without labour, (something) achieved though being penniless, money received by (someone) from some place by bullying behavior’.
- anafor(dan) gelmek* DEVELLIOĞLU 84 ‘to get or gain without paying, for free’.
- anafora konmak* DEVELLIOĞLU 84 ‘to get (something) for free’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 22 ‘to get (something) without labor or payment’.
- anafora vermek* AKTUNÇ 39 ‘to lose or waste one’s money or fortune (by gambling or spending)’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 22 ‘to spend or squander uselessly or exhaustively (money or fortune, in activities such as card playing or drinking)’.
- anaforlamak* AKTUNÇ 39 ‘to obtain or get hold of without money, for free (an object, a chance), to steal’; DEVELLIOĞLU 85 ‘to steal, filch without labor or pains, get (something) for free’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 22 ‘to get (something) for free, without labour or illegally’.
- bocurgat yapmak* < μποτζεργάτ[ης] ‘capstan, windlass’ (see KAHANE & TIETZE 1958: 508); AKTUNÇ 59 ‘to ‘dig’ one’s nose, to play with the mucus in one’s nose’; DEVELLIOĞLU 92 ‘to ‘dig’ one’s nose’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 33 ‘to ‘dig’ one’s nose’.
- çingar* < τσογγα[α] ‘quarrel(ling), scolding, to clink’; AKTUNÇ 79 ‘noise, clatter, quarrel, commotion’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 44 ‘noise, clatter, quarrel’.

- çingar çıkarmak* AKTUNÇ 79 ‘to provoke a fuss, noise, quarrel, commotion’; DEVELLIOĞLU 100 ‘to quarrel, to make a fuss’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 44 ‘to provoke a quarrel, fuss, to quarrel without a serious reason’.
- çingar çıkmak* AKTUNÇ 79, see *çingar kopmak*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 44 ‘a noise, a quarrel is happening’.
- çingar kopmak* AKTUNÇ 79 ‘a clatter, noise, quarrel, scuffle, commotion is happening’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 44, see *çingar çıkmak*.
- elado* < έλα ’δω ‘come here!’; AKTUNÇ 101 ‘come on, come on give’.
- elado etmek* AKTUNÇ 101 ‘to take, get, steal’; DEVELLIOĞLU 108 ‘to steal’.
- enginar* < αγινάρα ‘artichoke’; AKTUNÇ 103 ‘genital, vagina, vulva; head, mind, the ability of perception, intelligence, intellect’; DEVELLIOĞLU 109 ‘genital, female genital’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 56 ‘mind, intelligence’.
- enginar çalıştırmak* AKTUNÇ 103 ‘to think, use one’s mind’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 57 ‘to make one’s mind work, think’.
- erkete* < έρχεται ‘s/he / it is coming’; AKTUNÇ 104–105 ‘lookout, a person assigned to observe or watch and inform when the police (etc.) is coming during an illegal action, person watching the surroundings closely, while a necessary job is being carried out, a place where one is on the look-out or keeps watch, the surveillance of an action or a place’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 57 ‘(someone) who has the duty to watch and inform whether the police is coming, while an illegal job like card playing, theft, drug selling or the like takes place; an act or a place of surveillance’.
- erkete durmak* AKTUNÇ 105 ‘to wait as a lookout’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 57 ‘to assume the duty of being a lookout, to wait as an lookout’.
- erkete yatmak* AKTUNÇ 105 ‘to observe, to stand in a place where one can closely watch the surroundings’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 57 ‘to stand in a place where one can watch the surroundings, to wait as a lookout’.
- fasulye* < φασούλια ‘beans’; AKTUNÇ 109 ‘money’.
- fasulye mi dedin?* AKTUNÇ 109–110, used to refer to an incorrect or inappropriate word; DEVELLIOĞLU 111 used to ridicule an incomprehensible word; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 60 used to refer to an inappropriate, irrelevant or absurd word.
- fasulye yazmak* AKTUNÇ 110 ‘to write down the share of the owner of a gambling house, to note down’; DEVELLIOĞLU 111 ‘to keep book of the share the owner of a gambling place is entitled to’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 60 ‘to put aside/keep back the share of the gambling house owner’.
- fırça* < βούρτσά ‘brush’; AKTUNÇ 111–112 ‘the action of rubbing the penis on another genital or body, penis, scolding, dressing-down’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 61 ‘dressing-down, scolding’.
- fırça atmak* DEVELLIOĞLU 112 ‘to censure, offend or insult’.
