Greek elements in Turkish argot

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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-/secret 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 sense. Argot can be categorized as a kind of “mixed languages”; deliberate language mixing, having as a result the so-called “lexicon:grammar-split”.

Socially marginalized groups or thieves, smugglers, drug-users, prostitutes or procurers use argot as a means of protection or exclusive communication related to their activities. 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 carpenters; such was e.g. the language of sailors in the Eastern Mediterranean, whose words are often of Italian

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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. Kayma 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.
4 Matras (?): 10.
5 Τσιριτσιούλλης 1963: 86.
6 Devellioğlu 1990: 25.

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and Greek origin. 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 mainstream 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 teachers.

Argot is a “special” 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 idiolect ones and idioms. In fact, argot is a vocabulary language, 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 system; 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’ 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 equally.

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 Portugal. Since argot is an essentially urban phenomenon, it developed mainly in Istanbul, which was large both by area and population. 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’; more

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9 This term is also used by Klaus 1999: 8: “Sondersprachen – special languages – langages spéciales – bijzondere talen”. Şen 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. Kaymaz 2003: 2. See also Arkan 2002: 165.
10 Develliğloğlu 1990: 22.
15 Develliğloğlu 1990: 53.
recently one finds teklifsiz dil ‘informal language’, halk dili ‘folk language’ or kaba dili ‘coarse language’17.

Argot is generally considered to be as “kaba dili” 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 dili” 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 kayiş dili (cf. kayiş 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 Ayyansaray, 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, Latvian, 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-
lenophone population of certain areas of Istanbul still had a basic knowledge of Greek\textsuperscript{28}.

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 -\(\-\omicron\) to Turkish -\(\-\oz\) (and rarely -\(\-\omicron\) > -\(\-\az\) -\(\-\oz\)):

- αφορισμός ‘excommunication’, αφορισμένος ‘excommunicated’ > aforoz ‘expulsion, dismissal, resignation’.
- κόκορος ‘cock, rooster’ > kokoroz ‘ugly, someone in a bad situation without money’.
- μαϊντανός ‘parsley’ > maydanoz ‘parsley’ > maydanoz olmak ‘to pry into everything’.
- μύλος ‘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 despot; toilet; German marks’.
- σαλ ‘crazy’ > saloz ‘stupid, foolish’.

Exceptions are:

- πιαστ ‘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 -\(\-\omicron\) can become productive in Turkish argot (though not in standard Turkish); e.g. piç ‘bastard, child of a prostitute’ > piçož ‘illegitimate child, bastard\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{30}:

- katakofti (\(<\varepsilon\kappaατάκοφτε ‘cut hundred’) ‘rascality, rascal words, false word, lie, lying’.
- kitaksi/kitakse (\(<\kappaατάκε ‘look’) ‘look’.
- kofti (\(<\kόφτε ‘cut’) ‘(thing, news, word) without meaning, worthless, fake; clumsy, incapable person, liar’.

\textsuperscript{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. ηµσ/\(\-\omicron\)ν ‘half’, pl. ηµσα > imșa olmak ‘to become a partner’. For the borrowing of Greek in Turkish dialects see Tzitzilis 1987.

\textsuperscript{29}Symeonides 2001: 186.

1.3.2.a. Worth mentioning is also the adverb ἐξο/οξο which actually means ‘outside, out’ but gets used as imperative. With its imperative sense it is copied in argot: okso (≪ ὀξο ‘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”. 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 two”. 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 compounds35.

Analysing the entries of three dictionaries36 in search of Greek-Turkish loan-blends and morphologically adapted verbs of Greek etymology 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.
2.1.a. The accompanying verbs with more than three instances are etmek, yapmak, atmak, gelmek and olmak:

- **etmek**: aforoz, akoz/akuz, anadolu, elado, gargara, kitaksi/kitakse, komalik, kopsi kefal, madara, okso, piyastos, saraka.
- **yapmak**: afi, bocurgat, gargara, katakulli, palamut, pilaki, polim.
- **atmak**: afi, firça, katsakof, kof, mantar, polim.
- **gelmek**: anafor/dan, gargara, katakulli+ye, mandepsi+ye, zoka+ya.
- **olmak**: her boca maydanoz/maydanoz, komalik, madara, piyastos, yakamoz.

