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AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

A Word from Old Uyghur to the Present: *Alıg*

Gülden Sağol Yüksekkaya*

Department of Turkish Language and Literature, Marmara University, Göztepe, Istanbul, Turkey

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ABSTRACT

In this study, we examine the etymology of the the word *alıg*, which has appeared in various Turkic languages starting with Old Uyghur. Researchers have so far put forth different theories regarding the origins of this word, which survives today in different parts of the Turkic-speaking world with various phonetic and semantic changes. Some have associated it with *al-* 'to take' ('almak') *(< al-ı-g)*, which is semantically problematic, or with hypothetical roots which they reconstruct variously as **al (< al+ıg), *al-* or **alı-*. Considering earlier proposals, we narrow down the set of possible etymologies for *alıg* in accordance with their relative merits.

KEYWORDS

Old Uyghur, Old Turkic, alıg, etymology

In this study, we examine the etymology of the the word *alıg*, which has appeared in various Turkic languages starting with Old Uyghur. The aforementioned word is attested as an independent lexeme in four places in Old Uyghur:

1. In a runiform script text written in a Manichaean context: *yég alıg buluşgalı unamaduklar* 'They did not agree about finding (it either) good (or) bad' (Zieme 2001: 213–214).

* Corresponding author. Email: gsagolyuksekkaya@gmail.com

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2. *Xuanzang-Biographie VII*: 129 (19) *[to]o waŋ vudi atl(ı)g hanlar* 130 (20) *teŋeşgey mu olar yég alıg* 131 (21) *üze* ... 'Are Emperor Tang-wang and Wu-di equal in quality?' ('die Kaiser Tang-wang und Wu-di an Qualität gleich sein?!')[1] (Röhrborn 1991: 26, 27). M. Erdal (2004: 412, footnote 604), who considers the end of the previous line 18 a part of the same sentence, i.e. *neçük ol birle [to]o waŋ vudi atlıg xanlar? teŋeşgey mü olar yég alıg üze?*, states that the passage should be translated as follows: 'How does he (compare) with the emperors Tang-wang and Wu-di? Will they equal in quality?'.

3. *Berliner Turfantexte XXXVIII*: Ky: Ch/U 7005/02 *él uluş üze erklig türkl[üg]* 03 *alıg han ıdmış* 'powerful over the land... disadvantage... sent by the king...' ('über das Land mächt[ig] ... Nachteil..., den der König geschickt hat, ...') (Kasai 2017: 288; Alagöz 2020: 171).[2] In the index to her work on this text, Kasai (2017: 330) assigns the word the meaning 'badness, disadvantage' ('Schlechtigkeit, Nachteil'), which J. Wilkens (2021: 28) has added to his dictionary. However, in this context it can be interpreted only as an adjective meaning 'bad' ('schlecht') or 'having the method, methods' ('mit Methode, Methoden'), which seems more appropriate here when we consider that it follows another set of adjectives, *erklig türklüg*.

4. Ch/U 8186: (13) *alıg yavız yıd* 'bad, foul smell' ('schlechter, übler Geruch') (Zieme 2015: 72).

To these, we might add the word of the same form *alıg*, which though possibly related occurs with the meaning 'cunning' in Ch/U 7005/02.

Additionally, in all three of the texts mentioned above, the word *alıg* occurs as part of a couplet. In the *Xuanzang Biography* and the runiform script text, it appears alongside its antonym *yég* in the phrase *yég alıg* 'good (or) bad' ('iyi (veya) kötü'), whereas in Ch/U 8186 it appears with its near-synonym *yavız* 'bad' ('kötü'). As we will see below, Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī gives one couplet with the same meaning twice, once with *yawuz* (p. 55) and again some pages later with *alıg* in its place (p. 193).

Outside Old Uyghur in the 11th century, *alıg* occurs in two places in Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī's *Compendium of The Turkic Dialects* (*Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk*).[3] Alongside its first appearance, al-Kāšgarī (p. 44) states that it means 'bad in terms of everything' in the Oghuz and Kipchak dialects and indicates it as equivalent to Arabic *radī'*. *alıg* also appears in a poem that Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī gives as an example for *konuk* 'guest' ('misafir'): *bardı eren konuk bulup kutka sakar / kaldı alıg oyuk körüp ewni yıkar* (Kāš. 193). The poem itself runs as follows (Ercilasun 2015: 165):

[1] E. Uçar (2017b: 65) claims that *alıg* was not translated in this publication. However, the sentence in which both khans were compared using the phrase *teŋeşgey mu olar yég alıg* 131 (21) *üze* was translated by Röhrborn as the aforementioned khans are 'not the same in quality'.

[2] E. Uçar (2017a: 169) indicates that the attestation of *alıg* in this publication could be added to *alıg~alık* in Röhrborn 2015: 89. On the other hand, he notes that the content and context of the fragment could not be understood exactly since the fragment in which *alıg* occurs is not complete. According to him, *alıg* could be a personal name.