- fırça çekmek* AKTUNÇ 112 ‘to rebuke, scold; to rub one’s penis on another genital or body’; DEVELLIOĞLU 112 ‘to ejaculate on a woman or a girl’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 61 ‘to rebuke or blame’.
- fırçalamak* AKTUNÇ 112 see *fırça çekmek*; DEVELLIOĞLU 112 ‘to ejaculate on a woman or a girl’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 61 ‘to rebuke or blame someone younger or an inferior person’.
- fırçalanmak* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 61 ‘to rebuke or blame someone younger or an inferior person; to give oneself airs’.

- fırça yemek* AKTUNÇ 112 ‘to be rebuked, get dressed down’; DEVELLIOĞLU 112 ‘to be rebuked or get dressed down’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 61 ‘to be rebuked or get dressed-down’.
- gamato* < γαμώ to ‘I fuck it’; AKTUNÇ 118 swearing or cursing expression; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 swearing or cursing expression.
- gamato sallamak* AKTUNÇ 118 ‘to curse (at), to swear (at)’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 ‘to swear (at)’.
- gamatoyu basmak* AKTUNÇ 118 ‘to curse (at)’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 ‘to swear (at)’.
- gargara* < γαργάρα ‘gargle’; AKTUNÇ 119 ‘incoherent word, babble’.
- gargara etmek* AKTUNÇ 119 ‘to talk nonsense, jabber; not to fall for (a fraud), not to be fooled’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 ‘not to fall for (a trick), not to be fooled; to talk nonsense, utter inconsistencies, to drown someone in a flood of words’.
- gargaraya gelmek* AKTUNÇ 119 ‘to be fooled or deceived; (word) which is not understood among other (words), (for one’s words) to fall on deaf ears, (of an object) to disappear without one’s realizing what happened, (of an object) to be stolen’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 ‘to be deceived or fooled; (for one’s words) to mix with other words and fall on deaf ears, (of something) to disappear without one’s realizing what happened or how it happened’.
- gargara getirmek* AKTUNÇ 119 ‘to deceive, mislead, chatter, babble; to steal’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 ‘to mislead, deceive, say (something) loquaciously, prattle; to introduce confusion into something and thus reduce its effectiveness’.
- gargara yapmak* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 65 see *gargara etmek*.
- istavrozundan başlamak* < σταυρός ‘cross’; AKTUNÇ 151 ‘to utter an insulting threat against Christians, intimidate (someone) by swearing or insulting harshly’.
- istavroz şaş(ır)mak* AKTUNÇ 151 ‘not to know what happened or occurred’.
- katakofti* < [ε]κατό κόφτε ‘cut hundred’; AKTUNÇ 167–168, ‘rowdy behavior, swaggering toughness, bully behavior, tough word, falsehood, lie’; DEVELLIOĞLU 133 ‘lie, unsubstantial, false word’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 90 ‘bully behavior, lies’.
- katakofti atmak* AKTUNÇ 168 ‘to lie’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 90 ‘to lie’.
- katakulli* < κατακύλι ‘rolling down’; AKTUNÇ 168 ‘fraudulence, deceitfulness, resorting to deception, trap, fraud, lying, trickery’; DEVELLIOĞLU 133 ‘machination, trap’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 90 ‘lie, plot, trap, deception, fraud’.
- katakulli çevirmek* AKTUNÇ 168 ‘to deceive; to trap’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 91 ‘to set a trap, cheat’.
- katakulli okumak* AKTUNÇ 168 ‘to speak seductively, tell lies’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 91 ‘to tell lies, mislead’.
- katakulli yapmak* AKTUNÇ 168 see *katakulli çevirmek*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 91 see *katakulli çevirmek*.
- katakulliyeye düşmek* AKTUNÇ 168 see *katakulliyeye gelmek*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 91 see *katakulliyeye gelmek*.
- katakulliyeye gelmek* AKTUNÇ 168 ‘to be deceived by fraud, fooled by deception, to fall into a trap’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 91 ‘to be fooled or deceived’.
- katakulliyeye getirmek* AKTUNÇ 168 ‘to deceive, cheat by using fraud’.
- kavallamak* < καβαλλ[ώ]; AKTUNÇ 168 ‘to talk too much and annoy’.
- kavallanmak* DEVELLIOĞLU 133 ‘to annoy, to give a headache (to)’.