2.1.b. Verbs with three instances are basmak, çevirmek, düşmek, and getirmek, with two instances almak, bastirmak, 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**: palamar, sarakaya.
- **bastirmak**: mandepsi+ye, mantar+a.
- **çıkarmak**: çingar, midiyi.
- **kesmek**: afi, polim.
- **koymak**: kodes+e, takoz.
- **vermek**: anafora, palamar+i.
- **vurmak**: voli+yi, voli.
- **yatmak**: erkete, voli+ye.
- **yemek**: firça, mantar.
- **yutmak**: kofti, zoka+ya.
- **yutturmak**: kofti, zoka+ya.

2.1.c. Verbs with one instance only:

- **mantra+mI açmak**, sâlya+si akmak, kiremit aktemak, mandepsi+ye bašlamak, istavroz+un+dan bašlamak, kodes+i boylamak, papaz+i bulmak / papaz+i (göI al- tin+da) bulmak, enginar çâþirmak, firça çekmek, çingar çikmak, palamar+i çöZmek, fasulye mi dedim?(demek)”, erkete durmak, mandepsi+ye düşürmek, koma+ya girmek, papaz+i çaþrmak, anafor+a konmak, palamar+i koparmak, çingar kopmak, katakuli okumak, gamato sallamak, aþı satmak, koma+ya sokmak, aþı sokmek, istavroz çaþ+r( mamak, kodes+e tikmak, palamar+i toplamak, kefal tutmak, papaz uçurmak, fasulye yazmak.

37 Here we can observe the Greek word φασιάλια '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 φασιάλια/φασιάλια είπε̋; "Did you say 'beans'?". Maybe this expression is considered to be a phraseology 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. Morphosyntax

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

2.2.a. Phrases with dative government

gargaraya gelmek, gargara\(y\)a getirmek, katakulliye basmak, katakulliye gelmek, katakulliye getirmek, kodese koymak, kodese tekmak, komaya sokmak, mandepsiye bağlamak, mandepsiye başmak, mandepsiye bastırmak, mandepsiye düşmek, mandepsiye düşürmek, mandepsiye getirmek, mantara basmak, mantara bastırmak, papazı gitmek, poyrza çevirmek, sarakaya almak, volsiye yatmak, zokaya düşmek, zokaya gelmek.

2.2.b. Phrases with accusative government

gamatoyu basmak, kodesi boylamak, mantarın açmak, papazı balmak, papazı kaçaçmak, volsiye vurmak, zokaya yutmak, zokaya yutturmak.

2.2.c. Phrases with ablative government

anafor(\(d\))an gelmek, istavrozun(\(d\))an başlamak.

2.3. Morphological adaptation with derivative suffixes

The second kind of morphological adaptation to Turkish verbal forms uses the common derivative denominal suffixes +\(lA\)-, +\(lA\)n- and +\(lA\)ş-.

2.3.a. +\(lA\)-

afarozlamak/aforozlamak, akozlamak, anaforlamak, firçalamak, kavallamak, kodeselemek, mantarlamak, mastorlamak, molozlamak, oksulamak/oksilvermek/oksolamak, partallamak, pavuryalamak, piyastoslamak.

2.3.b. +\(lA\)n-

firçalanmak, kavallanmak, kodeselemek, kokorozlanmak, piyastoslanmak.

2.3.c. +\(lA\)ş-

koftileşmek, mastorlaşmak/masturlaşmak, molozlaşmak, pavuryalaşmak, pilakileşmek, salolaşmak.