[3] E. Uçar (2017b) thinks that *alık*, which occurs three times in *Kutadgu Bilig* (couplets 1490, 3629 and 4757), means 'bad, evil' ('kötü, fena') and he argues that it is the same as the word dealt with here, which he claims should be read as *alık*, not *alıg*, in Old Uyghur as well. However, *alık* means 'habit' ('alışkanlık') in all three occurrences, as S. Tezcan (1981: 28–29) and M. Erdal (1991: 227) point out, and it can not be associated with *alıg* 'bad' ('kötü'). For *alık* in *Kutadgu Bilig*, see also Arat 1947: 166, 365, 476; Arat 1959: 115, 264, 344; Arat 1979: 17; Dankoff 1983: 88, 159, 195; Nadelyayev 1969: 35; Clauson 1972: 135–136; Tezcan 1981: 28–29.

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> ‘Good people who regard guests as auspicious are gone. Bad people who demolish their tents (so that guests do not come) whenever they have a (bad) dream remain ’ (Misafiri uğur sayanlar gitti. Bir hayal gördükleri zaman, o (misafir) gelmesin diye çadırlarını yıkan kötü insanlar kaldı.)

Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī presents this poem as an example for the headword *oyuk* as well; however, this time he uses *yawuz* instead of *alıg* in the second line, which shows us that he considered *alıg* at least a near-synonym of *yawuz*:

> *bardı eren konuk körüp kutka sakar / kaldı yawuz oyuk körüp ewni yıkar* (Kāš. 55)
> ‘Good people who regard guests as auspicious are gone. Bad people who demolish their tents [so that guests do not come] whenever they have a [bad] dream remain ’ (Misafiri uğur sayanlar gitti. Bir hayal gördükleri zaman, o (misafir) gelmesin diye çadırlarını yıkan kötü insanlar kaldı.)

The phrasal verb *alıg bol-* appears in the section on verbs of the Shushtar manuscript of the practical Arabic dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, which includes Khwarezmian Turkic translations: *alıg boldı, alçag boldı, nākes boldı, xor boldı* ‘He/she became *alıg*, he/she became mean, he/she became despicable, he/she became contemptible’, 146/5. N. Yüce (1988: 86) suggests that *alıg* means ‘meek, modest’ (‘uysal, mütevazı’) in this context, but does not provide the Arabic word which it translates. We were unable to consult the original manuscript while conducting this study to ascertain whether Yüce’s suggestion is supported by the Arabic version of the text. However, since there is no other evidence to suggest that *alıg* meant ‘meek, modest’ in this period or any later period, we will treat the meanings suggested by Yüce for *alıg* with caution. Furthermore, in this work, *alıg* is followed by *alçag, nākes* and *xor*, which lead us to think that the *alıg* attested in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* meant something akin to ‘humble’, ‘poor’, or ‘miserable’ (‘aciz’, ‘zavallı’, ‘sefil’).

alıg appears in Kutb’s *Khosrow and Shirin* (*Ḫusräv u Šīrīn*) (Zajączkowski 1961: 8), composed in the area of the Golden Horde in 1383, as an antonym of *ulug* ‘great, powerful’; in other words, ‘weak, insufficient, wicked’ (‘słaby, niedostateczny, nikczemny’): *ulug men ol alıg teyü tutar hᵛār / oqır meni özi kelmez körer ʻār* 57v ‘I am great, (yet) he sees me as helpless and despises me. He bids me come, (yet) he does not come himself. He considers it (his coming) shameful’ (Zajączkowski 1958: 155).

Within the Mamluk-Kipchak context, *alıg* occurs in the 1343 *Collection of Translations in Turkish, Persian and Mongolian* (*Kitāb Majmūʻ tarjumān Turkī wa-ʻAjamī wa-Mughalī wa-Fārsī)* alongside the definition ‘coward’ (*al-jabān*) 26/4 (Houtsma 1894: 22). In this work, *algıg-* (< *alıg+ı-g-*), derived from *alıg*, is indicated as meaning ‘to be humiliated due to lack of courage’ (*ẕalla min al-jubni*), 40/11 (Houtsma 1894: 40). *alu*, a different form of word in question, appears in *The Book of Understanding the Language of the Turks (Kitāb al-İdrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk)*, the oldest of the dictionaries and grammars written in Mamluk-Kipchak Turkic, where it is defined as ‘weaker than the enemy’ (*al-ʻājizu ʻani l-ġarīmati*) (Hayyān 1309: 28). *alurak* is also seen in the same work and it is rendered as ‘weaker’ (*aʻjaz*) in Arabic (Hayyān 1309: 28).