- kefal* < κέφαλ[ος] ‘mullet’; AKTUNÇ 173 ‘cigarettes dumped without being completely smoked, big cigarette-end; (for a pupil) the minimum grade; male genital, penis; (someone) who takes a lie seriously, gets agitated and camped in words/speech as if it is of significance’; DEVELLIOĞLU 134 ‘the minimum grade (in school); cigarette end’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 92 ‘big cigarette end; grade good enough to pass the class; base’.
- kefal tutmak* AKTUNÇ 173 ‘to find a somewhat large cigarette-end; (pupil) to reach the base of grading at year’s end exam (even though one does not expect it); DEVELLIOĞLU 134 ‘good grade, to get a savior mark’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 92, ‘to find a somewhat large cigarette-end, (pupil) in the test to reach the base of grading even though s/he does not expect it’.
- kiremit aktarmak* < κερμίδ[ι] ‘tile’; AKTUNÇ 185 ‘(boy) to have sexual intercourse’; DEVELLIOĞLU 138 ‘to have sexual intercourse’.
- kitaksi* < κοιτάξε ‘look!’; AKTUNÇ 186 (also mentioning *kitakse*) ‘look at this, look at this mess!’.
- kitaksi etmek* AKTUNÇ 186 ‘to look, observe, watch’; DEVELLIOĞLU 138 only *kitakse etmek*, ‘to watch, see, observe’.
- kodes* < κότες ‘hens’; AKTUNÇ 186 ‘penitentiary, jail, prison’; DEVELLIOĞLU 138 ‘penitentiary, jail, prison’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 ‘penitentiary’.
- kodese koymak* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 see *kodese tıkmak*.
- kodese tıkmak* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 ‘to put in prison, throw in jail, imprison’.
- kodesi boylamak* AKTUNÇ 186 ‘to be imprisoned, stay the night in a jail’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 ‘to be put in prison’.
- kodeslemek* AKTUNÇ 186 ‘to imprison, shut up in jail’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 ‘to put in prison’.
- kodeslenmek* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 ‘to be imprisoned’.
- kofti* < κόφτε ‘cut!’; AKTUNÇ 186–7 ‘(thing, news, word) without meaning, without value, useless, false; (someone) clumsy, incapable, liar’, cf. *katakofti*; DEVELLIOĞLU 138 ‘(unfounded, false, fake (word))’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98 ‘worthless, useless, valueless, false, meaningless (thing, news, word); clumsy or untalented person; liar’.
- kofti atmak* AKTUNÇ 187 ‘to tell lies, invent false news’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 98–99 ‘to spread false news, tell lies’.
- koftileşmek* AKTUNÇ 187 ‘(for objects) to lose value or quality, (for people) to get impertinent, start doing things different from the normal behaviour’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 99 (for objects) to lose value or quality, (for people) to start doing things different from the normal behaviour’.
- kofti yutmak* AKTUNÇ 187 ‘to be deceived, be fooled by lies’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 99 ‘to believe in lies, be deceived’.
- kofti yutturmak* AKTUNÇ 187 ‘to dupe, deceive by using lies’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 99 ‘to deceive by using lies, dupe’.
- kokoroz* < κόκορας ‘cock, rooster’; AKTUNÇ 187 (also *kokoros*) ‘ugly (generally woman), without money in a bad situation’; DEVELLIOĞLU 138; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 99 ‘ugly’.
- kokorozlanmak* AKTUNÇ 187 ‘to challenge, to try to scare someone, to become inspired with courage, to threaten, to come to a bad situation penniless’; DEVEL-

- LİOĞLU 138 ‘to threaten, to frighten; intimidate, for someone who is at fault to want to shift the blame onto someone else’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 99 ‘to try to frighten someone’.
- koma* < κόμα ‘coma’; AKTUNÇ 189 ‘the state of being very drunk, loss of sense by drunkenness, extreme fatigue’.
- komalık etmek* DEVELLİOĞLU 139 ‘to cause great irritation; injure (someone) by beating so that the person becomes wholly unable to move’.
- komalık olmak* DEVELLİOĞLU 139 ‘to get very tired’.
- komaya girmek* DEVELLİOĞLU 139 ‘to become greatly surprised, get very sorry and very angry’.
- komaya sokmak* AKTUNÇ 189 ‘to beat to death’; DEVELLİOĞLU 139 ‘to beat (someone) very much; to put in a difficult situation from which one cannot escape’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 99 ‘to beat to death; to make someone mad; to bewilder or distress, put in a difficult situation from which one cannot escape’.