2.3.d. Other cases:

Derivation without derivative suffix:

\(manyamak < manya < \mu\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\ 'mania'.\)

Denominal nominal derivation in:

\(komalık etmek / olmak < \kappa\omega\nu\alpha\ 'coma' > koma + \text{lik}\)

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 meaning. Partial synonymy meets the criterion of identity of meaning but fails to meet the conditions of absolute synonymy. What is significant for the following examples is the expressive (socio-expressive) meaning. Speakers use specific words or phrases in order to express their feelings towards what they are describing; They can express approval, disapproval or feel neutral. 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 negative.

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 afarozlamak/afarozlamak ‘to expel, throw out; to lose interest’.
- akoz/akuz etmek and akozlamak ‘to tell secretly’.
- fırça çekmek and fırçadamak ‘to rebuke, scold, blame a younger person; to rub the penis on another genital or body, to ejaculate’.
- oko etmek and oksolamak/okslamak/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 +lA- thrice corresponds to +lA-:

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38 Lyons 2002: 61. Μπαµπιώτη̋ς 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 Μπαµπιώτη̋ς 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 +IA- has reciprocal (though sometimes also reflexive) meaning while +LA- does not assume any of those functions.

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 preserved: ‘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 (< κώµα ‘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’. 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)’.

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


7) 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.

8) 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. aşak ‘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’. Devellioglu 1990: 86 ‘to steal, rob, take something from its owner without getting noticed’.

çakmak (Turkic): Aktunç 2000: 74 and Devellioglu 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’.


moruk (< arm. moruk ‘beard’, moruk (arm. slang ‘old man, dotard, father’51)): Aktunç 2000: 217 and Devellioglu 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’52) çıkmak ‘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, söylediğin asılsız olduğunu öğrendince 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, 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. παλάμαρι ‘cable’.
panik kırmak < fr. panique ‘panic’.

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49 Dankoff 1995: 111.
51 GOL 1979: être dans une situation fausse ‘to be in an unpleasant, embarrassing situation’.
53 Devellioglu 1990: 46.
54 Devellioglu 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 by\(^{57}\):

- **abeci** < turk.dial. (manisa) abeci= abulabut ‘stupid, foolish’\(^\text{58}\).
- **ablat** < gr. ογκλότη ‘pear’.
- **armut** < pers. armud ‘pear’\(^\text{59}\).
- **aval** < arm. yavanak ‘ass’es fool; (dial.) ass’\(^\text{60}\).
- **cacaklik** < ? cacik ‘eatable weed, wild grass, herb’\(^\text{61}\).
- **dümbelek** < pers. dumbalag ‘a musical instrument, similar to drum made out of wood’.
- **gebeş** < arab. kabî ‘ram’\(^\text{62}\).
- **bafziz** < arab. habîz ‘someone who preserves something’.
- **hirbo** (< kurd. hîrbe/hîrabe ‘defective, broken, demolished building, ruin’\(^\text{63}\).
- **uvpanak** < gr. ὄπανάκ ‘spinach’.
- **kanser ilacı** < fr. cancer ‘cancer’ + arab. ʿilāq ‘medicine’.
- **kaskaval** < ital. caciocavallo ‘a kind of cheese’.
- **koruydo** < gr. χορυδο ‘fool’.
- **mantar** < gr. μαντάρι ‘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 < οφοριμένος/όφοριμας – ‘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. **firça çekmek, firçalamak** (firça < βουτσα ‘brush’): ‘to rub the penis on another genital or body’.

\(^{57}\) Devellioglu 1990: 46.


\(^{61}\) Tietze 2002: 411.