aluk is defined as ‘sorrowful, mournful, wretch; lacking in mind’ in the mid-16th century Chaghatay Turkic-Ottoman Turkish dictionary *Abuşka Dictionary* (*Abuşka Lugati*): *aluk gam-gīn ve perākende ve perişān ve dimāğ muhettil olmağa dirler ki Bedāyiʻü’l-Vasat’da gelür* ‘*aluk* means

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'to be sorrowful, wretched or upset' in *Bedāyi'ü'l-Vasat*' (Güzeldir 2002: 49). While the form *aluk* appears in the dictionaries of de Courteille and Şeyh Süleyman Efendi as well, the form *alu* is also attested in the divan of Yusuf Emirī, one of the pioneers of the classical Chaghatay poetry: *alu* 'goofy; humble, tired' ('sersem; aciz, yorgun'), ... *Hicr deştide yügürmaglıg bile / Yétmedim vaslıŋa yol alusıdın*, 372 'I ran through the steppe of separation, but I could not meet you due to road fatigue' (Köktekin 2007: 355). Zenker (1866: 92) suggests the translations 'amazed, troubled, saddened, in love' ('stupéfait, trouble, attristé, amoureux') for both *alug* and *aluk*. H. Vámbéry (1867: 214) gives the form of the word as *aluk*, and defines it as 'sad, gloomy, depressed' ('betrübt, düster, niedergeschlagen; affligé, triste, morne') in his *Chaghatay Language Studies* (*Ćagataische Sprachstudien)*. At the same time, in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Turko-Tatar Languages* (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-tatarischen Sprachen*), Vámbéry (1878: 14–15) presents the related form *alu* '(taken as) stupid' ('dumm (eingenommen)') under the entry for *al, il, el* 'to take, to take away, to accept, to grasp, to seize, to touch' ('nehmen, wegnehmen, annehmen, greifen, packen, berühren'). *aluk* is further defined as 'sad, troubled, one who has a deranged brain' ('triste, troublé, qui a la cervelle dérangée') in Pavet de Courteille's (1870: 35) dictionary.

aluk can also be found in Şeyh Süleyman Efendi's *Dictionary of Chaghatay Turkic and Ottoman Turkish* (*Lugat-i Çagatāy ve Turkī-i Osmānī*), published in Istanbul in 1881, where it is defined as 'foolish, insane, mad, addled of brain' ('budala, meczup, mecnun, beyni oynamış') (p. 20).

alu also appears in texts of a genuine Anatolian provenance. It occurs with meanings such as 'inferior, humble, vile, worthless, poor' ('aşağı, aciz, adi, değersiz, zavallı') in Şeyyad Hamza's *Yūsuf and Zulaykha* (*Yusuf u Züleyha*), which displays features of early Old Anatolian Turkish: *Zelhā eydür usluyam sensin delü / 'Āşık olan del' mi ey usdan alu*, 340 'Zelhā says: "I am in my right mind, it is you who is crazy. O, mindless one! Is it the one in love who is crazy?"' (Taş 2019: 158–159). It means 'humble; stupid' ('aciz; aptal') in the version of *Yūsuf and Zulaykha* (*Yusuf u Züleyha*) by Süle Fakih, an Anatolian poet of the 13th or 14th century: *Yūsuf eydür aŋa ey usdan alu / Sen benim hocam helālısan delü*, 1632 'Yūsuf says to her: "O mindless one, o crazy one! You are my master's lawful spouse"' (Köktekin 1994: 527).[4] It can be seen several times in Hoca Mesud's *Tercüme-i Ferhengnāme-i Sadī*, a 'book of advice' (*nasihatname*) comprised of translated excerpts from Sa'dī al-Shīrāzī's Persian *Bustān*. In Hoca Mesud's work, the word carries connotations of 'inferior, worthless, despicable, humble' ('aşağı, değersiz, hakir, aciz': *atasuz kişidür uludan ulu / dünin diri dutar ve göŋlin alu*, 28 ' He is an orphan, greater than all others. He keeps his nights alive [i.e. he worships at night] and he keeps his heart down [i.e. he has humility]' (12b); *ol ohtın olasın 'azīz ü ulu / ki sen kendüzüŋi bilesin alu*, 45 (22a) 'When you become saintly and exalted, consider yourself worthless'; *şunuŋ bigi iŋen siŋekden alu / bugün olduŋ uş buncılara ulu*, 73 (28b) 'Though you were worthless like that fly, you became the leader of these today'; *yarın sinde hem eyle olasısın / ki karıncadan alu kalasısın*, 73 (28b) 'Tomorrow you will also be like that; you will be worth less than an ant'; *avratdan aluca er* 'a man more inferior, more despicable ('daha aşağı, daha hakir') than a woman', 83 (32a); *avratdan alu kalan* 'more inferior, more despicable ('daha aşağı, daha hakir') than a woman', 83 (32a) (Gülenç 2010: 114, 131, 160, 170). The use of *alu* in *Tercüme-i Ferhengnāme-i Sadī* is exemplary of its meaning in the vocabulary of 14th century Turkish more generally. It similary carries connotations of 'humble, inferior, weak' ('aciz, aşağı, zayıf')

[4] *algun* 'distracted, insane': *Bakmazlar dertliye algundur deyü / Hakikat bahrine dalgundur deyü* 'They do not look at the afflicted person who is immersed in the sea of truth as insane' ('Hakikat denizine dalmış olan dertliye meczup diyerek bakmazlar'), Saz. Dertli., 650 (TTS I 1995: 100).