- kopsi kefali etmek* < κόψε [το] κεφάλι ‘cut the head!’; AKTUNÇ 190 ‘to separate one’s head from his/her body, cut one’s neck; to circumcise’; DEVELLİOĞLU 139 ‘to cut someone’s head off’.
- madara* < μα[v]τάρα ‘mess, tangle’; AKTUNÇ 201 ‘of inferior quality, poor in quality, someone in an embarrassing situation, false (money)’; DEVELLİOĞLU 144 ‘bad, unlovable, empty; useless, noticing the teacher’s mistake during the lesson reproaching him to his face, the act of embarrassing (the teacher)’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 104 see AKTUNÇ.
- madara etmek* AKTUNÇ 201 ‘to bring to light someone’s forgery; falsification, to bring someone in an embarrassing situation, to embarrass’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 104 ‘to bring someone in an embarrassing, bad situation, to make someone feel ashamed’.
- madara olmak* AKTUNÇ 201 ‘a mistake, a lie to come to light’; DEVELLİOĞLU 144 ‘to turn out to be untrue, to be ashamed’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 104 ‘turning out to be untrue, to be in an embarrassing situation, to be ashamed’.
- mandallamak* < μάνταλ[α] ‘bolts’; AKTUNÇ 206 ‘to arouse one’s interest; to prevent someone from carrying out an intended (usually illegal) action; to beat; (in wireless communication) to prevent a conversation by continuously interrupting it’; DEVELLİOĞLU 145 ‘to pay no attention to, utterly disregard, not to care about’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 ‘(in wireless communication) to prevent a conversation by interrupting it continuously; to prevent someone from carrying out an intended (usually illegal) action’.
- mandepsi* < μάντεψε ‘guess!’; AKTUNÇ 206 ‘trick, deception, ruse, trap, snare’; DEVELLİOĞLU 145 ‘trick, ruse, deception’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 ‘fraud, deception, intrigue, trick, trap, ruse’.
- mandepsiye bağlamak* AKTUNÇ 206 ‘to deal (with something difficult) successfully, trap by fraud’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 ‘to hoodwink someone, to fool by fraud’.
- mandepsiye basmak* AKTUNÇ 206 ‘to fall into a trap’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 ‘to fall into a trap’.
- mandepsiye bastırmak* AKTUNÇ 206 ‘to entrap, to deceive by using fraud’; DEVELLİOĞLU 145 see *mandepsiye düşürmek*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 ‘to hoodwink, entrap, deceive with tricks’.

- mandepsiye gelmek* AKTUNÇ 206 see *mandepsiye basmak*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 see *mandepsiye basmak*.
- mandepsiye getirmek* PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 see *mandepsiye bağlamak*.
- mandepsiye düşmek* AKTUNÇ 206 see *mandepsiye basmak*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 106 see *mandepsiye basmak*.
- mandepsiye düşürmek* AKTUNÇ 206 see *mandepsiye bastırmak*; DEVELLIOĞLU 145 ‘to deceive’.
- mantar* < μαν[υ]τάρ[υ] ‘mushroom’; AKTUNÇ 207 ‘lie, fraud; fool, stupid person, jerk; (job, object etc.) with no value, worthless, unimportant, fruitless’; DEVELLIOĞLU 146 ‘lie; fool, stupid person, idiot, empty, fruitless, useless job’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘stupid, silly person, fool; (object) unimportant, worthless, fruitless, useless’.
- mantar atmak* AKTUNÇ 207 ‘to tell lies’; DEVELLIOĞLU 146 ‘tell lies’; DEVELLIOĞLU 107 ‘tell lies’.
- mantar yemek* AKTUNÇ 208 ‘to believe in lies, be fooled by fraud’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘to believe in lies, be taken in by tricks’.
- mantarlamak* AKTUNÇ 208 ‘to tell lies, do something deceitful or fraudulent, defraud’; DEVELLIOĞLU 146 ‘to mislead, tell lies’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘to tell lies, mislead with fraud, defraud’.
- mantara basmak* AKTUNÇ 207 ‘to be taken in by lies, be deceived, fall into a trap’; DEVELLIOĞLU 146 ‘to fall into a trap’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘to fall into a trap, be taken in by lies’.
- mantara bastırmak* DEVELLIOĞLU 146 ‘to mislead, deceive, trap’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘to hoodwink, entrap, deceive’.
- mantarını açmak* AKTUNÇ 208 ‘to chat with a taciturn person, to provide someone with the chance to narrate his/her suffering, to encourage someone to talk’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘to make someone talk, to give someone the chance to narrate his/her suffering’.