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 maydanız olmak (< μοϊντσινος ‘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 < αγκινάρα ‘artichoke’): ‘to think, to use one’s mind’. gargara gelmek (gargara < γαργάρα ‘gargle’): ‘to be fooled, to be deceived’. kodese koynmak (kodes < κότζες ‘hens’): ‘to put in prison, throw in jail, imprison’, kodesi boylamak ‘to be imprisoned, stay in jail for the night’, kodeslemek ‘to imprison, shut up in jail, put in prison’, kodeslenmek ‘to be imprisoned’. çingar çıkarmak (çingar < τσιγγάρα ‘cigarette, smoke’): ‘to provoke a fuss/noise/commotion, to quarrel without a serious reason’. pavuryalamanak (pavurya < πα(γ)/ορία ‘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 < αναφερ[ά] ‘literally: bring; carry of something (back) again’, ‘reference, report’) anafor[ή] (< 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 papazı 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 πῶν λέει ‘cut from what (s)he says’; i.e. ‘(s)he is lying’. Cf. also germ. ‘aufschneiden’ with similar semantics. afi < ἀφή[σε] ‘let/let go’ and afi atmak ‘to tell lies’ and similar expressions. Isolated from the phrase ‘ἀφή[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 κόντα τον κόκορα ‘he behaves provocatively, bullying’, the verb κόκοροσκότα ‘to behave provocatively, to put on airs, to take pride in’ and the metaphor τοιούχωντα σαν τα κοκόρια ‘they quarrel/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 πουλίαν ψεύδα (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 salyas akmak 'to long for, be very jealous of, have one's mouth water for something, feel great desire'. Cf. the phrase µον τρέχοντα σάλια 'my mouth is watering'.

takoz < τόκος 'heel' and takoz koymak 'to (try to) prevent an action'. Cf. the Greek phrase βαζω τόκο '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 σακάκι 'little and often fills the purse'; literally 'bean (and) bean fills the little sack'.

Concerning kavallamak 'to talk too much and annoy' cf. the Greek phrase καβάλλω 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 together switching in every day life not only from

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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. Symeondes 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 γελάω ‘unit of weight equal to 100 grams’ > kilo is taken over from European languages. Though if the Greek phrase παίρνω κιλά ‘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 όµоς ‘shoulder’ is used literally as a verbal expression παίρνω στо όµος ‘to lift on the shoulders’, σηκώνω στο όµος ‘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) < κώµα ‘coma’ < anc.Gr. κώµαι < 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 çarmak, çingar çikmak, çingar kopmak, see Appendix) < n. τσιγκάρα ‘quarrel(ling), scolding’ < v. τσιγκάριζε ‘to clink (lightly objects)’ < sngi-
κρίδζεω < συγκρώ < anc.Gr. συγκρομικόν. The etymology of this word but also the Greek idiom: τα τσινγκρίσανε ‘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 word66. However one should not neglect the fact that the old çingr- (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’67, çıramak (çiřemek) ‘to reverberate, ring clearly or sharply, to tinkle, to rattle, to clink’68.

**mastor** (mastorlamak, mastorlaşmak, see Appendix) < μάςτρα < μάστορα < µαίστωρ < lat. magister. One could think of the possibility that this word was taken into argot from the Arabic passive participle mastūl ‘high on hashish’, v. satala ‘intoxicate’70. However the root seems to be secondary71 [cf. istīl ‘beggar (with a feigned disability in the eyes)’, found since the 9th century with an uncertain etymology72, cf. ľstūl ‘fleet’73 < gr. στόλος ‘fleer’. Isn’t there a semantic connection between ľstūl and mastūl? ‘high (on hashish)’, note that in Arabic there is the word; passive participle masţūr 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 karagözü argot mastor Yani was a Greek (who holds Turkish citizenship; Rum) drunk and unstable person wandering with a bottle of alcohol in his hands’.

