CLASSICAL UZBEK (CHAGATAY) AÇUQ YARUQ:
AN EXAMPLE OF LEXICALIZATION OF COORDINATED WORDS

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In Yusuf Amīrī's famous satire, Bang u Çağır (The Bang and the Wine) we read the following prosodic insert:

330v: 10 Ba'zî şığuftaştir va ḥwâşvaqt gul bigin,
11 Ba'zî banâfša dek šâlîban bašlarîn goyî.

Ba'zî kalaça birlâ avunup açuq yaruq,
331r: 1 Ba'zî gatîp tamağî gurup ağzida suyl.

It summons up the impression the poet got while, already under the influence of majoone that he had just tossed down, he was observing a strange group of people engaged, in a corner, in enjoying wine and opium. Scrutinizing them closely he found that “Some of them were lighthearted and happy like roses. Others, like violets, were hanging their heads. Still others were openly indulging in small cakes of opium. Others, their palates dry, were pouring water down in their throats.

The term açuq yaruq had caught the attention of G. Alpay, the editor of Amīrī's text in Latin transcription, and in a note she provided the following information: “It seems that the verb avun-that preceeds açuq yaruq assumes a complete sense with the help of these words. Connected with this is in Kâshghâlî [ṣ Divân Luğat at-turk the twin-verb] yaru-qyâṣû [meaning] ‘to enjoy, to rejoice’. We must only think of the possibility that açuq in the text was erroneously copied from such a [derivative] yâṣuq, although this idea is not [to be taken as] mandatory.” What Alpay suggests is that açuq yaruq in the Bang u Çağır is a form resulting from a copyist’s error for *açuq-yaṣuq and

1 From A.J.E. Bodrogligeti and R. Jacekel, Yusuf Amīrī’s “The Bang and the Wine”. Introduction, Transcription, English Translation, Glossary, and English Index. (Forthcoming.)
as such is a complement to *avun* and serves to provide this verb with a full meaning.

Kāshgharī does indeed, include this twin-verb in his Divān in the infinitive (*yarumq̄a*, *yašumq̄a*), in the definite past (*yarudi*, *yašudi*), and in the Aorist (*yarur*, *yašur*) forms⁴. He gives a context illustration only for the definite past: *er yarudi yašudi* ‘the man was pleased, happy’. He does not include the derivatives *yaruq yašuq*. Kāshgharī also has the verb *avın*- ‘ahşmak, avunmak’ which occurs as a full verb without *yaru*- + *yašu*- complementing its meaning⁵. Old Uyghur Buddhist texts from about the same time as the data in Kāshgharī’s work attest this twin-verb along with the derivatives *yaruq yašuq*. They, however, appear to be nouns in the sense of ‘light, radiance’ illustrated in the sentence *ot önglīg yaruq yašuq* ‘a radiance like that of a fire’.

Further comparison of *yaru*- + *yašu* and *avın*- also reveals that *avın-covers a much broader semantic field both in early documents and in modern dialects where it has survived. For the data in Amırî’s *The Bang and the Wine* the meaning ‘to be preoccupied with, to indulge in, to delight in’, attested abundantly in sources from as early as the Karakhanid period, is most appropriate. The twin-verb *yaru*- + *yašu*- had a much narrower semantic range: ‘to be happy, to rejoice’ as seen in Buddhist texts with no implication of preoccupation, addiction, and the like, as source of the subject’s happiness. Also, it is of restricted distribution and does not seem to be represented in sources beyond the Karakhanid period. Neither did it survive in modern dialects. It is unlikely that the form *yaruq yašuq* as twin-words were in use in the time of Yūsuf Amırî.

There is another problem with Alpay’s explanation of *açuq* as a copyist’s error for *yašuq*. If that were the case, the error would have been made from *yašuq yaruq* in order to yield the *açuq yaruq* that we have in the text. The constituents of twin-words in Turkish very rarely alternate; e.g., *er-k-türk* ‘power’, *ev-baq* ‘house’, *ed-tavar* ‘goods’, *yat-baq* ‘stranger’, *körk-yaraś* ‘comeliness’, to mention but a few always occur as above.

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⁵ B. Atalay, *Divanü Lugat-u-Türk Tercümesi*. Cilt III. Ankara: Alâeddin Kiral Basmevi, 1941, p. 89
There is no reason to believe that a hitherto unattested *yasuq-yaruq existed along with yaruq yasuq, amply documented in Karakhanid works.

We must look elsewhere for an explanation. I suggest that we accept açuq yaruq as the form the author intended to use. We are justified to do so because in his Dah Nâma (Ten Love Letters) he uses it in the same form, although with a different verb and in a different context:

246r- 10 Aradın alayın yatlıg hicâbîn
açuq yaruq yıbarayın čavâbîn.