- manyamak* < μανία ‘mania’; AKTUNÇ 208 ‘to start to do unstable or unbalanced movements because of fatigue, emotion etc., go mad, lose one’s mind’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 107 ‘to behave in unbalanced manner due to drunkenness or fatigue, start to behave crazily’.
- mastor* < μάστορ[ας] ‘master’; AKTUNÇ 210 (also *mastur*) ‘person getting intoxicated through narcotics or alcohol, person becoming ecstatic’; DEVELLIOĞLU 147 (also *mastur*) ‘intoxicated through hashish or drinks’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 108 ‘person quite intoxicated through narcotics or alcohol’.
- mastorlamak* AKTUNÇ 210 ‘to be addicted to narcotics or alcohol, get drugged or drunk’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 108 ‘to get quite drunk’.
- mastorlaşmak* AKTUNÇ 210 see *mastorlamak*. DEVELLIOĞLU 147 (also *masturlaşmak*) ‘to get drunk’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 108 see *mastorlamak*.
- ber boka maydanoz olmak* < μαϊντανό[ς] ‘parsley’ (< μακεδονοάνησος); ‘to become the parsley for any shit’: AKTUNÇ 139 (also *maydanoz olmak*) ‘to pry into everything, poke one’s nose into (everything), whether it concerns one or not’; DEVELLIOĞLU 122 ‘to pry into everything’.
- midye* < μύδια ‘mussels’; AKTUNÇ 215 ‘female genital, vagina’.

- midye çıkarmak* AKTUNÇ 210 ‘to gaze vacantly, be lost in thought’; DEVELLIOĞLU 149 ‘to gaze vacantly, stare into space’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 110 ‘to be immersed in deep thought’.
- moloz* < μώλος ‘rubble, debris’; AKTUNÇ 216 ‘worthless, unimportant; meat, pieces of meat in bean soup, in rice or similar dish’; DEVELLIOĞLU 150 ‘useless, trash’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 110 ‘worthless, useless, trash’.
- molozlamak* AKTUNÇ 216 ‘to go down in value, lose one’s old value, grow old, age’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 110 see *molozlaşmak*.
- molozlaşmak* AKTUNÇ 216 see *molozlamak*; DEVELLIOĞLU 150 ‘to get old and ugly’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 110 ‘to go down in value, become useless, grow old’.
- okso* < ὄξω ‘out’; AKTUNÇ 224 (also *oksi*, *oksu*) used with the meanings ‘scram!, get away!, get going!, get lost!’; DEVELLIOĞLU 154 only *oksi*, ‘get moving!, go away!, get lost! scram!’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 115 only *oksi*, ‘get lost!, scram!’.
- okso etmek* AKTUNÇ 224 ‘to drive away, cause someone’s leaving’.
- oksulamak* AKTUNÇ 224–225 (also *oksilemek*, *oksolamak*), see *okso etmek*; DEVELLIOĞLU 154 ‘to get rid of someone, put someone off’.
- palamarı almak* < παλαμάρι ‘cable’; AKTUNÇ 231 see *palamarı çözmek*.
- palamarı çözmek* AKTUNÇ 231 ‘to move off (from a place), leave, escape’; DEVELLIOĞLU 157 ‘to leave, escape, move away (from a place)’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 118 see *palamarı koparmak*.
- palamarı koparmak* AKTUNÇ 225 see *palamarı çözmek*; DEVELLIOĞLU 157 ‘to leave, slip away, move off’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 118 ‘to escape, run away’.
- palamarı toplamak* AKTUNÇ 225 see *palamarı çözmek*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 118 see *palamarı koparmak*.
- palamarı vermek* AKTUNÇ 225 ‘to come close, approach’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 118 ‘to come closer, approach’.
- palamut* < παλαμίδ[α] ‘a kind of tunny-fish’; AKTUNÇ 232 ‘thrown away cigarette which was not completely smoked, (cigarette) butt, cigarette with hashish; (for pupils) copying provision; getting the right cards to win a game with the first meddling of the cards’; DEVELLIOĞLU 157 ‘thick twisted hashish cigarette’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 118 ‘cigarette with hashish, big cigarette-end’.
- palamut yapmak* AKTUNÇ 232 ‘to have the necessary or right cards to win a game of cards or gambling (with fraud or luck) with the first mingling of the cards’.