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in Gülşehri's 1317 work '*The Language of the Birds*' (*Mantıku't-Tayr*), which explains how birds may transform into the mythical creature, Simurgh: *Çün her iş 'ālemde ola Tañrılu / Kendüzüñden kimsene görme alu*, 75 'Do not look down on anyone, as everything in the world is from God'; *Şeyh ayakla hôd delü olmış-ıdı / 'Aklı nefsinden alu olmış-ıdı*, 511 'The sheikh went mad from the goblet (drink), his mind left him'; *Yég-ise senden koyuban kaçasın / Alu olur-ısa kanın içesin*, 1276 'If he is better than you, give up and run. If he is weaker than you, drink his blood' (Yavuz 2007: 5, 32, 79). The word is also attested in the following works from the Old Anatolian period: in Şeyhoğlu Mustafa's 1387 *Hurşīd-nāme* (a.k.a. *Hurşīd u Ferahşād*), which narrates the love of two characters, Hurşīd and Ferahşād: *Çü ayrutlamışuz yegin alusın*, 6187 'We have distinguished the good from the bad' (Ayan 1979: 362); in Ahmedī's 1390 *İskender-nāme*: *Her kişi k'anadan olmaya ulu / Atadan sultān-ısa olur alu*, 1050 'Since a person achieves greatness through the mother, even if one is a sultan the father's side, they will be a fool [i.e. his father's sultanate would not add anything to him]' (Akdoğan and Kutsal 2019: 68); in Güvāhī's 1526 *Pend-nāme*, another 'book of advice' (*nasihatname*): *Yegin gör düşmanı senden hemīşe / Alu çıkarsa devletdür érişe*, 15a/2 'Always consider the enemy to be superior to you; (thus) if he proves weak, good luck will come to you' (Erenoğlu 1997: 103); and lastly, in an anonymous retelling of the story of the prophet Joseph, *Kıssa-i Yūsuf: Yūsuf éydür hey delü usıdan alu / Sen benüm hocam helālisin delü*, 38b/3 'Yūsuf says: "O mindless one, o crazy one! You are my master's lawful spouse"' (Akyıldız 2012: 141).

Since the 19th century, a word with similar meanings is attested in several dictionaries of Anatolian Turkish as *alık*:

alık 'crooked, quite foolish, insane' ('çalık, gey budala, meczup') (Ahmed Vefik Paşa 1876: 59). *Türkçesi* avanak *démek olur. Māhir: 'Ey öyle, bazen de* alık *tabir ederler*', Feraizci-zāde 1979 'Its Turkish equivalent is *avanak*. Māhir: "Yes, it is. They sometimes say *alık* as well."' ([1302/1886]: 38; Tietze 2002: 348). *alık* 'crazy; imbecile; silly' (Redhouse 1890: 187). *alık* 'crooked, insane, fool' ('çalık, meczup, budala') (Şemseddin Sami 1317: 54).

alık occurs with meanings such as 'foolish, imbecile, goofy, hooligan' ('ahmak, ebleh, serasime, serseri') in the *Pocket Guide from Turkish to Ottoman* (*Türkçeden Osmanlıcaya Cep Kılavuzu*), was published by the Turkish Language Committee (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) in 1935 (p. 12). In the same work, there is also an entry for *alıklık*, defined as 'imbecileness, foolishness' ('belahet, hamakat') (p. 12). *alık* has appeared in the *Turkish Dictionary* (*Türkçe Sözlük*) since its 1945 (p. 19) edition, where it is defined as 'awkward and confused' ('beceriksiz ve şaşkın') until 1974, as 'imbecile' ('ebleh') in addition to 'awkward and confused' ('beceriksiz ve şaşkın') from 1974 (p. 33) to 1983, and 'unreasonable, goofy, fool, imbecile' ('akılsız, sersem, budala, ebleh') from 1983 (p. 41) onwards. In the same dictionary, separate entries derived from the same word have existed for *alıklık* since the 1945 (p. 19) edition, *alıklaşmak* since the 1974 (p. 33) edition, and *alık salık* since the 1998 (p. 81) edition.