**moloz** (moložlamak, moložmak, see Appendix) < μώλος ‘rubble, debris’, µωρός ‘stupid, fool’ < anc.Gr. µωρός. If the etymology of this word is µωρός 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 the same75, 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 is was taken over from Greek. In fact µωρός, which besides ‘stupid’ denotes an old man acting like a child (cf. argots meaning ‘to

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70 Rosenthal 1971: 75.
73 Wehr 1997.
74 Wehr 1997.
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 μεμούνε literally ‘here is the head here is the marble’, consequently a head hard like a stone, used to denote someone stupid, worthless.

zoka (zokaya diámelek, zokaya gelmek, zokayı yutmak, zokayı yutturmak, see Appendix) < ζοξάδα ‘hemorrhoids; (metaphorically) whim, amalgamation of sentiments like sadness and annoyance’< lt. mdv. Gr. ζοξάδα < εοξάδα. 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’ endevour to keep the meanings secret to have thought about the Greek ζοξάδα, thinking that someone who is deceived feels so uncomfortable like a person who has hemmorhoids? 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 form 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 < ζοξάδα, 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 < αφί ‘let, let go’, Aktunç 30 ‘lying, show off, self display, ostentation, rowdy behavior’; Devellioğlu 82 ‘ostentation’; Püsküllüoğlu 18 ‘rowdy behavior, show off, swagger, ostentation’.

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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. Develliůğlu 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 satmak Püsküllüoğlu 18 see afi atmak.

afı satmak Püsküllüoğlu 18 see afi atmak.

afi yapmak Aktunç 30–31 see afi atmak; Püsküllüoğlu 18, see afi atmak.

akoza < ακ/omikronυσα 'I heard', Aktunç 33 'talk! explain! tell!'; Develliůğlu 83 'Tell! give the news!'.

akoç 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. Develliůğlu 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'; Develliůğlu 83 'to tell secretly'; Püsküllüoğlu: 20, see akoz etmek.

anadolu < ανατ/omikronλή '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 < αναφ/omikronρ[ά] 'reference, report, (literally) bring; curry of something (back) again', αναφ/omikronρ[ί] (= αντίδωρ/omikron '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'; Develliůğlu 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 Develliůğlu 84 'to get or gain without paying, for free'.

anafora kommak Develliůğlu 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)'.

anaforamak Aktunç 39 'to obtain or get hold of without money, for free (an object, a chance), to steal'; Develliůğlu 85 'to steal, filch without labor or pains, get (something) for free'; Püsküllüoğlu 22 'to get (something) for free, without labour or illegally'.

boçurgat yapmak < μποτεργάτ[ης] 'capstan, windlass' (see Kahane & Tietze 1958: 508); Aktunç 59 'to 'dig' one's nose, to play with the mucus in one's nose'; Develliůğlu 92 'to 'dig' one's nose'; Püsküllüoğlu 33 'to 'dig' one's nose'.

cıngar < τουγγαζ[ης] 'quarrel(ling), scolding, to clink'; Aktunç 79 'noise, clatter, quarrel, commotion'; Püsküllüoğlu 44 'noise, clatter, quarrel'.

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çıngar çıkmak Aktunç 79 ‘to provoke a fuss, noise, quarrel, commotion’; Develiğlu 100 ‘to quarrel, to make a fuss’; Pısküllüoğlu 44 ‘to provoke a quarrel, fuss, to quarrel without a serious reason’.

çıngar kopmak Aktunç 79, see çingar çıkmak; Pısküllüoğlu 44 ‘a noise, a quarrel is happening’.

çıngar kopmak Aktunç 79 ‘a clatter, noise, quarrel, scuffle, commotion is happening’; Pısküllüoğlu 44, see çingar çıkmak.

elando < ελά ‘δω ‘come here!’; Aktunç 101 ‘come on, come on give’.

elado etmek Aktunç 101 ‘to take, get, steal’; Develiğlu 108 ‘to steal’.

enginar < αγκινάρα ‘artichoke’; Aktunç 103 ‘genital, vagina, vulva; head, mind, the ability of perception, intelligence, intellect’; Develiğlu 109 ‘genital, female genital’; Pısküllüoğlu 56 ‘mind, intelligence’.

enginar çalıştırmak Aktunç 103 ‘to think, use one’s mind’; Pısküllüoğlu 57 ‘to make one’s mind work, think’.

erkete < έρκηεται ‘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’; Pısküllüoğlu 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’; Pısküllüoğlu 57 ‘to assume the duty of being a lookout, to wait as a lookout’.