- papaz* < παπάς ‘priest, father’; AKTUNÇ 233 ‘intolerant person, old man who is despot or grim; toilet’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 119 ‘old man who is intolerant and despot’.
- papaza gitmek* AKTUNÇ 232 ‘to go to the toilet’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 119 ‘to go to the toilet’.
- papazı bulmak* AKTUNÇ 233–234 (also *papazı göt altında bulmak*) ‘to face a difficult situation; get into trouble, die’; DEVELLIOĞLU 158 only *papazı göt altında bulmak*, ‘to get into trouble’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 119 ‘to be confronted with a bad result or die’.
- papazı kaçırmak* AKTUNÇ 234 ‘to have too much fun, creating a scandal’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 119 ‘to create a scandal while having fun’.

- paraz uçurmak* AKTUNÇ 234 ‘to drink alcohol and have fun, set up a wild party’; DEVELLIOĞLU 158 ‘to set a big feast, start a feast with *raki*’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 119 ‘to drink alcohol and have fun’.
- partallamak* < ροητ. παρτάλ[ι] or παρδάλ[ι] ‘leopard’; AKTUNÇ 235 ‘confused action, fighting while being confused’.
- pavurya* < πα(γ)ούρια ‘crabs’; AKTUNÇ 237 ‘someone showing off by walking with a lowered shoulder and moving the other (usually the right) one forwards’; DEVELLIOĞLU 159 ‘someone walking askew, with one shoulder lowered’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 121 ‘someone walking with one shoulder lowered for the purpose of showing off’.
- pavuryalamak* AKTUNÇ 237 ‘to walk and show off by lowering one shoulder and moving the other one (especially the right one) forward’.
- pavuryalaşmak* AKTUNÇ 237 see *pavuryalamak*; DEVELLIOĞLU 159 ‘to walk with one shoulder lowered, the other one forwards and moving one’s chin down’.
- pilaki* < πλάκι ‘a dish with vegetables and oil’; AKTUNÇ 240 ‘stupid, silly, idiot’; DEVELLIOĞLU 161 ‘stupid, silly, fool’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 122 ‘person with limited intelligence, stupid, fool, idiot’.
- pilakileşmek* DEVELLIOĞLU 161 ‘to become muddleheaded, act stupidly’.
- pilaki yapmak* AKTUNÇ 240 ‘to beat, hurt, bring into a miserable condition, create a situation which has no way out, complicate, to create a mess’; DEVELLIOĞLU 161 ‘to bring into a complicated situation’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 122 ‘to make someone miserable by beating, to mess up a job in a situation with no way out, mess up completely, put into complete disarray’.
- piyastos* < πιαστός ‘caught’ AKTUNÇ 242 ‘(mostly in a situation of proven crime) capture, catching, arrest’.
- piyastos etmek* AKTUNÇ 242 ‘to imprison, arrest, put under arrest, seize’; DEVELLIOĞLU 162 ‘to arrest, catch, take a person alive’.
- piyastos olmak* AKTUNÇ 242 ‘to be arrested, be held, be under arrest’; DEVELLIOĞLU 162 ‘to be arrested, be held, be taken alive’.
- piyastoslamak* AKTUNÇ 242 see *piyastos etmek*.
- piyastoslanmak* AKTUNÇ 242 see *piyastos olmak*.
- polim* < πώλημ[α] ‘selling’; AKTUNÇ 243 (also in the form *polüm*) ‘false statement, false news; self-protection, showing off’; DEVELLIOĞLU 162 ‘lie, unfounded statement or news’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 122 ‘ostentation, showing off, lie’.
- polim atmak* AKTUNÇ 243 ‘to tell lies, show off, give one airs’; DEVELLIOĞLU 162 ‘to tell lies, tell unfounded things’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 123 ‘to show off, swagger, tell lies’.
- polim kesmek* AKTUNÇ 243 see *polim atmak*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 123 see *polim atmak*.
- polim yapmak* DEVELLIOĞLU 163 ‘to show off’.
- poyraza çevirmek* < βοριάς ‘northern wind’; AKTUNÇ 245 ‘to make (a situation) worse, be in a difficult situation, begin to enrage someone, make someone angry’.
- saloz* < σαλός ‘crazy’; AKTUNÇ 252 ‘fool, stupid, dull’; DEVELLIOĞLU 165 ‘stupid, innocent, jerk, bighead’; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 123 ‘stupid, innocent, jerk, idiot’.