In the *Compiled Dictionary* (*Derleme Sözlüğü,* 1993: 234) we find both *alık* and *aluk*: *alık* (II) 1. 'irregular, disorderly' ('düzensiz, tertipsiz'), 3. 'one who breaks his word, liar, turncoat' ('sözünde durmayan, yalancı, dönek') (1993: 217); *aluk* (II) 2. 'chump, stupid, goofy' ('alık, aptal, sersem').[5]

[5] E. Uçar (2017b: 66, footnote 4) is of the opinion that there is no semantic relationship between 'evil' ('kötülük') and 'stupidity' ('aptallık'), so that *alık*, which means 'stupid, foolish' ('aptal, akılsız'), and *alıg* in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* cannot be associated with each other. However, *alıg* shifted its meaning from 'methodical, skilled' ('yöntem bilir, becerikli') to 'cunning, trickster' ('kurnaz, dalavereci') and then 'bad' ('kötü'), 'stupid, fool' ('aptal, budala') etc. in Old Uyghur, which are related to each other.

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Words with similar forms and meanings can be found in other Turkic languages: Tel. *alu* 'fool', 'stupid' ('дурак', 'глупый') (Ryumina-Sırkaşeva 1995: 15); Shor. *alıg* 'fool', 'stupid' ('дурак', 'глупый') (Kurpeşko-Tannagaşeva 1993: 16); Khak. *alığ* 'fool, stupid', 'stupid, evil' ('дура́к, глупый', 'глупый, дурной'); *alığ-arah* 'stupid' ('глупова́тый') (Baskakov 1953: 24), *alığ aday* 'rabid dog' ('kuduz köpek'); *alığlan-* 'to become a chump, stupid' ('alıklaşmak, aptallaşmak'); *alığ-tolığ* 'stupidity' ('akılsızlık') (Arıkoğlu 2005: 38). Alt. *alu* 'stupid, fool' ('глупый, дуракь') (Verbitskiy 1884: 20).[6] Gag. *alık* 'crazy, demented, foolish' ('сумасше́дший, слабоумный, придуркова́тый'), *alık bakış* 'stupid look' ('придуркова́тый взгляд'), *alıklaş-* 'to look like a fool' ('выглядеть дурако́м') (Gaydarci 1973: 44). Az. *alıq-alıq* 'amazed, dumbfounded, surprised' ('heyran-heyran, mat-mat, təəccüblə') (AMEA 2006: 98).

alıg was also borrowed from Turkish into Persian, Kott and Samoyedic: Persian *alıg* 'effeminate, infamous' (Steingass 1892: 94); Kott *alū* 'crazy, goofy' ('divane; sersem'), Samoyedic *alū* 'stupid; angry' ('aptal; kızgın') (Doerfer 1965: 116/535). Steingass considers the word to be of Persian origin.

Although various theories have been proposed to explain the origin of *alıg*, no satisfying explanation has yet been given. Vámbéry (1878: 13–15) lists *alak* and *alık* together under the entry for *al, il, el*, and defines both as 'voted down, morose' ('niedergestimmt, missmutig'). Nadelyayev et al. (1969: 35) advance no theory regarding the origin of *alıg* in the *Old Turkic Dictionary* (*Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar*) , nor do Radloff (1893: 355, 372), Doerfer (1965: 116), or Räsänen (1969: 17) in their works. Sami claims in his *Turkish Dictionary (Kāmūs-ı Türkī)* (1317: 54) that *alık* is derived from *al-* 'to take'. Clauson (1972: 135) claims that *alıg* is a synonym of *añıg* and could be its etymological analogue, but he does not provide any further explanations regarding its origin. Sevortyan (1974: 145) considers *alık ... ~ alaŋ ~ ala* together (the original suffix having two forms and following the historical evolution *-(a)k, -(a)ŋ > -(a)g > -a*) and claims that these were derived either from **al-* 'to lose one's mind', 'to grow weak in mind', '(for animals) to rage' ('лишаться рассудка', 'слабеть умом', 'беситься (о сивотных)') or **al* 'mad, stupid' ('лишившийся ума', 'глупый'). Röhrborn (1979: 92) makes reference to Sevortyan's entry on *alıŋ* and *alaŋ*, but points out that the semantic relationship between the words and their proposed roots is problematic. He presents the two etymologies suggested by Sevortyan with regard to the origin of *alıg* (i.e. **al-ıg* and **al+ıg*) and states that *al-ıg* is more probable since *+ıg* does not exist in Old Uyghur. Dankoff (III 1985: 7) presents the forms *alıŋ* and *alaŋ* as cognates under the same entry in the glossary section of his edition of *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk*, yet appears not to associate *alıg* with either *al* or *al-*, since he gives it not under those entries but separate from them. Erdal (1991: 645) surmises that the entry *alık-* '(for wound) to get inflamed, to get worse; (for human) to deteriorate, to worsen' in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* and the word *alıg* both come from a common root, which he reconstructs as **alı-*, having an entirely different etymology to that of **alX- > al-* 'to take'. Tekin (1995: 279) examines the word under the entry for the verbal derivational morpheme '-(I)k- = Mo. {-gA-}', where on the basis of *alıg* 'bad' in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* and Old Anatolian Turkish *alu*, he derives *alık-* 'to become vile; to deteriorate' in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* from a theoretical verbal stem **alı-*. Taş (2019: 81) shares the same opinion in his edition of Şeyyad Hamza's work. Starostin (2003: 286) suggests in *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages* that it comes from an Altaic

[6] In the dictionary, the meanings 'fur, hide' and 'stupid, fool' are given in the same entry for *alu*. However, although these are homophones, they are different words.