erkete yatmak Aktunç 105 ‘to observe, to stand in a place where one can closely watch the surroundings’; Pısküllüoğlu 57 ‘to stand in a place where one can watch the surroundings, to wait as a lookout’.

fasulye < φασιμιλία ‘beans’; Aktunç 109 ‘money’.

fasulye mi dedin? Aktunç 109–110, used to refer to an incorrect or inappropriate word; Develiğlu 111 used to ridicule an incomprehensible word; Pısküllüoğlu 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’; Develiğlu 111 ‘to keep book of the share the owner of a gambling place is entitled to’; Pısküllüoğlu 60 ‘to put aside/keep back the share of the gambling house owner’.

fırça < βετανόνα ‘brush’; Aktunç 111–112 ‘the action of rubbing the penis on another genital or body, penis, scolding, dressing-down’; Pısküllüoğlu 61 ‘dressing-down, scolding’.

fırça atmak Develiğlu 112 ‘to censure, offend or insult’.

fırça çekmek Aktunç 112 ‘to rebuke, scold; to rub one’s penis on another genital or body’; Develiğlu 112 ‘to ejaculate on a woman or a girl’; Pısküllüoğlu 61 ‘to rebuke or blame’.

fırçalamak Aktunç 112 see fırça çekmek; Develiğlu 112 ‘to ejaculate on a woman or a girl’; Pısküllüoğlu 61 ‘to rebuke or blame someone younger or an inferior person’.

fırçalamak Pısküllüoğlu 61 ‘to rebuke or blame someone younger or an inferior person; to give oneself airs’.
firça 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 sollamak Aktunç 118 ‘to curse (at), to swear (at)’; Püsküllüoğlu 65 ‘to swear (at)’.

gamatoya básmak Aktunç 118 ‘to curse (at);’ Püsküllüoğlu 65 ‘to swear (at)’.

gargara < γαργάρα ‘gargle’; Aktunç 119 ‘incoherent word, babble’.

katakulli çevirmek Aktunç 168 ‘to deceive, cheat by using fraud’. 

isterozundan başlamak < σταυρ/omikronacute̋ ‘cross’; Aktunç 151 ‘to utter an insulting threat against Christians, intimidate (someone) by swearing or insulting harshly’.


kavallamak < κα/betatwoαλ[ώ] ‘to talk too much and annoy’. 

kavallanmak Devellioğlu 133 ‘to annoy, to give a headache (to)’. 
kefal < κέφαλ[ι] '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 < κεραµίδ[ι] 'tile'; Aktunç 185 '(boy) to have sexual intercourse'; Devellioğlu 138 'to have sexual intercourse'.

kitaksi < κ/οµικρίτα/ksiε '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'.

kodese 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'.

kofti atslemek 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 < κόκορος '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-
lioğlu 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'.

komá < κόμα 'coma'; Aktunç 189 'the state of being very drunk, loss of sense by drunkenness, extreme fatigue'.

konalık etmek Develliğolo 139 'to cause great irritation; injure (someone) by beating so that the person becomes wholly unable to move'.

konalık olmak Develliğolo 139 'to get very tired'.

komaya girmek Develliğolo 139 'to become greatly surprised, get very sorry and very angry'.

komaya sokmak Aktunç 189 'to beat to death'; Develliğolo 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'.

kopsidefali etmek < κόψε [to] κεφάλα 'cut the head!'; Aktunç 190 'to separate one's head from his/her body, cut one's neck; to circumcise'; Develliğolo 139 'to cut someone's head off'.

madara < μα[ν]τάρα 'mess, tangle'; Aktunç 201 'of inferior quality, poor in quality, someone in an embarrassing situation, false (money); Develliğolo 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'; Develliğolo 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'; Develliğolo 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 < μάνταλας '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'; Develliğolo 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'; Develliğolo 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'; Develliğolo 145 see mandepsiye düşürmek; Püsküllüoğlu 106 'to hoodwink, entrap, deceive with tricks'.