The Princess while reading the third love letter of her admirer makes an important decision: Instead of speaking to him in riddles and enigmas, she decides to send him a straightforward answer: "I am willing to lift the veil that keeps us apart as strangers, I am willing to send him a plain answer."9

This example, from the same author, leaves no doubt about the existence of açuq yaruq, and about its functions as an adverbial complement, not bound to one particular verb, such as awun-, but occurring freely with other verbs, in the given example, with yıbar- ‘to send’.

Since the early form yaruq-yasuq was based on the twin-verb yaru- + yasu-, it is legitimate to ask whether açuq-yaruq also resulted from a twin-verb *açu- + yaru-. If it did, then we have here a derivative form of an already lexicalized coordinated verbs. If it did not, the lexicalization took place only with the derivatives in -q, the suffix that indicates the concrete result of the action expressed by the verbal base10.

Documents do not attest the existence of açu- and yaru- as twin-verbs. Between the derivatives açuq and yaruq, however, there was an associative tie created and maintained by literary-stylistic conventions found as early as in the Karakhanid period. In rhyming prose or in poetry these words occurred in coordinated expressions as adverbial modifiers or predicative complements to nouns themselves with associative ties to one another. E.g., yüz ‘face’ and alîn ‘forehead’ in


9 From A.J.E. Bodrogigeti, Yüsuf Amîrî's Ten Love-letters. Introduction, Transcription, Translation into English, Glossary, and English Index. (Forthcoming).

QB 11 5222 Süüg sözlä barça kişigä tilin,
açuq tut yüzünügni yaruq tut alın.

"Say sweet words with [your] tongue to all people; keep your face open, and [your] forehead, shining." Or köngül ‘heart’ and zamir ‘mind’ in

NMQ 12 13r:1—3
Qazı... şar'ı hıllalar girihidin köngli açuq, fuqahā
 tazvirları tiralaridin zamirı yaruq.

"[As for] the judge, his heart should be cleared from the knots of legal manipulations and his mind should be freed from the darkness of the deceptions of the theologians."

The two derivatives may occur coordinated by the particle ham, with açuq in the first position:

QB 2000 Kö zi toq käräk ham uvutluq tüzün
açuq ham yaruq bolsa qılqın sözün.

"[The prince] should be generous, modest, and noble. In regard to his actions and his words he should be sincere and clear."

The first occurrence hitherto noticed of açuq yaruq as a lexicalized phrase is in the Rylands Interlinear Koran translation. In verse 35:25 Va in yuka-
zibuko fa-qad kazzaba ʾillażina min gablihim cāʾathum rusuluhum bi ʾl-bayyināti
va bi ʾz-zuhuri va biʾl-kitābiʾl-munirī. ‘And if they reject thee, those before them
also rejected their messengers came to them with clear arguments and with
scriptures, and with illuminating Book’, the Arabic adjective munirun or
the Persian adjective ēskār is glossed by açuq yaruq. It is significant in this
example that açuq yaruq explains the meaning of one lexical item. Eckmann,
in his edition of the Turkic glosses of this document, included açuq yaruq as
a separate entry word. For a definition of their meaning, however, he trans-
lated both elements separately “clear and illuminating”, treating them as

I thank the Turkish National Committee of UNESCO for making it possible for me to obtain a phoyo-
copy of this work.
13 J. Eckmann, Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation. Bibliotheca
twin-words in which the constituents preserved their individual meanings. Other interlinear translations of the Kor’an explain munir in the same verse as yaruq\(^{16}\).

Lexicalization of a phrase is complete only when its constituents yield their individual definition to a new meaning that the phrase as a whole has obtained. E.g., ant iёмүк ‘to take an oath’ (lit., to drink the oath’), ata-ana ‘parents’ (lit., father-mother’), oгul-qиз ‘children’ (lit., ‘son-daughter’) are completely lexicalized\(^{17}\). If we accept that the elements of aчuq yaruq in the Rylands interlinear Qur’an translation have preserved their individual meanings, we must also accept that the two words stand for two different meanings of the same Arabic word irrespective of whether or not both meanings fit the text of the Qur’an. It would be most unlikely that a verbatim translation of the Qur’an into Turkic would alter in any way the original text, in the give case to the extent as to put ‘with clear and illuminating book’ instead of ‘with an illuminating book’.

To further explore this issue we must remember that at least two other interlinear Qur’an translations from the same period translate munir with one word only, and that word is yaruq, not aчuq\(^{18}\). This suggests that yaruq or aчuq yaruq could stand for A. munir but aчuq alone could not. It seems that the coordinated relationship between these words that was accentuated in QB 2000 above by the conjunction ham has changed in the process of lexicalization.