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root **ăl-*.[7] In Eren's dictionary (1999: 9), only *alık* 'saddle' and 'worn out cloth' occurs.[8] Gülensoy (2007: 66) adopts Erdal's opinion concerning the origin of *alık* and deals with **alıg* 'bad, evil, chump; bird beak' and **aluk* 'rude, severe; bald' together under the entry for *alık*, whose meaning he gives as 'stupid, silly' and whose etymology he presents as *alık-* < **alı-*. In the *Ötüken Turkish Dictionary (Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük)* (Çağbayır I 2007: 205), *alıg* 'receiving; taking'; 'bad; evil; chump' and 'coward' are evaluated under the same entry and all of them are said to be derived from *al-* 'to take'. In the '*Kubbealtı Dictionary*' *(Kubbealtı Lugatı)* (Ayverdi 2008: 102) *alık* 'fool, goofy, confused (person), foolish' is thought to derive from *alıg* 'evil', itself composed of a root and two morphemes, i.e. *al-ı-g*. Nişanyan derives *alık* 'crooked, fool, insane' ('aciz, gafil') from *al-* 'to defeat, to prevail' ('yenmek, galebe etmek') and asserts that the same word appears as *alnuk (< alınık)* as well. He also indicates that *alık* 'bird beak' ('kuş gagası') in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* and 'habit, character' ('alışkanlık, huy') in *Kutadgu Bilig* should be counted as different derivatives of the same root. Tietze (2002: 152) derives *alık* 'unreasonable, stupid' ('akılsız, aptal') from *alıg* 'evil' ('kötü') and claims that this is ultimately derived from *al-* 'to take'. Stachowski (2019: 59) considers *alık, alak* and *aluk* together and associates their origins with **alȳ-* by referring to Erdal's *Old Turkic Word Formation*. He relates Oir. *alā* 'stupid' and Kyrg. *alaŋ* 'messy, out of focus, one who has no idea' to **al-*, to which he assigns the meaning 'to be stupid, to become stupid': **al-* > **alaŋ* > Oir. *alā*.

Examining these comments regarding the origin of the word in question as a whole, we see that *alık* has been associated with *al-* 'to take' in *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük, Kubbealtı Lugatı, Nişanyan Sözlük* and the dictionary of Tietze, all following the suggestion of Sami (Şemseddin Sami 1317: 54; Çağbayır I 2007: 205; Ayverdi 2008: 102; Nişanyan; Tietze 2002: 152). Sevortyan (1974: 145), who is indecisive with respect to the origin of *alık*, nevertheless puts forth two hypothetical roots, one being a noun or adjective and the other a verb: **al-* 'to go out of one's mind, to become wideeyed, to become stupid, to go mad' and **al* 'stupid, unreasonable'. Röhrborn (1979: 92) is similary indecisive, but figures that one the form *al-ıg* is the more probable of the two derivations suggested by Sevortyan in trying to explain the origin of *alıg*. Starostin (2003: 286), on the other hand, suggests a derivation from a proposed root **ăl-* in *An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*. Finally, Erdal (1991: 645) relates *alık-* '(for wound) to get inflamed, to get worse; (for human) to deteriorate, to worsen' in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* to *alıg* and suggests derivation from a proposed root **alı-*, which is different to that of **alX-* > *al-* 'to take'. Tekin (1995: 279), Gülensoy (2007: 66), Uçar (2017b) and Stachowski (2019: 59) all support this theory.

[7] **ā̀le* 'weak, tired, confused': Tung. **āli-,* Mong. **al-,* Turk. **ăl-,* Jpn. **ərə-ka,* Kor. **ə̀rí-*. PTung. **āli-* 'to get tired' ('уставать'). Neg. *āḷī-*, Ul. *āl(ị)-*, Ork. *ālị-*, Nan. *ālị-*: OTurk. *alaŋ-a-d-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *alıy* (MK), *alıq-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *alık*, (Osm.) *alu*, *alaz*, *alız* (dial.), *alkın* (dial.); Gag. *alıq*; Turkm. *al-ŋ-a-sa-*; MTurk. *aluq* (Abush. 27); Uygh. *alaq*, *alaŋ*; Krm. *alas*; Tat. *ala-ma*; Bashk. *alama*, *al-jawu*; Kirgh. *alaŋ*, *alaɣ-dı*; Kaz. *alaŋ*; KBalk. *alın-*; KKalp. *alaŋ*; Nogh. *ala-ŋ-ɣa-s-ar*; SUygh. *alɣač*; Khak. *alıy*, alas, *al-ın-*, *al-ax-*, (caus.); Shr. *al-aq-tır-* (caus. from **al-aq-*), *al-aq-qan*, *alıy*, *al-ın-*; Oyr. *alā* (< *alaɣ*), *alu* (< *alıy*), *alaŋ*, *alɣas*, *al-ın-*; Tv. *alāq-*, *alaŋ* and Yak. *alɣas* are considered to be derived from the same root as well (Starostin 2003: 286–287).