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mandepsiye gelmek Aktunç 206 see mandepsiye basmak; Püsküllüoğlu 106 see mandepsiye basmak.

mandepsiye getirmek Püsküllüoğlu 106 see mandepsiye bağlamak.

mandepsiye dışmek Aktunç 206 see mandepsiye basmak; Püsküllüoğlu 106 see mandepsiye basmak.

mandepsiye dışurmek Aktunç 206 see mandepsiye bastırmak; Develioglu 145 ‘to deceive’.

mantar < μαντάρ 'mushroom'; Aktunç 207 ‘lie, fraud; fool, stupid person, jerk; (job, object etc.) with no value, worthless, unimportant, fruitless’; Develioglu 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’; Develioglu 146 ‘tell lies’; Develioglu 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’; Develioglu 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’; Develioglu 146 ‘to fall into a trap’; Püsküllüoğlu 107 ‘to fall into a trap, be taken in by lies’.

mantara bastırmak Develioglu 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 < μάστορα 'master'; Aktunç 210 (also mastur) ‘person getting intoxicated through narcotics or alcohol, person becoming ecstatic’; Develioglu 147 (also mastor) ‘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. Develioglu 147 (also mastorlaşmak) ‘to get drunk’; Püsküllüoğlu 108 see mastorlamak.

her boka maydonoz olmak < μάϊντανος 'parsley' (< μακεδωνονήσιος) ‘to become the parsley for any shit’; Aktunç 139 (also maydonoz olmak) ‘to pry into everything, poke one’s nose into (everything), whether it concerns one or not’; Develioglu 122 ‘to pry into everything’.

midye < μύδια 'mussels'; Aktunç 215 ‘female genital, vagina'.
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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'.

molaz < μῶλος '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.

okso < οξί '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'.

palamarı almak 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 < παλαµίδα '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'.

papaz < παπάς 'priest, father'; Aktunç 233 'intolerant person, old man who is despotic or grim; toilet'; Püsküllüoğlu 119 'old man who is intolerant and despotic'.

papaza gitmek Aktunç 232 'to go to the toilet'; Püsküllüoğlu 119 'to go to the toilet'.

papazi bulmak Aktunç 233–234 (also papazi göt altinda bulmak) 'to face a difficult situation; get into trouble, die'; Devellioğlu 158 only papazi göt altinda bulmak, 'to get into trouble'; Püsküllüoğlu 119 'to be confronted with a bad result or die'.

papazi kaçarmak Aktunç 234 'to have too much fun, creating a scandal'; Püsküllüoğlu 119 'to create a scandal while having fun'.

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papaz uçurmak Aktunç 234 ‘to drink alcohol and have fun, set up a wild party’; Develioglu 158 ‘to set a big feast, start a feast with rakı’; Puskulluoglu 119 ‘to drink alcohol and have fun’.

partallamak < pont. παρτάλ[ι] or παρδάλ[ι] ‘leopard’; Aktunç 235 ‘confused action, fighting while being confused’.

pavurya < παγ/ομικρύα ‘crabs’; Aktunç 237 ‘someone showing off by walking with a lowered shoulder and moving the other (usually the right) one forwards’; Develioglu 159 ‘someone walking askew, with one shoulder lowered’; Puskulluoglu 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’.

pavuryalamak Aktunç 237 see pavuryalamak; Develioglu 159 ‘to walk with one shoulder lowered, the other one forwards and moving one’s chin down’.

pilaki < πλακί ‘a dish with vegetables and oil’; Aktunç 240 ‘stupid, silly, idiot’; Develioglu 161 ‘stupid, silly, fool’; Puskulluoglu 122 ‘person with limited intelligence, stupid, fool, idiot’.

pilakileşmek Develioglu 161 ‘to become muddleheaded, act stupidly’.

pilakileşmek Develioglu 161 see pilakileşmek.