- salozlaşmak* AKTUNÇ 252 ‘not to know what to do due to confusion, be bewildered, become stupid’; DEVELLIOĞLU 165 ‘to be bewildered, become stupid, be left

- dumbfounded (by)'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 128 'not to know what to do due to confusion, become stupid, begin to act like a half-wit'.
- salyası akmak* < σάλι 'slaver, saliva, spittle'; AKTUNÇ 252 'to long for, be very jealous'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 128 'to have one's mouth water (for something), feel great desire'.
- saraka* < σαρκάζω 'to sneer'; AKTUNÇ 253 'mockery, irony, sarcasm, teasing, making fun of'; DEVELLIOĞLU 166 'mockery, amusement'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 128 'indirect mockery, sarcasm, making fun of, teasing'.
- saraka etmek* AKTUNÇ 254 'to mock, make a fool of someone allusively, make fun of, harass every now and then'; DEVELLIOĞLU 166 'to mock, make fun of, make improper remarks or overtures to a female'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 128 'to have fun with, mock, tease'.
- sarakaya almak* AKTUNÇ 254 'to make fun of, joke with'; DEVELLIOĞLU 166 'to make fun of, ridicule'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 128 'to mock indirectly, make fun of, kid someone'.
- takoz koymak* < τάκος 'chock'; AKTUNÇ 273 'to (try to) prevent (action or job)'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 137 'to prevent'.
- voli* < βολή 'shot'; AKTUNÇ 300 'ill-gotten gain by person who wants to have a great profit illegally, big profit, benefit'; DEVELLIOĞLU 183 'ill-gotten gain, profit, gain'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 148 'big profits gained illegally, ill-gotten gain, big benefit, big profit'.
- voli çevirmek* DEVELLIOĞLU 183 'to entrap'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 148 'to entrap'.
- voliyeye yatmak* AKTUNÇ 300 'to profiteer, make illicit profit, wait for a chance to get illegal and indecent profit, (taxi driver) to wait for the chance to gain illegal profit during a non busy period'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 148 'to wait for the chance to get illegal and indecent profit, profiteer, make illicit profit'.
- voliyeyi vurmak* AKTUNÇ 301 'to profiteer, make or gain illicit profit'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 148 see *voli vurmak*.
- voli vurmak* AKTUNÇ 301 see *voliyeyi vurmak*; DEVELLIOĞLU 183 'to pull a deal'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 148 'to gain illegal and big profit, to profiteer, make illicit profit'.
- yakamoz olmak* < διακαμμός 'phosphorescence (on the sea)'; AKTUNÇ 303 'to be found out, be arrested'; DEVELLIOĞLU 185 'to be arrested'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 150 '(fugitive, thief etc.) to be arrested'.
- zoka* < ζοχά[δα] 'hemorrhoids; (metaphorically) whim, amalgamation of sentiments like sadness and annoyance'; AKTUNÇ 317 'trick, snare'; DEVELLIOĞLU 190 'snare, trick, deception, game'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 157 'something deceptive, trap, trick'.
- zokaya düşmek* AKTUNÇ 317 'to be deceived by fraud, fall into a trap'.
- zokaya gelmek* AKTUNÇ 317 see *zokaya düşmek*; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 157 'to fall into a trap'.
- zokayı yutmak* AKTUNÇ 317 see *zokaya düşmek*; DEVELLIOĞLU 190 'to be deceived'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 157 'to be deceived'.
- zokayı yutturmak* DEVELLIOĞLU 190 'to tempt, to deceive'; PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU 157 'to mislead, to trap'.

Abbreviations

anc.Gr.	ancient Greek	n.	noun
arab.	Arabic	n.gr.-pon.	Pontic dialect of New Greek
arm.	Armenian	pers.	Persian
dim.	diminutive	pl.	plural
fr.	French	pr.	person
germ.	German	rom.	Romani
gr.	Greek	turk. dial.	Turkish dialect
imp.	imperative	t.t.	Turkey Turkish
ital.	Italian	turk.	Turkish
kurd.	Kurdish	v.	verb
lt.Gr.	late Greek	ven.	Venetian
mdv.Gr.	medieval Greek	vulg.	vulgarily

Bibliography

- Ανδριώτη, Ν.Π.: *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*. Θεσσαλονίκη 1967.
- ARKAN, Kaptan Özdemir: "Argo ve Beyoğlu Argosu". *Türk Kültüründe Argo*. Haarlem, Holland 2002. 149–167.
- AKTUŒ, Hulki: *Türkçenin Büyük Argo Sözlüğü (Tanımlarıyla)*. İstanbul 2000.