[8] Eren (1999: 9) states that the origin of *alık* 'saddle' ('eyer, semer') and 'worn out cloth' ('eskimiş giyecek') is unknown. In *Kubbealtı Lugatı* (Ayverdi 2008: 103), the explanation 'its origin is unknown' for *alık* 'cover put on the bare back on a horse so that the horse would not be cold and its sweat would not cool on it, numdah' ('atın üşümemesi, terinin üstünde soğumaması için çıplak sırtına konan örtü, belleme') was written as well. However, the words in question must be derivatives of *al-*.

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As demonstrated above, researchers have advanced several theories concerning the origin of *alıg*, variations of which exists in several languages with slight phonetic and semantic differences. They either associate the word in question with hypothetical roots, variously reconstructed as **al (< al+ıg), *al-* or **alı-*, or assert that it ultimately derives from *al-* 'to take' (< *al-ıg*). *alık*, which is similarly attested with numerous phonetic changes in various periods, is presented with definitions such as 'taking; habit, temper, nature; whim, caprice; resentful; bird beak; saddle; load burdened on animals without a saddle; underwear, cloth, coat, etc.; the sign marked by leaving some wool on sheep's back; the first wool gathered from sheep's back; wood, brush and trash that streams or floods drag; inner groom' and like *alıg* generally thought to derived from *al-* 'to take'. However, it is difficult to reconcile some meanings attested for the word *alıg* with the semantics of the verb *al-* 'to take' – namely 'skilled; cunning; the opposite of good, bad; idiot, fool'. Only Sevortyan considers the possibility that the origin of *alıg* might be a nominal root **al*, but he bases his opinion on a hypothetical root **al,* whose meaning he gives as 'unreasonable, stupid, chump, addle-brain' and proposes the inexplicable derivation **al+ıg*. I propose that it is in fact, necessary to look for the origin of *alıg* in a nominal root *al*, but that we need look no further than the already attested *al*,[9] which originally carried neutral meanings of 'manner, method' before undergoing pejoration early on in the historical record and acquiring negative connotations such as 'cheat, trick, cunning'.[10]

As evidence of this association, *alıg* itself underwent a process of semantic shift similar to that of the noun *al.* As early as Old Uyghur, *alıg* is attested once with the meaning 'cunning' and thrice with the meaning 'the opposite of good, bad'. Furthermore, a similar form *allıg* is attested once

[9] *al* appears in the early period usually in hendiadys as *al çeviş* and especially *al altag*: *Berliner Turfantexte III-Insadi-Sūtra: al altagların* (163) *sakınu* 'by coming up with a ruse' ('überlegten sich eine List') 162; *alın* (204) *altagın* (instr.) 'with ruse' ('mit List') 203; *al bilig* 136 'the wisdom or knowledge of using skillful means (for saving others)' (Tezcan 1974: 81); *Berliner Turfantexte VIII: al altag* A 4, B 11, 97, 190, 267 (Kara 1977: 123); *Berliner Turfantexte XVIII*: *al altag* 'means' ('Mittel') (skt. upaya), 34, 81, 1154, 1184, 1763, 1765 (Zieme 1996: 213); *Berliner Turfantexte XX*: *al altag* 296; *al altag uzanmak* 181, 182; *al al[tag]* 312 (Zieme 2000: 151); *Berliner Turfantexte XXI: al altag, al alṭag* 'skill and ruse, tool' ('Geschicklichkeit und List, Hilfsmittel') (= skt. upāyakauśalya) 34, 54, 589 (Wilkens 2001: 219); *Berliner Turfantexte XXV/2: al altag* 'method, ruse' ('Methode, List') 117, 403; *altaglıg* 'with tools' ('mit Hilfsmitteln') *edgü al altaglıg* 3654 (Wilkens 2007: 324, 326); *Berliner Turfantexte XXXVIII: al altag* Jj05 (Kasai 2017: 330); *Berliner Turfantexte XXIX: al çeviş* 239, 299, 302, 306, 307, 542, 609... (Kasai 2011: 181); *Berliner Turfantexte XXXVI: al altagıg kooṣa yorıtmak üze* C05-06, *al altagıg* C02-03 (Yakup 2016: 198); Berliner Turfantexte XXXVII: *al altag* 'method, ruse, skillful means' ('Methode, List, geschicktes Mittel') (Skt. upāya) 2353, 2541, 2546...; *al çeviş* 'method' ('Methode') 391 (Wilkens 2016: 910); *al altagl(ı)g* 'with method, methods' ('mit Methode, Methoden') 3184 (Wilkens 2016: 910). *al atlg* in *Berliner Turfantexte VII* must be a misspelling instead of *al altag*: *al atlg bilge [bilig] –ig* 688 (Kara 1976: 59). Róna-Tas (2011: 55) associates Hungarian *ágyú* 'cannon, catapult' with Turkish *altag* 'means, tool, artifice, means of a Bodhisattva for the salvation of beings' ('Mittel, Hilfsmittel, Kunstgriff, Mittel eines Boddhisattvas zur Rettung der Wesen').