To find out more about the nature of this change let us consider the word aчuq in other combinations. Along with aчuq yaruq Eckmann also registers aчuq ашкәрә in the phrasal verb aчuq ашкәрә qил- which he translates as ‘to do openly and publicly’ for stem IV of ‘алана or for P. ашкәрә куран’\(^{19}\). This occurs in the translation of Qur. 16,23: Лә carama anna illance yu’лumu мә yusirrәna va мә yu’lінәна (“Undoubtedly Allah knows what they hide and what they manifest”), which the Turkish explains in segments\(^{20}\) as harayna/
Tanğri bilür / anî kim yașarurlar / yimä / anî kim açuq âskâra qîlurlar which Eckmann translates as ‘Certainly God knows what they hide and what they do openly and publicly’\textsuperscript{21}. Also in this example, açuq occurs as the first element of the phrase. The Shushter copy of the Muqaddimatu'l-adab\textsuperscript{22} contains the Khorazmian Turkic gloss açuq durust qildi sözini as the explanation of one single phrase where açuq occupies the first position\textsuperscript{23}. An important example occurs in the Uyghur translation of the Savarnaprabhāsa\textsuperscript{24}. The phrase açuq adîrlîg is used in the following sentence: Adınlar könğülin bitüci açuq adîrlîg körtüci ‘He must know other people’s hearts, he must distinctly see them’. The Sâkiz Yükûn\textsuperscript{25} also provides testimony of the use of this phrase in Açuq adîrlîg bilgâli uqâlti yarayur ucün ‘So that it be appropriate for knowing and understanding it distinctly’\textsuperscript{26}. It is common to all the examples above that their meanings are not affected significantly by removing açuq, the first element of the phrase: Tanğri bilür ... anî kim âskâra qîlurlar ‘God knows ... what they reveal’, or ... durust qildi sözini ‘he corrected his words’, or ... adîrlîg körtüci ‘he must distinctly see’, and ... adîrlîg bilgâli ‘for knowing it distinctly’, in essence, mean the same thing as with the addition of açuq. If we remove âskâra, durust, and adîrlîg, the second elements of the pairs, from the above sentences, açuq will not be sufficient to convey the intended meaning: Tanğri bilür anî kim açuq ... qîlurlar ‘God knows what they make open’, açuq ... qildi sözini ‘he made his words open’ açuq ... körtüci ‘he must see it clearly’, açuq ... bilgâli ‘for knowing it thoroughly are not specific enough or, as compared to the original versions, even point in a different direction.

It is obvious that in the pairs considered above the second element carries the main sense. The examples also show that açuq is always the first element of the pair, and that there are no variants of the pairs discussed in which the order of the constituent words would be reversed, i.e., we do not have pairs such as *âskâra açuq, *durust açuq, or adîrlîg açuq. It follows, then, that the role of açuq in the phrases we are considering is secondary, and that its position and function are determined by the second element, not by any other part


\textsuperscript{22} Recently published by N. Yüce, Ebû'l-kâsim Cârûllâh Maḥmûd bin Muhammad bin Ahmed ez-Zamahsari el-Hvârimî, \textit{Muhammetel' Edeb. İstanbul, 1988}.


\textsuperscript{24} Nadelaev, p. 7u.


\textsuperscript{26} Op. cit., note 383.
of the sentence in which it occurs. Its function is that of an adverbial modifier serving to intensify the meaning of the second element. Açuq, as it appears in these examples, could be best described as an intensifier of limited distribution used only with a group of specific words.

The combination of açuq, yaruq, from an associative relationship in stylistic conventions through appearing as twin-words with coordinated or converging meanings, developmed into a structure of modifier + head and reached the level of lexicalization at that stage. As it appears in Yusuf Amiri’s *The Bang and the Wine* and in his *Ten Love-letters*, açuq yaruq is one lexeme with adverbial (‘quite manifestly’) or adjectival (‘quite clear’) meanings.

Data from Modern Uzbek support this view. Borockov’s Uzbek-Russian dictionary includes očiq-oydin as separate entry with reference to očiq 4. where it is explained as 1. ‘perfectly obvious; manifest’; 2. ‘obviously’; 3. ‘frank, candid’; 4. ‘frankly, candidly; directly’.

Ma’rufov’s explanatory dictionary has očiq-yorug as separate entry with reference to očiq-oydin as its synonym. Očiq-oydin is explained here as ‘quite clear’, ‘doubtless’ with illustrations such as očiq-oydin masala ‘a clear issue’, očiq-oydin cavob ‘a clear answer’, or ‘open, straight’ as in očiq-oydin gap ‘straight talk’. As their definitions and the attached illustrations show, očiq-oydin and its synonym očiq-yorug are full-fledged lexical items and can occur in the function of adverbs and adjectives.

The existence of očiq-yorug in Modern Uzbek with the characteristics it had in *The Bang and the Wine* and in the *Ten Love-letters*, is another proof of the close ties that exist between this language and the language of the classical literature of the Central Asian Turks.

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