- BİNGÖLÇE, Filiz: *Kadın Argosu Sözlüğü*. İstanbul 2001.
- BOSWORTH, C. Edmund: *The Medieval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (2 vols). Leiden 1976.
- BUSSMANN, Hadumod: *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*. Stuttgart 2002.
- DANKOFF, Robert: *Armenian Loanwords in Turkish* (= *Turkologica*, 21). Ankara 1995.
- DEVELLIOĞLU, Ferit: *Türk Argosu. İnceleme – Sözlük*. Ankara 1990.
- DS= *Türkiye’de Halk Ağzından, Derleme Sözlüğü*. Ankara 1993.
- EREN, Hasan: *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*. Ankara 1999.
- ERSOYLU, Halil: *Türk Argosu üzerinde incelemeler*. İstanbul 2004.
- GDL= *Grand Dictionnaire Langenscheidt, Français-Allemand. Allemand-Français*, ed. E. WEIS, Berlin, Munich, Vienne, Zurich 1979.
- GÜLENSOY, Tuncer: *Doğu Anadolu Osmanlıcası*. Ankara 1986.
- HAUGEN, Einar: "The analysis of linguistic borrowing". *Language* 26/1950. 210–231.
- JOHANSON, Lars: *Strukturelle Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten*. Stuttgart 1992.
- KAHANE, Henry; TIETZE, Renee & Andreas: *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*. Urbana 1958.
- KAPTAN, Özdemir: "Beyoğlu argosunda İtalyanca ve Grekçe kökenli sözcükler". *Tarih ve Toplum* 9/1984. 188–192.
- KAPTAN, Özdemir: *Beyoğlu kısa geçmişi argosu*. 3rd ed. İstanbul 1993.
- KAYMAZ, Zeki: *Türkiye’deki Gizli Diller üzerine bir araştırma*. Bornova-İzmir 2003.
- Λεξικό της κοινής Νεοελληνικής, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ινστιτούτο νεοελληνικών σπουδών (Ίδρυμα Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη). Θεσσαλονίκη (4) 2003.
- LEWIS, Geoffrey: *Turkish Grammar*. Oxford 2000.
- LYONS, John: *Linguistic Semantics. An Introduction*. Cambridge 2002.
- MATRAS, Yaron: "Language Contact", to appear in: VERSCHUREN, J. et al. eds.: *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Amsterdam.
- MO’İN, Mohammad: *A Persian Dictionary*, vols. 1–6. Teheran 1964.
- Μπαμπινιώτης, Γεώργιος: *Εισαγωγή στην Σημασιολογία*. Αθήνα 1985.
- NRH= *New Redhouse*. İstanbul 1968.

- PÜSKÜLLÜOĞLU, Ali: *Türkçenin Argo Sözlüğü*. Ankara, İstanbul 1996.
RH= *Redhouse*. İstanbul 1999.
- ROSENTHAL, Franz: *The Herb, Hashish Versus, Medieval Muslim Society*. Leiden 1971.
- SIEWERT, Klaus: "Forschungen und Funde". In: *Aspekte und Ergebnisse der Sondersprachforschung, II. Internationales Symposium 28. bis 31. Mai 1997 in Brüssel* (= Sondersprachforschung 4). Wiesbaden 1999. 9–17.
- SYMEONIDIS, Charalambos: "Zum türkischen Argot und seinen griechischen Elementen". In: Birgit IGLA, Thomas STOLZ (eds.): *Was ich noch sagen wollte ... A multilingual Festschrift for Norbert Boretzky on Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Berlin 2001. 181–187.
- ŞEN, Mesut: "Argo üzerine". *Türk Kültüründe Argo*. Haarlem, Hollanda 2002. 13–19.
- Τεγόπουλος – Φυτράκης, *Ελληνικό Λεξικό*, 13. ed., s.a. Αθήνα.
- TIETZE, Andreas: *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı*. İstanbul, Wien 2002.
- Τριανταφυλλίδης, Μανόλης: "Über Geheimsprache". In: *Απαντα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη*, vol. 2. Θεσσαλονίκη 1963. 86–89.
- TS = Tarama Sözlüğü, XII. yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklarıyla. Ankara 1966.
- TSITSILIS, Christos: *Griechische Lehnwörter im Türkischen*. Wien 1987.
- WEHR, Hans: *Arabisches Wörterbuch, für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart und Supplement, Arabisch-Deutsch*. Beirut 1976.