[10] *āl ~ al* 'cheat, deception' ('hile, aldatma') Kāš. 43/30, and so on (Ercilasun 2015: 546); *al* 'cheat, trick' ('hile, al') 148/7; *al édiş-* 113/1, 124/1, 148/6; *al kıl-* 148/6 *Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb* (Yüce 1988: 85); *al* 'trick', *al birle* 'with some trick' *Kısasu'l-Enbiya* (Boeschoten 1995: 647); *alçı* 'cheater, trickster' ('hileçi, hilekâr') *İbnü Mühenna Lugati* 157 (Battal 1934: 9); *al* 'cheat' ('hile') *Gülistan Tercümesi* (Karamanlıoğlu 1989: 199); *al* 'cheat' *Kitābul-İdrāk li-Lisāni'l-Etrāk* (Hayyān 1309: 25); *al* 'ruse, mischief' ('List, Verschmitztheit') *Codex Comanicus* 180 (Radloff 1887: 5); *al* 'cheat' ('hile') *(TTS* I 1995: 79, 99); *āl* Per. 'fraud; deceit; stratagem; treachery' (Redhouse 1890: 179); *āl* Ar. 'cheat, treachery, deception' ('hile, hud'a, mekr') *Kāmūs-ı Türkī* (Sami 1317: 47).

al, which started to express the meanings 'cheat, wiliness, deceit' due to pejoration in particular, that the Ottoman lexicographers of the 19th century considered to be of foreign origin, is indicated as to be Persian in *Turkish and English Lexicon* (Redhouse 1890: 179) and Arabic in *Kāmūs-ı Türkī* (1317: 47) and Hüseyin Kāzım Kadri's dictionary (1928: 120). *al* was recorded as a common word ('lugat-i müşterek') in *Miftāhu'l-Luga*, which Şeyh Mahmūd bin Edhem wrote in 1491 (Çetin 2014).

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in the sense of 'ingenious, skilled' and thrice in the sense of 'cunning, trickster, deceitful' in the same period. The form *allıg* clearly demonstrates that *alıg* originated from the noun *al* followed by the denominal suffix *+lıg*, which derives adjectives in the sense of 'having': *Berliner Turfantexte V: allg* 'cunning' ('listig'), *allg çevişlg* 97 (Zieme 1975: 75); *Berliner Turfantexte XXXVIII: allıg* 'ingenious' ('raffiniert'), *allıg inçge* Hb16 (Kasai 2017: 331); *Berliner Turfantexte XXXVII: al(lıg)* 'with method, methods' ('mit Methode, Methoden') 3184 (Wilkens 2016: 910). *allıg çevişlig kişiler altayu turur* 'Cheating people cheat you in your presence' ('Betrügerische (Hend.) Leute betrügen dich (27) in deiner Gegenwart'), TT I 26 (Bang 1929: 246).

The word which alternates between *allıg* and *alıg* in Old Uyghur is attested in degeminated forms as *alıg*, *alu*, *aluk*, *alug* and *alık* in all subsequent periods, starting with *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk*. By the Karahanid period, the word had completed the semantic shift that had already begun in the earlier period from the original meaning 'methodical, methodable, ingenious, skillful' to 'cunning, trickster, deceitful' and 'the opposite of good, bad'. In later periods, it would gain additional meanings of 'humble, poor, miserable, powerless, tired; coward; idiot, fool; distressed, sad, confused, troubled; liar, turncoat' etc., which always had negative connotations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Alt.	Altai
Az.	Azerbaijani
Gag.	Gagauz
Kāš.	Maḥmūd al-kāšgarī 1941. *Divanü Lūgat-it-Türk Tıpkıbasımı 'Faksimile'* [The Facsimile of Dīvān Lugāt at-Turk]. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
Khak.	Khakas
Kyrg.	Kyrgyz
Oir.	Oirat
Tel.	Teleut

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