polim < πωλήµ[α] ‘selling’; Aktunç 243 (also in the form polüm) ‘false statement, false news; self-protection, showing off’; Develioglu 162 ‘lie, unfounded statement or news’; Puskulluoglu 122 ‘ostentation, showing off, lie’.

polim yapmak Develioglu 163 ‘to tell lies, tell unfounded things’; Puskulluoglu 123 ‘to show off, swagger, tell lies’.

polim kesmek Aktunç 244 see polim yapmak; Puskulluoglu 123 see polim yapmak.

poyrada çevirmek < βορύς ‘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’; Develioglu 165 ‘stupid, innocent, jerk, bighead’; Puskulluoglu 123 ‘stupid, innocent, jerk, idiot’.

salozlaşmak Aktunç 252 ‘not to know what to do due to confusion, be bewildered, become stupid’; Develioglu 165 ‘to be bewildered, become stupid, be left
dumbfounded (by); Pünkülüoğlu 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’; Devellioglu 166 ‘mockery, amusement’; Pünkülüoğlu 128 ‘to have one’s mouth water (for something), feel great desire’.

saraka < σαρκά/dzetaω ‘to sneer’; Aktunç 253 ‘mockery, irony, sarcasm, teasing, making fun of’; Devellioglu 166 ‘mockery, amusement’; Pünkülüoğlu 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’; Devellioglu 166 ‘to mock, make fun of, make improper remarks or overtures to a female’; Pünkülüoğlu 128 ‘to have fun with, mock, tease’.

sarakaya almak Aktunç 254 ‘to make fun of, joke with’; Devellioglu 166 ‘to make fun of, ridicule’; Pünkülüoğlu 128 ‘to mock indirectly, make fun of, kid someone’.

takoz koymak < τάκ/omikron̋ ‘chock’; Aktunç 273 ‘to (try to) prevent (action or job)’; Pünkülüoğlu 137 ‘to prevent’.

voli < βολή ‘shot’; Aktunç 300 ‘ill-gotten gain by person who wants to have a great profit illegally, big profit, benefit’; Devellioglu 183 ‘ill-gotten gain, profit, gain’; Pünkülüoğlu 148 ‘big profits gained illegally, ill-gotten gain, big benefit, big profit’.

voli çevirmek Devellioglu 183 ‘to entrap’; Pünkülüoğlu 148 ‘to entrap’.

voliye 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’; Pünkülüoğlu 148 ‘to wait for the chance to get illegal and indecent profit, profiteer, make illicit profit’.

voliyi vurmak Aktunç 301 ‘to profiteer, make or gain illicit profit’; Pünkülüoğlu 148 see voli vurmak.

voli vurmak Aktunç 301 see voliyi vurmak; Devellioglu 183 ‘to pull a deal’; Pünkülüoğlu 148 ‘to gain illegal and big profit, to profiteer, make illicit profit’.

yakamoz olmak < διακαµµ ‘phosphorescence (on the sea)’; Aktunç 303 ‘to be found out, be arrested’; Devellioglu 185 ‘to be arrested’; Pünkülüoğlu 150 ‘(fugitive, thief etc.) to be arrested’.

zoka < ζογά[δα] ‘hemorrhoids; (metaphorically) whim, amalgamation of sentiments like sadness and annoyance’; Aktunç 317 ‘trick, snare’; Devellioglu 190 ‘snare, trick, deception, game’; Pünkülüoğlu 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; Pünkülüoğlu 157 ‘to fall into a trap’.

zokaya yutmak Aktunç 317 see zokaya düşmek; Devellioglu 190 ‘to be deceived’; Pünkülüoğlu 157 ‘to be deceived’.

zokaya yutturmak Devellioglu 190 ‘to tempt, to deceive’; Pünkülüoğlu 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
ital. Italian
turk. Turkish
kurd. Kurdish
v. verb
lt.Gr. late Greek
ven. Venetian
mdv.Gr. medieval Greek
vulg. vulgarly

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